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University of
Technology

Faculty of Fine and
Applied Arts

Doctoral Dissertation

**REVIVING OLD PHOTOGRAPHS ON FACEBOOK:
WHY AND HOW PEOPLE INTERACT WITH DIGITISED
PHOTOGRAPHS**

Myrto Theocharidou

Limassol, February 2023

CYPRUS UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY
FACULTY OF FINE AND APPLIED ARTS
DEPARTMENT OF MULTIMEDIA AND GRAPHIC ARTS

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Approval Form


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Presented by

Myrto Theocharidou

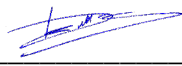
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ABSTRACT

This research examines how and why Facebook members engage with digitised old photographs. By adopting a qualitative approach to the research and a case-study-based methodology, the research shows how individuals use old photographs on Facebook and in other photographic sources, including institutional repositories, and emphasises the role of memory in these interactions. The main factors analysed include: the subject matter of the photographs, the motivations behind users' engagement with digitised old images, and the characteristics of various photographic repositories as perceived by the research participants. The findings show that a sense of belonging determines user preference both for specific photographs and for choice of photographic repository. Individuals seem to prefer certain repositories mainly because those repositories give them a sense of belonging, especially through a personal connection to particular photographs. This connection is created by personal memories or post-memories combined with the possibility of participation offered by the repository, which enriches the process of co-remembrance. The research results are analysed through the lens of communicative memory (Assmann 1995) and reflective nostalgia (Boym 2001).

The research suggests that in order to understand the use of digital institutional photographic repositories and the reasons why individuals use or do not use them, the research population needs to be broadened beyond the users of institutional repositories.

Keywords: collecting institutions, communicative memory, users, digitised photographs, Facebook

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1 Introduction

This PhD thesis is part of a larger research project called POEM,² which was established and funded by the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement No. 764859. The aim of POEM is the investigation of participatory memory practices in the heritage sector and this topic was studied by 13 early-stage researchers from three different perspectives, each named working package (WP): WP1 memory institutions, WP2 people and groups, and WP3 memory modalities. My research belongs to the second working package, so I am investigating and providing empirical and theoretical insights on participatory memory work and the connections built by individuals and groups. Like the other research fellows in this working package, I aim to explore the memory practices of individuals and groups on social media platforms and their engagement with digitised cultural material. In this way I will contribute to the understanding not only of the actual use made of archival images within social media platforms but also of the use of other sources, including those that are maintained by collecting institutions that offer online access to their digitised photographic collections. Using a real-life environment (Facebook), I examine individuals' and groups' perceptions, usage, motivations and experiences relating to the use or non-use of digitised images online.

1.1 Assumptions and research aims

The starting point of this research was not identifying a gap in the literature; it emerged from a real-case observation. Informal personal observations led me to the assumption that digital photographic institutional repositories – such as those of museums, libraries and archives – are not used by the general population.³ This assumption was arrived at after many discussions with family and friends, the vast majority of whom were either unaware of the existence of digital institutional repositories or knew about them but were not interested in using them.

In order to establish whether this assumption was valid, research was needed to find potential users of digital repositories. As the Literature Review reveals, there are no studies that attempt to understand the actual usage the general population makes of digital institutional

² The acronym POEM stands for Participatory Memory Practices. See POEM project website: <https://www.poem-horizon.eu/>, accessed 1 November 2022.

³ In this research, 'general population' or 'general public' is defined as users who do not make use of photographic archives as part of their professional lives.

photographic repositories or of this population's attitudes to such repositories. This lack of understanding of the users, potential users and non-users of digital photographic repositories means that institutions cannot create repositories based on the needs of these individuals. This research contributes to the investigation of actual public use of digitised old photographs by examining individuals' motivations and intentions for engaging with this material both inside and outside of social media platforms, and whether institutional repositories constitute one of their choices for this engagement.

The aim of this study is to understand people's online engagement with archival photographs in everyday digital settings, such as social media, and how this engagement is related to memory work. Based on real-life observation, this research aims to investigate whether the assumption of non-use of digital institutional repositories is borne out in a real-life case and explores the perceptions and motivations of the users, as well as the meanings behind the use of digitised old photographs in Facebook. The actual use made of digitised old photographs from institutional repositories has not been investigated, so this study aims to fill this gap in the academic literature.

1.2 Methods and research questions

To understand how digitised old photographs are used, I adopted a qualitative approach to the research and a case-study-based methodology. This allowed me to engage with individuals who are members of Facebook groups dedicated to digitised old photographs from Cyprus and gain insights into their engagement with old photographs and the sources they choose for this purpose. In pursuit of this research aim, the following research questions were formulated:

1. Which photographic themes are research participants interested in and how do these themes relate to memory work?
2. What prompts research participants to interact with old photographs, and which photographic sources do they use for this purpose?
3. What are the most important technical and content characteristics of digital photographic repositories as perceived by research participants searching for and interacting with archival photographs?

Each question is designed to elicit different aspects of people's experience with digitised photographs, with the ultimate aim of gaining a multi-level understanding of the use of digital repositories of digitised photographs. The first question seeks to understand the relationship between viewer and photograph and the role that the photographic subject plays in the viewer's preference for a particular image. The second question aims to determine individuals' motivations for engaging with old photographs and the relationship between these motivations and the choice of repository. Finally, the third question elicits information about the relationship between individuals and photographic repositories by analysing their experience of using photographic repositories, in particular by identifying the repository features that were most important to research participants.

Using these questions to guide the research, the methodological choices described in the methodology chapter supported the research process and helped challenge the assumption that institutional repositories are not widely used by individuals. Explorative studies of Facebook groups as well as web questionnaires and in-depth semi-structured interviews were used to elicit the online practices of individuals who engage with digitised old photographs on Facebook and other photographic sources, including digital institutional photographic repositories.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

The thesis consists of seven chapters. This chapter introduces the project, summarises the research objectives, presents the research questions posed and prepares the reader for the content that will follow. Chapter 2 is the Literature Review, which presents the research background of the study through the existing literature, identifying and highlighting areas that remain unexplored and the gaps that this research therefore aims to fill. It includes works from the fields of social media studies, visual sociology, digital heritage studies and archival studies. It specifically looks at research on the following topics: a) social media photo-sharing; b) the connection between collecting institutions and memory work, in particular the idea of archival appraisal and how researchers have approached this in digitised archives; c) the effect of technological change on collecting institutions; d) the users and uses of digitised collections; and e) memory studies, particularly collective memory, post-memory and nostalgia.

Chapter 3 explains the methodological choices made in this research and introduces the two case studies from which empirical data was extracted. The chapter discusses the case study methodology, including how and why it was applied to this study. It presents the Facebook groups that served as the two case studies, describes the methodological ramifications and the various data collection techniques employed for this study, including the exploratory study, questionnaires, and semi-structured interviews. Lastly, it discusses the importance of the variety of data collection methods to validate the research findings.

The next three chapters present a selection of empirical data collected mainly from the interviews; the theme of each chapter corresponds to one of the three research questions.

Chapter 4 analyses the photographic themes that attract individuals; these themes are linked and examined in relation to memory-making. The chapter is broken up into four sections, each of which focuses on a different aspect of the photographic themes discussed during the interviews with Facebook group members. The chapter examines how research participants' emotional ties to specific geographic locations and historical eras influence their interest in particular photographs. Family photos are a photographic theme that many interviewees overlook, so there is discussion of how participants' reluctance to interact with this kind of photograph might affect the photographic collections amassed in Facebook groups. The interviewees' definitions and understandings of rarity are presented, along with photographic themes research participants wish they could access more of through Facebook.

Chapter 5 examines individuals' motivations for interacting with digitised old photographs and what sources they choose to use for this interaction. Facebook groups serve as a key source for old photographs and form the main point of reference for this study. The opening section of the chapter examines Facebook group member activity. The second section follows describes the motivations that drive members to interact with old photos inside or outside of Facebook groups. I identified three types of motivation – intrinsic, extrinsic and sharing. The chapter concludes with observations on how much the choice of source is influenced by the purpose of the search. The final section offers a list of photographic sources that interviewees reported using.

Chapter 6 presents the content and technical characteristics of the photographic repositories used by the participants in this research, aiming to identify those characteristics perceived as more functional or desirable. Based on research participants' concerns, this chapter is divided into two sections, each focusing on a key component of a photographic repository: technical

characteristics and content characteristics. Each section gives examples of technical- and content-related Facebook characteristics that were mentioned by the interviewees. Some the features were viewed as helpful, while others were thought to restrict the experience of discovering or interacting with old photographs.

Chapter 7 concludes by summarising the findings that are of most interest, interweaving elements from all three data chapters as well as from existing literature and research. In particular, it addresses the importance of the sense of belonging as a factor in individuals' choice of platform for interacting with old photographs. The chapter also highlights the limitations of this research and offers suggestions for further analysis.

2 Literature Review

This research aims to study people's engagement with digitised archival photographs on social media, examining their motivations for engaging with these photographs. The research identifies the photographic sources individuals use and examines the perceived advantages and limitations of these sources. The literature review includes literature from archival studies, digital heritage studies, visual sociology, and social media studies. In particular it examines research focusing on a) photo-sharing in social media; b) the relationship between collecting institutions and memory work; c) the impact of technological shifts on collecting institutions; and d) the users and uses of digitised collections.

The chapter is divided into six sections. Section one examines the connection of collecting institutions to memory work and technology. Section two looks at studies that analyse the process of digitisation in collecting institutions as a sociotechnical change. Section three investigates the notion of archival appraisal and how researchers have discussed it through the prism of today's digitised archives. Section four examines studies that investigate the users and uses of digitised collections. Section five discusses studies of the wide distribution of photography in domestic settings by focusing on online photo-sharing in informal settings such as in Facebook groups. Lastly, section six gives a brief introduction to memory studies, focusing on collective memory, post-memory, and nostalgia, terms that I engage with in my research to explore and explain the engagement of individuals with historical images.

2.1 Memory institutions or collecting institutions: unifying terms and the role of technology

Despite differences between museums, libraries and archives in scope and target audience, which could raise 'questions around access, preservation and user engagement with collections' (Warren and Matthews 2018, p. 2) the unifying terms 'collecting institutions' or 'memory institutions' are widely used. The term 'collecting institution' focuses on the main task of libraries, archives, and museums, that of collecting and keeping objects and data, while the term 'memory institutions' highlights the relationship that these institutions – museums, archives and libraries – have or are expected to have with memory, as they preserve, present and therefore partly shape the past. Although the term 'collecting institutions' excludes 'non-collecting institutions' or 'non-accessioning institutions', I adopted this term in this study as it is probably the most neutral and inclusive way to address

these three institutions – museums, libraries and archives – simultaneously without highlighting their content or attributing to them conceptual value and goals.

The term ‘memory institution’ is used to describe the expected social role that collecting institutions can play in helping future generations remember the past (Trant 2009). As Robinson (2012) notes, this term only entered academic discourse relatively recently and therefore seems to be mainly associated with the digital and online repositories of GLAM institutions. Robinson argues that the term gives the impression that memory is a new focus for institutions, but it neglects elements that are indeed new, such as a ‘broad cultural role in facilitating learning and research, creating an active public sphere or supporting cultural engagement’ (p. 415).⁴ Identifying common goals and characteristics among different institutions and trying to adopt a common term for museums, libraries and archives – that is, achieving a conceptual convergence of the institutions through a term – is a difficult task, because the chosen term must encompass all the characteristics of each institution, and the characteristics Robinson identified do not apply to all institutions.⁵ Thus I believe the term ‘memory institution’ is counter-productive, as it brings together different institutions by focusing on the connection or the anticipated connection of these institutions with memory work. A contemporary point of convergence of collecting institutions is their online presence, but no term has or needs to be invented that refers to this feature; like memory, digital presence is something all institutions could develop, but it is by no means the only common element. Having a presence on the Internet is understood to mean making the institutions’ collections available via the Internet, through websites, social media, or other media.

I call the online space collecting institutions create to present their digitised holdings a ‘digital institutional repository’. The existence of digital institutional repositories, as well as the online distribution of digitised objects in social media platforms and websites, lead to the actual rather than the conceptual convergence of collecting institutions, both as holdings from different institutions and also, when different types of institution are added to the same source, the World

⁴ It is interesting to read Robinson’s insights in the light of the recent International Council of Museums (ICOM) discussion of the new museum definition, which also touches upon the various values that a contemporary museum might support.

⁵ This is an example of the different characteristics of collecting institutions Robinson mentions: ‘In particular, the important sense-making function of museum narrative techniques, which have evolved as a defining characteristic of the museum experience and offer an interpretive tier that extends beyond the subjectivity of archival and library collection practices, are not differentiated within the generic usage of this term.’ (p. 425)

Wide Web.⁶ According to Van Malssen and Lacinak (2016), a repository is a ‘technical environment composed of a storage layer, database for metadata management, and access interface, and has dedicated staff that provides access, management, and/or preservation services’ (p. 19). Here, ‘institutional’ refers to museums, libraries and archives: the institutions that maintain the repositories.

Both the literature and some practical examples show how technology, particularly the online distribution of institutional collections, has brought collecting institutions together by eliminating their individual characteristics. As Evens and Hauttekeete (2011) explained, ‘in today’s network society, archives no longer function as separate entities, but should cross traditional boundaries’ (p. 163). Likewise, Clough (2013) implies that institutional convergence results from technological practices when he refers to the attempts of libraries and archives to provide worldwide access to their collections; access acts as a boundary-breaking element across institutions, disciplines and geographic distance. Although institutions retain their individuality, the digitisation and consequent online availability of cultural objects has led to the creation of a single collection, since, in a technical sense, museum, archive and library documents share a common virtual environment. The Internet offers the broadest meeting point for the digitised objects of collecting institutions, meaning that a digitised painting from the MoMa and a digitised clay jar from a museum in Cyprus could be accidentally found side by side on Google Images or on a social media platform. But there are cases where the point of convergence of the digitised objects is specific and actively curated by the institutions or other stakeholders. Hoppe (2007) describes the phenomenon of institutional coexistence as link[ing] different ‘scenes’ (p. 154), which he sees as a potential outcome of digitisation following active co-operation among different institutions. There are many ways in which the digitised objects of collecting institutions appear on the Internet. Some institutions have an organised coexistence with other institutions (such as the digitised objects from various institutions in Europeana⁷) and other institutions maintain their individuality on the web through their own

⁶ The digitised holdings are added either intentionally or unintentionally to the same digital source. The Europeana project is an example of how different institutions and their collections intentionally ‘meet’ in the same web domain. Google Images, on the other hand, is an example of an unintentional and not-curated ‘meeting’ of images derived from different institutions and collections.

⁷ Europeana is a web repository initiated and financed by the European Union. It contains digitised cultural collections from institutions across Europe.

websites with their own archives. Each of these digital collections of digitised objects has its own characteristics and objectives.

Although several researchers have addressed the digital convergence of collecting institutions, I identified a lack of studies that record and classify the different types and characteristics of digital institutional and non-institutional repositories, specifically photographic collections. Reviewing examples of different repositories could potentially enhance the understanding of institutional digital convergence as well as the identification of various technical or content characteristics which either encourage or limit the use of repositories. In this dissertation I classify both institutional and non-institutional photographic sources according to accessibility, both in terms of cost and of ease of accessing the source (see section 0) but this classification is based on and limited to the examples mentioned by the research participants.

2.2 Digitisation in collecting institutions: a sociotechnical shift

As discussed above, technology allows the convergence of different collecting institutions, which means that the dynamics among them might change. Digitisation is viewed by some authors as a purely technical process. Pearce-Moses (2005) describes digitisation as ‘the process of transforming analog material into binary electronic (digital) form, especially for storage and use in a computer’ (p. 120). Marttila (2018), on the other hand, sees digitisation as a sociotechnical shift rather than a purely technological process: ‘digitization has changed the ways in which people can participate in the creation, production and distribution of digital culture’ (p. 15). This sheds light on a technical action (digitisation) and how this action has initiated changes in the way people experience collecting institutions. On the one hand, those who regard digitisation simply as a technique often focus on the tools required for digitising, organising, storing, and publishing the data (Bountouri 2017; Tzitzikas and Marketakis 2018). On the other hand, the sociocultural perspective focuses on how this technological advance affects the role, function and audience of the collecting institutions (Cameron and Kenderdine 2007; Conway 2010a, 2010b; Marttila 2018; O’Hagan Hardy 2018; Terras 2015a; Thylstrup 2018). Lager Vestberg (2013) emphasises the distinction between technical and sociotechnical definitions by reserving the term ‘digitisation’ for the technological changes that affect the objects, the ‘rendering of existing analogue content into digital formats’, while using the term ‘computerisation’ for technological changes ‘that have affected people’ (p. 115). In this research I use the term digitisation to refer to both technical and sociotechnical changes.

In the late 1990s and the early 2000s, researchers (Klijn and Lusenet 2000; Rossand and Economou 1998) identified the need for national and institutional policies to integrate information and communications technology into the heritage sector. In 2000, a report by Klijn and Lusenet was published on the preservation and digitisation of European photographic collections, which included responses from 140 European institutions that maintained photographic archives. The study highlighted the importance of the development of national and institutional preservation policies, not only for preservation per se but also to position photographic collections as cultural heritage. Five years later, the European Commission responded to the proposal made by six heads of state⁸ to create a European digital library by implementing the i2010: Digital Libraries strategy. This policy was a crucial step towards the establishment of a strategic plan for digital cultural heritage at a pan-European level. Specifically, ‘i2010: Digital Libraries’ envisioned three main strands: (a) digitisation of analogue collections, (b) preservation and storage, and (c) online accessibility (EC 2005). Four years earlier, in 2001, a similar action had been initiated in the US. The President’s Information Technology Advisory Committee, in the report ‘Digital Libraries: Universal Access to Human Knowledge’, acknowledged the importance of the creation of digital libraries by characterising them as ‘the networked collections of digital text, documents, images, sounds, scientific data, and software that are the core of today’s Internet and tomorrow’s universally accessible digital repositories of all human knowledge’ (2001, p. iii). The two initiatives share similar concerns about the digitisation of cultural heritage. I use the three components of the i2010 policy to organise the following sections of the chapter, analysing each component through relevant literature.

2.2.1 Digitisation of analogue collections

The first part of the i2010 strategy reflects on the digitisation of analogue collections. As stated in European Commission document 52005DC0465 (EC 2005), digitisation is not primarily used to make content more accessible but to guarantee its survival. Since one of the primary objectives of collecting institutions is the preservation of their holdings (Bountouri 2017), and

⁸ French President Jacques Chirac, German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder, Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi, Spanish Prime Minister José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, Polish President Aleksander Kwasniewski, and Hungarian Prime Minister Ferenc Gyurcsány.

thus the protection of vulnerable originals from natural or human destruction (Klijn and Lusenet 2000), digitisation fulfils these institutions' recordkeeping duty. The diversity of cultural heritage objects, not only in terms of their subject matter but also their dimensions and materials, requires the use of a variety of hardware and software systems for digitisation. Collecting institutions use techniques such as photography, video, X-ray, 3D scans, infrared, UV, and laser scans (Chen et al. 2005) for digitisation. Across the range of cultural objects that could be digitised, this research places emphasis on photographs and digital photographic repositories. As photographs are light-sensitive (Triantaphillidou et al. 2002), the majority of institutions prioritise their digitisation. In order to consider a digitised image a faithful copy and credible enough to 'replicate' the original, digitisation practices should ensure the reproduction is of high quality. Uncertainty surrounding future use of the digitised image as well as the unknown evolution of technology makes decisions about archival image scanning of critical importance (Frey and Reilly 2006). As a result, several guideline documents have been written by practitioners inside and outside collecting institutions, which suggest and by extension define the prevailing digitisation practices.⁹

2.2.2 Preservation and storage

The second point of the i2010 strategy and the subject of this section concerns the preservation and storage of digitised holdings. Digitisation and the online availability and accessibility of digitised objects are two different processes, and 'digitisation without a proper preservation strategy can turn into a wasted investment' (EC 2005 n.n.). Preservation and storage are fundamental for preserving access to digitised material. As several researchers (Bountouri 2017; Owens 2018; Schumacher et al. 2014) have noted, digital preservation is considered the biggest challenge of this technological shift due to the impossibility of predicting future technological developments that might lead to incompatibility. Thus Bountouri (2017) notes that the responsibility of collecting institutions to ensure long-term safeguarding of their material is not limited to the preservation of analogue resources but includes preservation of digital resources (p. 37). According to Owens (2018), digital preservation means preparation

⁹ Europeana's survey, published online (<https://pro.europeana.eu/page/digitisation-policies>), was conducted in 2017 to measure support for the growth and maintenance of digital collections within institutions across Europe. This study revealed that 39% of digital heritage institutions had created a written digitisation strategy by that time, but there is a lack of information regarding the external guidelines adopted by collecting institutions that have not yet created their own digitisation strategy.

for the smooth and efficient delivery of digitised objects to future generations, based on both present technological capabilities and on predicting future technology trends. Similarly, Van Malssen and Lacinak (2016) argue that continuous updating of digital preservation policies would ensure the continuing availability and usability of digital material. Accordingly, an efficient digital preservation management plan should ensure long-term data security and access to the digitised objects, despite future changes in operating systems, software, file formats and hardware.

2.2.3 Online accessibility

Online accessibility is the third point in the EU strategy, and the one that is most relevant to this research, as it is concerned with the use of digitised holdings. As Black (2011) notes, museums, and by extension archives and libraries, have a responsibility not only to collect, conserve and document material from the past but also to make it publicly accessible (p. 415). Digitisation could be considered a major step towards preserving the availability of digitised cultural holdings, but there are still many steps that need to be taken in order to make digitised cultural holdings accessible online. The third point of a digital library strategy is online accessibility: the technical processes and methods used to make the cultural holding publicly visible, retrievable and usable. From a technical viewpoint, online accessibility concerns both categorisation practices and the laws that permit or prevent public access to cultural holdings. In other words, digitisation strategies concern the infrastructure and metadata of digital collections and also legal restrictions on accessibility – intellectual property rights.

Besser and Hubbard, in their 2003 book *Introduction to Imaging*, which maps the basics of building and maintaining collections of digital images, referred to metadata's ability 'to allow digital image collections to be reused, built upon, and become part of larger cultural heritage offerings within and across institutions' (p. 7). Most importantly, though, the authors credit metadata for allowing collecting institutions to track, preserve and make accessible their digital holdings and also for enabling end users to find the digital exhibits. Manovich (2003), referring to metadata, explained that 'computers can help us only after we help them first by feeding in image descriptions' (p. 9). His argument highlights the central role of professionals in correctly attributing metadata and the crucial role of metadata in the digitisation process, as metadata is a bridge between digitised objects and users of digital collections.

In addition to metadata, the accessibility and availability of digitised collections depend on legal frameworks. The European Commission (2005) clarified that under current EU law and

international agreements, digitised content can only be made available online if it is in the public domain or with the explicit consent of the rights-holders. Transforming collecting institutions from guardians of analogue collections to providers of digital services is a big challenge, as both legal and financial barriers can prevent collecting institutions from fulfilling their digital plans. Besides copyright restrictions and legal frameworks, which according to Terras (2015b) limit the distribution and reuse of cultural holdings, the creation and maintenance of digital repositories place a financial burden on institutions that could slow or halt the digitisation process. As Europeana's Public Domain Charter (Europeana Collection n.d.) states, a lack of resources has prompted the cultural heritage sector to turn to public-private partnerships to fund their large-scale digitisation projects, and commercial content aggregators funding digitisation projects sometimes ask for privileged access to the digitised collection in exchange.¹⁰

The obstacles to making both digitised and born-digital¹¹ collections more accessible to users are summarised in Jaillant's (2022) article, which is based on interviews with archivists, librarians and other professionals in cultural institutions. Jaillant identified four obstacles to accessing such collections: (a) technological obsolescence – it can be hard to find equipment that can read records in old formats; (b) archival appraisal, the selection of materials that are considered high priority and the exclusion of materials deemed less important or valuable; (c) copyright, which in some cases prevents the digitisation of collections or does not allow online access to existing digitised objects; and (d) data protection of digitised documents that contain sensitive materials.

As accessibility concerns the end users of digitised repositories, and this thesis focuses on users' perceptions and experiences of photographic repositories, it is vital to examine whether the elements addressed in Jaillant's article also concern people who engage with photographic repositories. By focusing on user perspectives, I aim to shed light on whether individuals are aware of the obstacles to creating and maintaining such repositories, especially how access can affect the representation of history and the formation of collective memory. This study focuses on the sociotechnical aspects of digitisation and therefore examines how the digital shift made

¹⁰ Both of these functions are usually conducted at citizens' – i.e. taxpayers' – expense.

¹¹ Born-digital collections are collections whose original format is digital (emails, digital photographs, videos), not digitised from paper-based collections (manuscripts, documents, printed photographs).

by collecting institutions and the digitisation of photographic collections have been experienced by individuals in everyday digital settings.

2.3 Democratisation through digitisation: reality or illusion?

This section reviews studies that discuss whether digitisation of cultural holdings and the user-centred approaches taken by institutions make collecting institutions more democratic. Economou (2015) perceives collecting institutions' experiments with different technological practices as an attempt at greater democratisation of their collection, and she leaves plenty of space for readers to reflect, discuss and question the effectiveness of these practices. On the other hand, Clough (2013) suggests that online access to digitised material is democratising knowledge, upgrading the visiting experience both for audiences who can physically be present at the institutions and those who cannot. His claim, however, expresses the institutional voice. It appears in his book, *Best of the world: Museums, libraries, and archives in a digital age*, which is published by the Smithsonian Institute and uncritically exalts the Smithsonian's goals and practices. From a similar institutional perspective, teacher and education scholar Cheryl Mason Bolick (2006) asserts that digital archives have democratised historical research and quotes William Thomas, who describes the Virginia Center for Digital History as 'involv[ing] the inclusion of all histories' (as cited in Bolick, 2006, p. 123). To some extent, these claims are reflected in reality; indeed, online paths, such as digital institutional repositories and the social media pages of collecting institutions, allow the general public easier access to cultural material than would be available offline. But I share Economou's (2015) concern about whether collecting institutions' hopes for greater democratisation have actually materialised. Are the above-mentioned observations about the democratisation of collecting institutions too idealistic a view of how collecting institutions could act in a digital context? I aim to answer this question based on research into the real experiences of users of institutional repositories.

Without underestimating the benefits and opportunities that digitisation could offer the public, many researchers are sceptical about the degree of contribution digitisation can make to the democratisation of institutions. The following examples from the literature challenge the notion of democratisation through online accessibility that collecting institutions claim to or hope to achieve. I also summarise issues related to the perceived neutrality of institutional repositories and how collecting institutions shape public memory on their own terms.

Access to cultural holdings depends on several factors, and these can prevent both physical and online availability of cultural objects. Human, political, technical, legal and economic factors can, intentionally or unintentionally, influence the creation and content of a collection by adding layers of meaning to the collections.

Schwartz and Cook (2002) remarked on the difficult task archives face in seeking to present the past in the present. They emphasised the often uncritical acceptance of the past presented by these institutions:

This lack of questioning [of the added layers of meaning, layers which become naturalised, internalised, and unquestioned] is dangerous because it implicitly supports the archival myth of neutrality and objectivity, and thus sanctions the already strong predilection of archives and archivists to document primarily mainstream culture and powerful record creators. It further privileges the official narratives of the state over the private stories of individuals. (p. 18)

Although Schwartz and Cook referred specifically to archives, their comments also apply to other institutions with digitised or physical collections that deal with the past and that are capable of influencing or even determining public memory or future remembering.

In the following paragraphs I will concentrate on the first two factors mentioned above: the human and the political.

The human factor refers to decisions made by professionals (librarians, historians, curators) that can affect both analogue and digital collections. More specifically, the decisions digitisers make in representing historical photographs in digital form may influence the meanings of those photographs (Conway 2009) and could perpetuate the subjectivism of institutional repositories by privileging certain events and memories over others. A famous story of human error comes from the Tate's national photographic archive. In February 2012, *The Guardian* published an article entitled 'Tate's national photographic archives "rescued from skip" after internal tipoff', and its author, Alberge, explained how photographs of artworks and sensitive documents had been discarded. Alberge compared this incident to one that occurred at the Victoria & Albert Museum, where their subject archive – photographs documenting museum objects grouped by subject – was discarded by an employee under instructions to make room for new gallery space. Unlike the Tate's archives, which were rescued and are now preserved at the Mellon Centre, historians maintain that the damage to

the V&A's collection relates to the classification of the contents – the order in which the resources were organised – although a museum spokesman insisted that this classification was considered outdated. Of course, this is not to suggest that everything needs to be archived forever, but the intention here is to highlight the importance of thought and transparency in decisions involving the discarding of data, as the discarded items might have the potential to influence historical and scientific research and by extension humanity's memory. Koltun (1999), building on Marxist theorist Raymond Williams' perception, states that 'archives expose not a finished past society, but ... our own, present society, which does the selecting, the keeping, the using, and the constituting of its many stories in continuous and contingent re-making' (p. 20). He points out that in the digital age it is contemporary society and archivists who decide what will be remembered in the future, through the raw material made available by them. The process of choosing which holdings should be digitised has been of concern to other researchers; for example, Klijn and Lusenet (2000) wrote specifically about photographic archives, and said: 'The (part of a) photographic collection that is digitised is usually the part that is considered to be most attractive for the public. In pilot projects for instance institutions frequently choose to digitise the most popular parts of their collection' (p. 28). Similarly, the archivists' impact on history, which is sometimes determined by what they choose to digitise, is also stressed by Stylianou-Lambert (2019), who conducted research at the photographic archive of the Stiftung Hans Arp und Sophie Taeuber-Arp e.V. in Berlin, Germany. Stylianou-Lambert explains that before opening the archive to researchers the foundation's curators selected certain materials to use for the external representation and distribution of the archive. She argues that even when the institution uploaded material to the foundation's website for general online viewing, the selection was based on what archivists thought art historians would be interested in. Consequently, the author suggests that the democratic nature of digital institutional repositories should be questioned, as the selection process in most of the archives that authorise the archivist to choose and curate the information has remained unchanged over the years. These examples confirm that cultural objects are often subject to an individual's choices and decisions, which means that certain cultural objects could be privileged over others based on an archivist's personal preferences or opinions.

However, there are cases where personal decisions seem to be of less importance than political decisions; these decisions lead to certain archival objects being hidden, destroyed or

privileged, which results in archives characterised by ‘intentionality, instrumentality, representation and power’ (Schwartz and Cook 2002, p. 19). A political agenda is put into action by individuals, but in these cases, individuals are acting in support of a political situation, serving broader governmental and ideological interests rather than their personal interests or judgment.

George Orwell’s term ‘memory hole’ (1977) accurately describes the ease with which government bodies can apply censorship through the promotion of certain historical facts and the demotion of others. In his dystopian novel *1984*, Orwell describes how the mechanism was applied in the Ministry of Truth:

When one knew that any document was due for destruction, or even when one saw a scrap of waste paper lying about, it was an automatic action to lift the flap of the nearest memory hole and drop it in, whereupon it would be whirled away on a current of warm air to the enormous furnaces which were hidden somewhere in the recesses of the building. (p. 21)

This action of throwing documents into the memory hole could potentially lead to the rewriting of the official version of history and thus to historical distortion or forgetting of the past. Stories are revealed, hidden, or re-examined at different times depending on the political framework of the era. In her article ‘Decolonizing the Smithsonian: Museums as microcosms of political encounter’, Wintel (2016) sheds light on the phenomenon of rewriting history by examining the relationship between the often-asserted but rarely empirically examined status of museums as political entities (p. 1495). Wintel used the creation of the Smithsonian’s ‘Cultures of the Pacific and Asia’ and ‘Cultures of Africa and East Asia’ galleries during the 1960s to investigate how the national collection responded to political shifts in the former European empires, and how the new role of the US in the world was revealed through museum practices. A remarkable point that arises from her close analysis of these two collections is the power of the human factor in institutional representation, which proves that the personal and educational characteristics of curators influence their practice within a single institution. Jaillant (2022) raises the issue of mis- or no representation of certain ethnic groups and provides an example from an interview with the digital collections programme

manager at Harvard's Houghton Library, who realised, in the wake of George Floyd's murder,¹² that there had been very little digitisation of African American holdings.

The discussion of archival neutrality is long-standing and has involved researchers in the fields of archival studies, social sciences and humanities. The concepts of neutrality and objectivity in archives, as Schwartz and Cook (2002) explain, was challenged during the 1990s, when several archivists, including Terry Cook, Brien Brothman and Richard Brown, began to question, from a postmodernist perspective, 'the traditional, neutral, passive, positivist, and "scientific" mindset of their profession' (p. 10). In their article, they encourage both keepers and users of archives to question the archival myth of neutrality and objectivity in an attempt to prevent archives and archivists documenting primarily mainstream culture and privileging official narratives over individual narratives. Dunbar (2006) establishes a dialogue between critical race theory and archival discourse and examines 'what constitutes a record, the role of human subjects documented as co-creators of the record, and assumptions about archives and archivists as neutral third parties in the preservation and use of the record and other forms of historical evidence' (p. 114). He believes that this theoretical lens offers the chance to raise social consciousness about bias in archival discourse based on social constructs such as race. Additionally, more inclusive archival collections can help in establishing a voice and identity for underrepresented and marginalised populations. Thus, in addition to the seemingly obvious – that digitisation can offer wider access to archival material and can contribute to the democratisation of heritage – the following paragraphs further investigate the concept of neutrality and how it has been addressed by contemporary researchers who have identified the power digital archives hold over public memory and identity formation.

Bishop (2017), for example, acknowledges the pitfall of treating archives and neutrality as being identical and urges users of digital institutional collections as well as traditional archives to consider not only what is included but also what is not included in the collections (p. 771). Bishop notes that although the materiality of the analogue archives has changed, and access to cultural artefacts has increased, the essence of the archive remains the same, part of a complex and contingent construction of memory and history (p. 772). Simine (2013) draws attention to the impact that collecting institutions can have on public memory and concludes:

¹² George Perry Floyd Jr. was an African American man who was murdered by a police officer in Minneapolis (US) on May 25, 2020. His murder resulted in a global protest movement against police brutality and racism.

the fact that museums provide a public forum for a plurality of memories does not necessarily mean that they are prepared to exhibit conflicting memories or aim to encourage visitors to engage critically with memories as an emotional and ideological investment in the past. (p. 171)

Similarly, Economou (2015) reviewed the different participatory practices of collecting institutions as part of their efforts at greater democratisation, including inviting individuals and groups to share their views. Economou wonders who, if anyone, should control, moderate or intervene in this free and democratic exchange of information.

All the above examples from the literature reflect researchers' concerns about the neutrality of collecting institutions as intermediaries and information providers. Since these institutions can shape public memory, many papers expressed the need for questioning or at least reflecting on the practices and values of such institutions. This section addressed the issue of archival appraisal and argued that although accessibility in digital institutional repositories could be linked to the democratisation of collecting institutions, this does not mean that just because repositories are more accessible they become equally unbiased and neutral. The multi-voiced representation of the past that might appear in the digital archives is orchestrated by institutions and the current politico-economic situation. This orchestration concerns both pre-digitisation actions, such as archival appraisal, and post-digitisation actions, such as the creation and organisation of digital institutional repositories.

Democratisation describes the transition to a more democratic regime. In the case of digital repositories, the offline era constitutes the less democratic regime due to the limited access it offered to cultural holdings, in contrast to the wide distribution of digitised cultural holdings. Democratisation does not equate with total democracy or objectivity, and it is important to be aware of the additional layers that underpin a collection and answer the questions of how, by whom and why certain events are or are not represented in digital collections. Asking these questions may reveal that truly democratic accessibility in digital collections is a fiction.

The literature review identified a lack of studies that analyse how individual users of digital institutional repositories experience and understand the issues discussed above, including neutrality and the democratisation of institutional collections; how the content of collections is presented; and the power collecting institutions can have over people's memory. The observations regarding representation, misrepresentation or lack of representation in archival collections come from people who conduct research in or work for archival collections, not

from individuals who interact with archival collections. One of the aims of this study is to examine how archival neutrality and representation in digital collections of old photographs is perceived by users: whether individuals who interact with digitised collections have concerns about these issues and whether these issues affect their engagement with digital photographic platforms or repositories.

2.4 Users and uses of digital institutional repositories

Several studies examined how digitisation affects people who work in cultural heritage, digitising, preserving and curating the collections (Bountouri 2017; Conway 2010a; Enser and Tope 2000; O'Hagan Hardy 2018). Other studies emphasised how digitisation affects the digital audience, the potential users of digital collections. It is important to clarify that digitisation has an effect both inside the institutions (the objects to be digitised, the employees of the institutions) and outside the institutions (the users of the digital repositories). According to Conway (2010a) the new situation created by digitisation gives the archivist the roles of digitiser, systems and interface architect, and mediator between the digitised object and the user. Theimer (2011) explained that the approach of contemporary archivists towards their work had shifted from record-centred to user-centred. As she explained, in comparison to the traditional archival approach, where the user was expected to understand the archival systems, contemporary archivists aim to provide descriptive information that meet their users' needs by using systems and tools that users understand and use, including social media platforms. Giaccardi (2012) also discussed the user-centred shift in museums to follow audiences who use specific social media platforms:

The media museum responds to these earlier reflections on the changing role of the audience. In technological terms, it is the product of two fundamental changes: digitisation, which has enabled cultural institutions to make aspects of their collections available online; and the convergence of media technologies, which has fuelled the rise in social media networking applications such as Facebook, Ning and content-sharing sites. (p. 148)

Ruge et al. (2017) also reflected on social media use by the GLAM sector (galleries, libraries, archives and museums), which fosters audience engagement while 'contributing to an online presence or institutional brand' (p. 79). As they explained, social media can be used in cultural institutions for the promotion and marketing of services and events and to provide a space for online access to their collections. Similarly, Kidd (2011) discussed the distinction between

marketing, inclusivity and collaborative frames in museums' social media and stated that in order for museums to take advantage of the potential benefits of social media, such as democracy, community and inclusion, they should pay attention to 'how they articulate, organise and understand practices of participation' (p. 73).

Digital curation is one aspect of online collections that should be taken into consideration when discussing collections within or outside of social media platforms. Zhao and Lindley (2014) discussed the curation of social media content and investigated the possible archival value of social media, as social media's content is organised as an exhibition rather than something to be stored for a long period. The authors focused on analysing collections that depict personal life moments of the research participants and concluded that: 'although social media is posted in line with a particular expectation of what an audience would be interested in, with its initial value being social, the curated collection has personal value' (p. 2435). They argued that curation in social media is done by the collections' creators, who put together a collection that is carefully chosen, well-organised and annotated. In relation to collecting institutions, Dallas (2015) draws on the concept of digital curation, which is mainly used to describe a professional practice for digital preservation. Dallas, maintains that the mainstream digital curation approach overlooks the social performativity and human agency that underlie the digital curation practices of individuals. This approach also conflicts with current thinking in the fields of critical museology and archival science, which questions the objectivity and legitimacy of professional curators and archivists in the presence of voices from underrepresented communities, indigenous peoples and local communities. Dallas therefore proposed a 'pragmatic theorization of digital curation', which incorporates curatorial practices, knowledge regimes and communities of agencies that operate actively in these fields.

Recent scholarship in digital heritage (Economou 2015; Giaccardi 2012) examined how (technically) and through which practices and platforms digitised materials are promoted rather than the concepts and purposes of using digitised cultural material. In other words, a lot of research has examined the technological tools and practices collecting institutions employ to attract users and increase the popularity of their digital collections. These methods include the use of social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, Pinterest, YouTube and Tumblr, as well as hackathons, virtual exhibitions, crowdsourcing events and community-based participatory archives. What has not been addressed in the literature,

however, is how digitised material is used. The urgent desire of institutions to follow current technological trends and deploy user-centred approaches – to digitise and provide access through various channels to their digitised holdings – can be seen as a result of the adjustments institutions have made to the broader sociotechnical environment. It is beyond the scope of this study to analyse and understand this institutional behaviour.¹³ What this study does investigate, however, is how this user-centred shift is experienced by the users themselves and how collecting institutions and researchers have studied the use made of digital institutional repositories so far.

The shift made by collecting institutions to a user-centred approach is potentially a positive development for the cultural sector, as it brings the institutions and their holdings closer to the people (Clough 2013), but it needs to be examined through a wider lens to reveal its true impact. I intend to examine whether the claim that digitisation entails the democratisation of collecting institutions, in the sense that it brings cultural holdings closer to people, is true in practice, and under which circumstances. Szekely (2017), for example, located collecting institutions within a wider setting, pointing out that these institutions are not alone in the digital realm, and individuals are more likely to make use of search engines than the official websites of institutions. The available data is increasing, but the data does not have a single source any more; multiple sources of information could be considered to be elements of the democratisation through technology of archival holdings. Therefore, because collecting institutions have lost their monopoly as information providers (Evens and Hautekeete 2011, p. 163) it cannot be assumed that institutional repositories will be used by individuals solely because those institutions are part of the cyberspace. Internet users have many digital image sources to choose from, and studies are needed to investigate why individuals choose certain repositories over others. Interviewing non-users, potential users and existing users of institutional repositories will provide an understanding of the repositories' actual use and reach.

Many institutions and individual researchers have investigated the uses and users of institutional repositories that provide digitised objects. However, most of these studies focused on tight communities and easily tracked audiences, such as students and educators

¹³ Neoinstitutionalism and the concept of institutional isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell 1983) could serve as a theoretical framework for examining the institutional behaviour and decision planning.

(Bolick 2006), historians (Chassanoff 2018), and archivists in digital institutional repositories. Clough et al. (2017), Marttila (2018) and Sartori (2016) argued that closer examination of users will help institutions build a stronger relationship between users and digital institutional repositories. Specifically, according to Marttila (2018), the lack of design research seeking to bring institutional practices closer to the practices of individuals is one of the main factors denying citizens access to, use of and influence on digital cultural heritage materials. This is problematic because heritage collections are designed in the name of the public, collected for public benefit, and typically managed and maintained at the public's expense (p. 4). Therefore, understanding the audience should be perceived as both a duty and a requirement for the development and maintenance of digital institutional repositories.

There has been little academic discussion of how digital institutional repositories are used. Although this subject is regularly addressed by the institutions themselves as part of their annual usage reports, their investigations mainly focus on specific groups of users, such as educators and archivists, whose usage is driven by professional requirements; institutions pay little attention to the use of their repositories by the general public. Bolick (2006), in the article 'Digital archives: Democratizing the doing of history', analysed the primary online resources used by K–12 teachers for a history inquiry project investigating the promotion of online research in schools. The article offers important insights into teachers' experiences with the implementation of digital sources in their school practice, but the article does not refer to teachers' regular practice but rather a directed, one-off activity. Şenturk (2013), who also focused on the use of archives in education, offered examples of national archives across the world that facilitate special programmes for students and highlighted the benefits of such projects. Other studies explored the different uses and users of digital repositories without focusing on a specific task or user profile. For example, Clough et al. (2017) collected 240 web-based survey responses from Europeana users. They gathered information about user profiles, including the country from which their searches originated, how often users visited Europeana, and users' occupations.¹⁴ Additionally, they analysed users' search tasks, including the type of search activity, the subject of the search request, the motive for searching, and the use made of the information found. The study was limited to the survey responses (four multiple choice and two open-ended questions), which means the information

¹⁴ The occupation was based on preselected options (cultural heritage enthusiast, student, academic, teacher, cultural heritage professional, other).

gathered is useful for statistical rather than qualitative analysis. A qualitative analysis is needed, because it provides rich data that will yield insights into the motivations and experiences of the users. This will be discussed in detail in the methodology chapter.

Another way to study the use of digital institutional repositories is through web traffic analytics. The Digital Herodotus II platform,¹⁵ for example, publishes monthly reports offering statistical analysis of website visitation and usage. These reports include graphs that show number of unique visitors, the geolocation of visitors, active time/engagement time, demographic information and the platform's most popular webpages. The information provided by this kind of user study gives an overview of traffic and usage in digital repositories. However, it does not provide an understanding of the actual usage (frequency and purpose of use) and significance of these repositories and digitised holdings in people's everyday activities and also in comparison with other digital sources that offer similar material, such as social media platforms, image banks or newspapers. Additionally, these research approaches cannot measure whether the advertised and expected uses of the digital institutional repositories – which digital institutional repositories frequently refer to as 'our mission'¹⁶ – reflect how the repositories are used in practice.

The literature review revealed a lack of qualitative studies examining the (re)use of digitised photographs and the users of digital institutional repositories. I agree with Sartori (2016), who suggested that the key to a deeper understanding of the effects of digitisation is empirical and qualitative research 'that aims to identify different segments of users (and non-users), characterized by distinct needs and motivations prior, experience during, and benefits gained

¹⁵ Digital institutional repositories maintained by the Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation (<https://www.digital-herodotus.eu>)

¹⁶ As examples, the following quotations are from the mission statements of Europeana and Smithsonian Learning Lab (large digital institutional repositories in Europe and the US respectively) as published on their websites:

'We transform the world with culture! We want to build on Europe's rich heritage and make it easier for people to use, whether for work, for learning or just for fun' (<https://www.europeana.eu/portal/en>).

'The mission of the Center is to deepen, enrich, and personalize learning by encouraging and supporting the creative use of museum resources through research and collaboration with the education community' (<https://learninglab.si.edu/about/SmithsonianCenterforLearningandDigitalAccess>).

from interacting with digital collections’ (p. 439). Conway (2010a), who wrote about photographic archives, suggested that ‘research that investigates the actual use of archival photographs in products that are distributed in print and online will effectively measure the impact of archives beyond research and learning that happens in the archives itself’ (p. 460).

Earlier in the chapter it was noted that collecting institutions are not alone in the digital realm; various alternative sources of digitised resources also exist. One of these alternative sources is material that has been digitised and shared online by individuals. According to Terras (2011), examining individual choices of digitisation tool, platforms for distributing the digitised material and motivations for these choices could shed light on individual preferences and help to explain why digitised resources of collecting institutions ‘are seldom, if at all, used’ (p. 697). This research therefore examines interactions with digitised old photographs that would ordinarily be found in institutional repositories but have been shared and used on Facebook, deploying qualitative research methodologies to understand the uses Terras described.

2.5 Uses of social media photographic repositories and the circulation of images on the Internet

The previous section examined the digitisation practices of collecting institutions and how these practices affect the function and role of these institutions, as well as the people connected to the institutions, such as staff and audience. However, digitisation is also carried out by individuals. This section therefore explores users’ perspectives and their engagement with digitised photographs online. It does this by summarising studies that examine the distribution of photography in domestic settings, the effects of online image circulation and the role of Facebook groups in the commemoration of the past.

2.5.1 Photographs in domestic settings and the circulation of photographic images

Photographs do not only have unique characteristics as museum holdings;¹⁷ they are also unique objects due to their wide distribution in domestic settings. Among the variety of archival

¹⁷ Elisabeth Edwards, in her chapter in the book *Photo-Objects: On the Materiality of Photographs and Photo Archives* (2019), talks about the unique quality of the photograph, as it is the only museum object which could simultaneously be ‘a collectable item (a significant object) and a tool of management (used to record and present objects within the museum from conservation reports to websites)’ (p. 68). This dual identity leads to a linguistic distinction between a photograph (a thing) and photography (a process or activity), which in practice leads to the classifications ‘collections’ and ‘non-collections’. As Edwards explains, the first category consists of the art objects or acknowledged collected items, whereas photographs are included in the second category;

holdings, photographs are probably the most common medium of historical evidence that can also be found in domestic, non-institutional settings. As early as 1965, Bourdieu (1965/1990) wrote about ‘the enormously wide diffusion that photographic practice owes to its accessibility’ (p. 174) due to both its technical reliability and affordable price. The first commercial camera was brought to market by Kodak in 1888 with the famous slogan ‘You press the button –we do the rest’, and a new mass amateur photography market was born (Jenkins 1975). During the twentieth century cameras became ever more accessible to individuals –lighter, simpler to use – and now camera lenses are even installed in smartphones, making photography an always-accessible activity. Indeed, in 2007, Nokia’s N95 mobile phone featured a camera lens that could capture both still and video images (Labacher 2016). Holland (2015) talked about the democratisation of photography through new technology, which ‘was bringing a revolution in ways of perceiving the immediate domestic world, and in redefining who had the right to record that world’ (p. 135).

What was once known as ‘domestic’ and later ‘personal’ photography has now merged with the social web – online communities that foster social interaction – as a form of personal expression and interpersonal communication and as an integral element of online social network platforms (Vivienne and Burgess 2013). From this perspective, smart mobile devices offer users the opportunity to both take photographs and view photographs on the web or on social media platforms. Hence, ‘photography’ in the digital era could involve both the production of an image and its viewing and circulation (by sharing it online, either publicly or privately). Consequently, according to Holland (2015), smartphone photography has led to cameras losing their central role, as cameras are now embedded in devices with multiple functions: ‘the image itself carries less significance as it becomes part of a wider communicative act’ (p. 182).

Similarly, Champion (2012) commented on the changing role of photography and suggested that Instagram defines what is considered photo-worthy, which shapes how Instagram users visually record their everyday lives. The author stated that the large number of similar shared images and lack of a social relationship between photograph, photographer and viewer(s) deprives photographs of the individualised values that make them personal to each person and

although vitally important, they are mainly treated as supporting materials for the ‘real’ collection and thus do not always receive the attention they deserve.

also deprives photography of its function as a product of documenting past events. On the other hand, Van Dijck (2008) explained that although digital photographs had indeed given rise to new social practices (new in that they were not previously inherent to photography), such as communication, experience, and identity formation, they still preserve their commemorative function, which in the past was held to be the primary purpose of photography. Likewise, in my research I aim to investigate the distribution of digitised old photographs in Facebook and explore individuals' motivations for digitising such photographs and sharing them on Facebook or finding already digitised images online and resharing them on Facebook.

The change of image format from analogue to digital and the effect of the circulation of digital images in cyberspace have been widely discussed in academia. Adams (2018) explored the use of family photographs as research material and explained that the digitisation and distribution of photographs at a micro level – sharing copies of photographs among family members – reinforces a sense of familial belonging. At a macro level, the widespread sharing of portrait photographs among family and friends and later between generations could strengthen social and national ties, as contemporary generations and possibly members of these families through these portraits could seek a connection to their country and ancestors. The effects of image circulation depend on the viewers (the receivers of the image) as well as the environment in which an image is shared. Stylianou-Lambert (2019) wrote about the effects of the circulation of photographic images and identified the phenomenon that a single image can have multiple and simultaneous biographies:

As photographs shift from one ecosystem to another, their uses, values and meanings may also shift. Moreover, an image that circulates in different ecosystems can simultaneously have different uses, values and meanings. Indeed, a photographic image can have multiple and parallel biographies. (p. 378)

Van Dijck (2008) provides an example for understanding the circulation effect of images, of how shifts occur in the use, value and meaning of an image when it is circulated. Referring to photographs of Abu Ghraib prisoners taken and distributed by American guards, Van Dijck observed:

Ironically, pictures that were casually mailed off as ephemeral 'postcards', meant to be thrown away after reading the message, became a permanent engraving in the consciousness of a generation; pictures sent with a communicative intent ended up in

America's collective cultural memory as painful visual evidence of its military's hubris. (p. 15)

Van Dijck discusses the loss of control over personal images once they enter the digital realm, observing that the fact that a personal image can easily reach the public sphere is perceived as beneficial, but the control the owner of the image could have exerted over the future uses and possible readings of that image is diminished, if not lost altogether, once it reaches the public sphere. Rose (2016) also examined the social effects of image sharing by providing five analytical perspectives, of which 'differentiating visual cultures' (p. 17) is most relevant to this research. Rose highlighted the importance of the notion of culture to address questions of social difference, relationships and power and to understand who is able to see which images, how, where and with what effect. Rose said that this perspective could contribute to an understanding of 'how an image has certain effects, especially when the same image, circulating digitally, can appear in very different kinds of places' (p. 21). In my research this perspective could be of assistance in cases where the same image appears in institutional and non-institutional settings. It has the potential to aid understanding of how the setting in which an image appears, whether digital institutional repositories or social media, affect the commemorative practices of individuals – the ways in which individuals remember shared past.

Several studies have examined the effects and meanings of social media photo-sharing. Marino et al. (2022) used mixed technical–psychological methods to investigate what makes a Facebook photograph popular, attempting to establish the likelihood of a particular image being commented on. On Facebook, an image can be responded to by adding a comment beneath it or by clicking 'like' or another reaction button. The authors concluded that the deciding factor is who has posted the photo; this seemed to matter more than the type of photo posted or the psychological profile of the user who posted. The study focused on analysis of photographs uploaded on the Facebook profiles of the research participants, and it appeared that the more popular the person posting, the more comments the post received. The study concentrated on relationships between users rather on relationships between users and photographs. The results would probably be different if the study were to be repeated on Facebook groups dedicated to photographs rather than individual profiles and where contributions to the photographic collection were not made by one person but by several users in a Facebook group. This approach could reveal aspects of the relationship between the

viewer and the photograph rather than between the contributor and viewers of the image. Although my research focuses on the connection between the photograph and the viewer, it is interesting to see the extent to which the identity of the person contributing the image affects how others engage with that image.

As shown in the above examples, the online circulation of photographs can be analysed from multiple perspectives. Image appropriation is one such perspective, and McKay (2010) touched on this by analysing how Filipino users of Facebook tend to select historical images as their profile pictures as a way to negotiate personhood, relationships and belonging. McKay stated that, unsurprisingly, his research participants (Filipino Facebook users) contest concepts of ownership, appropriation of images and unawareness or disrespect of copyright law, because they consider these concepts to be colonial norms. As my study focuses on Cyprus, a country with a British colonial past, it will be interesting to see whether similar user perceptions of ownership and appropriation of historical images apply. Both McKay and Van Dijck talked about losing control of images shared online, with McKay focusing on the legal aspects of control (copyright and attribution of sources), and Van Dijck on the uncontrolled¹⁸ and unexpected reuse of photographic images altering the initial, seemingly controlled, purpose of sharing. I suspect similar issues may appear in my research and I am curious to discover how both providers and receivers of images shared on Facebook groups perceive and deal with such situations.

2.5.2 Photographs in Facebook groups

In this section I review specific examples of studies that investigate the uses and meanings of historical photographic images circulated in a more defined setting, such as Facebook groups. The examples that follow reflect on individuals' photo-sharing practices and shed light on the meaning and possible problems of those practices.

Richard Lowell MacDonald, in his 2015 article 'Going back in a heartbeat: Collective memory and the online circulation of family photographs', investigated two Facebook groups devoted to sharing photos and memories relating to Salford in north-west England and

¹⁸ The terms uncontrolled and controlled are used to describe the relationship between the owners of an image and their image. Images shared on the Internet can easily be used and re-shared by other Internet users without securing permission from the owner or creator of the image, which means that the owners of an image lose control of their images.

presents photo-sharing as a popular collective memory practice. MacDonald observed that in addition to personal memories, members of the group adopted a collective speaking position in their comments, leaving aside biographical elements to make more generalised assertions about the past. MacDonald suggested this was due to the fact that ‘even our most personal memories must be shaped and articulated through common cultural and linguistic forms’ (p. 35). Positioning personal memories in an online social context means to showcase collective narratives and shared history rather than focusing on the self-promotion of personal narratives.

Comparing the research outcomes of MacDonald (2015) with Akçalı (2019), it would seem that the aims and discourse in Facebook groups dedicated to photographs from the past differ from group to group. In his article ‘Facebook: An emerging arena for politics of self-determination in Northern Cyprus?’ Akçalı also analysed Facebook groups that share old photographs, but this research revealed that by discussing a community’s common concerns these groups had adopted a political stance aimed at strengthening the Turkish Cypriot community, showcasing the community’s distinctive characteristics in order to stand out from those of mainland Turkey and raise the community’s self-esteem, feed nostalgia, and revive the past. The circumstances and the environment in which a photograph is shared are decisive factors for how viewers will interpret the photograph, what narratives they will use to accompany it, and what writing style these narratives will have (see sub-section 2.5.1). Thus, like collecting institutions, which have a duty to question their practices in respect of the formation of inclusive and neutral collections (see section 2.3), relevant questions could be raised about mediation and intervention in these Facebook groups. I am therefore interested in investigating whether individual members of Facebook groups are concerned about who has the authority to control the shared content of the groups, including images, descriptions, comments and discussion.

Savaş (2017) examined Facebook groups in the light of citizen participation and attributed the ability of citizens to challenge and explore their citizenship through their participation in social media networks to the concept of creative citizenship. According to Savaş, Facebook groups can be considered to be knowledge communities:

This vernacular knowledge and memory of the past challenge the authoritative and institutionalized expertise on history, not only because the ‘patchworks’ are created

through the participation and collaboration of ordinary individuals, but also because they gather private, subjective and affective representations of the past. (p. 52)

Savaş argued that Facebook communities value old photos as visual evidence of public memories that would otherwise have been eradicated or transformed by contemporary political agendas and censorship. Similarly, the power of formal voices over public remembering is stressed in Ouaknine and Aharony's (2020) research, where they suggest that formal voices do not seem to enable people to develop nostalgic feelings. The authors studied Facebook groups of inter-religious Moroccans to explore the impact of nostalgia on cultural heritage preservation. They concluded that discussions supervised by professionals may suppress feelings of nostalgia¹⁹ online, unlike the discussions between individuals in Facebook communities, which do seem to awaken nostalgia. Although the above-mentioned study's research sample was limited, results revealed that the primary motivation for information-sharing in these online communities was to preserve common cultural heritage and renew ties among inter-religious friends and communities.

To sum up, this section investigated the use of historical images, and the issues, such as commemoration, nostalgia and ownership, that are raised through their online dissemination. I argue that empirical data from members of Facebook groups dedicated to archival photographs could help to explain how members use photographic resources and thus understand how these Facebook group members use photographs and how digital institutional repositories reach out to the members of these online communities. More specifically, this data can provide an understanding of the actual use and reuse of historical images and the motivations for engaging with the past through photographs in both institutional and informal settings.

¹⁹ The study also contributed to the understanding of how nostalgia is perceived by individuals in relation to the following topics: (1) emotions, such as sadness, joy or pride; (2) reconstructing the past in the present, emphasising the strong inter-community relationships that should be re-established; (3) childhood and family; (4) the country of Morocco; and (5) quality of life, for example 'everything was simple then, a different approach of life, a feeling of freedom' (Ouaknine and Aharony 2020, p. 111).

2.6 Introduction to the concepts of collective memory, post-memory, and nostalgia

Following on from the above studies of Facebook groups as well as from studies that link collecting institutions with memory, this section introduces and clarifies the terms collective, communicative and cultural memory, post-memory, and nostalgia, because they will be used throughout this thesis.

2.6.1 Collective, communicative and cultural memory

The concept of memory has been analysed in many ways and in many disciplines, from neuroscience to social studies. In this study I examine memory as a social practice, so here I briefly introduce the theory of collective memory.

The social aspect of memory, which relates memory to socialisation and communication and analyses it as a function of social life, was introduced by the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs in the 1920s. Halbwachs coined the term collective memory²⁰ and argued that there is essentially no individual memory, only social memory. The core meaning of the phrase refers to memories that are shared by a group and are essential to that group's identity. He explained that individuals learn to remember things that are remembered by the social group they belong to – family, professional group, or ethnic, national or local community – even if they do not have direct experience of the matter being remembered. According to Halbwachs, these memories are attuned to the needs of the present, which means that it is the present, not the past, that guides what a community remembers. Halbwachs separated collective memory from history as well as from all organised and formal forms of memory related to the concept of tradition. For Halbwachs, the relationship between memory and history is sequential, meaning that the moment at which the past is no longer remembered is the moment that history takes its place. It is this transition that interests him, the transition from lived memory to two different forms of written record, history and tradition.

According to Assmann (2011), Halbwachs believes tradition:

²⁰ His work was later translated into English; here I use the 1992 translation.

consists in the critical overview and impartial archiving of events stored in the memory, and the latter in the ever-present process of capturing and keeping by all means possible the live impressions made by a remorselessly receding past. In this case, instead of constantly having to reconstruct events anew, there are fixed traditions. These become separated from communicative, everyday references and take on a canonical, commemorative substance. (Assmann 2011, p. 48)

Here Halbwachs sees tradition as a distortion of memory, not as a form of memory. Assmann (1995) seeks to bridge this gap between tradition and memory by emphasising the elements coexisting between memory and tradition. To do this, Assmann separated collective memory into two forms of memory, two different ways of remembering (*modi memorandi*): ‘communicative memory’ and ‘cultural memory’.

Communicative memory is related to everyday life and is based exclusively on everyday communication and oral history within groups of people who share either common past or similar experiences of the past. Communicative memory, according to Assmann (1995), is ‘characterized by a high degree of non-specialization, reciprocity of roles, thematic instability, and disorganization. Typically, it takes place between partners who can change roles. Whoever relates a joke, a memory, a bit of gossip, or an experience’ (p. 126). In other words, communicative memory includes memories of the past in the context of the recent past, and is limited to a specific time duration that ‘does not extend more than eighty to (at the very most) one hundred years into the past, which equals three or four generations’ (p. 127).

Cultural memory, on the other hand, has a fixed point. Its horizon changes with the passing of time, and it is oriented to major events of the past through which history becomes myth. Assmann (1995) explained that cultural memory is attached to something sacred – milestones of the past – and its recall in the present is maintained through cultural formation and institutional communication (e.g. ritual events, directed words, official speeches, parades), which he called ‘figures of memory’. Cultural memory is strictly defined and is transmitted with the help of detailed descriptions and formal traditions.

A modern approach to studying the field of memory can be found in the work of Erll (2011), who like other researchers of her generation belongs to the third wave of memory studies,

also known as the connective turn of memory.²¹ Her term ‘travelling memory’ is one I have singled out, because it helped me to understand how the genesis and existence of memory – the production of cultural memory, people, media, mnemonic forms, content and practices – depends on its perpetual movement, which is also responsible for the effect of memory on individual minds and social formations. She explains that memory moves across and beyond territorial and social boundaries, but also notes that: ‘On a more fundamental level, it is the ongoing exchange of information between individuals and the motion between minds and media which first of all generates what Halbwachs termed collective memory’ (p. 12).

When placing the ‘memory movement’ in a contemporary context, the distribution of photographs and other media on social network platforms can be considered as a means of allowing the genesis and existence of collective memory.

In my research, these terms – collective, cultural and communicative memory – are relevant for examining the role of oral history and figures of memory in how people engage with old photographs.

2.6.2 Post-memory

The term ‘post-memory’ refers to indirect memories rather than memories that are based on one’s own lived events and experiences. Hirsch (1992) proposed using this term to describe the memories of the children of Auschwitz survivors, whose lives were dominated by traumatic memories of events that preceded their birth. Hirsch explained that the term ‘post’ refers to the generational distance from historical events, referring to people who have not personally experienced an event but have a deep personal connection with it. She stressed that ‘post-memory should reflect back on memory, revealing it as equally constructed, equally mediated by the processes of narration and imagination’ (p. 8). According to Hirsch, photography is the medium that connects memory and post-memory. An alternative term is ‘fictive memory’ (*mémoire fictionnelle*), which was coined by George Perec in *Species of Spaces and Other Pieces* (1997). Perec defines fictive memory as ‘a work about memory and a memory that concerns us, although it’s not ours, but is ... adjacent to ours and almost as determining for us as our own life-story’ (p. 129). As my research deals with digitised photographs, specifically

²¹ Erll’s (2011) article provides a brief but comprehensive overview of the history of memory studies.

images captured before 1980 and depicting events that preceded some interviewees' birth, I will examine the effects of photographs of past generations on people of more recent generations. This will allow me to empirically understand the concept of post-memory, exploring the impact of these distant yet still-relevant memories.

2.6.3 *Nostalgia*

Nostalgia is connected with the past and with memory (Cavanaugh 1989; Kaplan 1987). Many researchers and novel writers have discussed nostalgia and often attributed a bittersweet feeling to it (Batcho 2013; Hepper et al. 2012). Routledge (2016) writes about the psychology of nostalgia and notes that although it was once viewed as a disease, nostalgia is now considered to be an important psychological resource that entails 'revisiting personally cherished memories that involve close others' (p.i). He explains that:

when people engage in nostalgia, they experience a boost in positive psychological states such as positive mood, feelings of social connectedness, self-esteem, self-continuity, and perceptions of meaning in life. Since nostalgia promotes these positive states, when people experience negative states (such as loneliness or meaninglessness), they use nostalgia to regulate distress. (p.1)

Nostalgia is a familiar emotion for almost any individual (Routledge 2016). According to Boym (2001), nostalgia 'remains an intermediary between collective and individual memory' (p. 54). Individual memories might also consist of indirect individual memories (post-memories); Davis (1979) uses 'intergenerational nostalgia' to refer to the nostalgic feeling created not through one's own memories but through personal interaction with people who have experienced past eras and events. The stimulus that might evoke a nostalgic reaction naturally varies. For example, Holak and Havlena (1992) discussed ways of experiencing nostalgia; based on written questionnaire answers, they concluded that audiovisual stimuli, such as TV programmes or recordings, produce more vibrant depictions of past events than verbal descriptions, as the audiovisual experience conveys a sense of actual participation in an event or era. In her book *The future of nostalgia*, Boym (2001) identifies two types of nostalgia: restorative and reflective. Restorative nostalgia aims at the reconstruction of the past and is perceived by its exponents not as an act of remembrance or as nostalgia but rather as the absolute truth about the past and its traditions. The exponents of reflective nostalgia, on the other hand, adopt a critical view of the past, as it acknowledges and focuses on the different layers of the past and of remembering. Boym argues that reflective nostalgia 'allows

us to distinguish between national memory that is based on a single plot of national identity, and social memory, which consists of collective frameworks that mark but do not define individual memory' (p. xviii). I will therefore examine whether and how nostalgia, especially intergenerational, reflective and restorative nostalgia, is experienced through engagement with archival photographs in digital settings.

2.7 Conclusion

This literature review identified gaps in the understanding of the uses and users of digital institutional repositories. I argue that the research population is the main limitation of current user studies. Their limited and specific study samples hinder understanding of the actual uses of digital institutional repositories in a wider setting, that is, real-life cases in online settings that are not within the bounds of a specific institutional repository. Selecting a research population of current users of institutional repositories, who are already aware of the existence of these repositories, and users who work within specific parameters, such as educators and students, will of course provide demographic and quantitative information regarding users and uses of digital repositories. However, in order to examine the impact and outreach of digital institutional repositories in a broader context, the challenge is to broaden the research pool to include the general public. Only then will it become clear whether digitised material from collecting institutions is being used by individuals, and if so, what the motivations for these interactions might be. The reason for pursuing a more comprehensive investigation of engagement with digital institutional repositories is to verify the institutions' claims that digital repositories are 'for everyone' (see footnote 16). Current and widely used research methods, such as pop-up web surveys and web traffic statistics, provide general quantitative information about the frequency and intensity of use of digitised cultural objects. However, the lack of knowledge about different user groups' actual use, and the meanings associated with digitised photographs and digital repositories, makes any interpretation of the uses and users of digital institutional repositories largely conjectural. Through a study of users, I seek to investigate the theoretical issues that are likely to arise, such as the democratisation of archives through digitisation, the neutrality of collections, and how the use of repositories relates to memory and nostalgia. My study therefore aims to examine how archival neutrality and representation in digital collections is perceived by individual users of real-life cases, such as Facebook groups; whether they are concerned about these issues; and whether these issues affect their engagement with digital institutional collections.

3 Methodology

In this chapter I present the research questions and the methodological choices I made in order to answer them. In section 3.1, I summarise the methods used in this research and provide a diagram which gives an overview of the methodological stages of this research. Section 3.2 is devoted to the case study methodology and how and why I used this methodology in this research. In section 3.3 I provide the empirical background of the research by presenting the Facebook groups that formed the two case studies of the research. In sections 3.4, 3.5 and 3.6 I outline the methodological implications and explain the different data collection methods I used in this research: exploratory study, questionnaires and semi-structured interviews. Finally, in 3.7 I talk about the importance of the use of different data collection methods in validating the research results.

3.1 Overview of research methods and methodological considerations

This study employs a qualitative research design. The research design was directed by two primary issues: a) involving real users in everyday online activities related to digitised photographs that were found in Facebook groups; and b) relating the findings to the concepts of memory and identity work. Both these concerns stem from the lack of qualitative research in this field of study, and the current research aims to fill this gap. In contrast to quantitative methods, which are commonly employed to study how institutional repositories are used, this research adopts a case study methodology and a qualitative approach in order to achieve a better understanding of the actual use and popularity of digital institutional repositories among Facebook users in their everyday online activities. The previously mentioned concerns of a) involving research participants who engage with digitised old photographs but are not recruited from institutional repositories and b) exploring the relationship of their activities to memory work are examined through the prism of specific cases (two Facebook groups). Therefore, the research design was also driven by a third concern: the possibilities and limitations of sharing or viewing digitised photographs in two Facebook groups: (1) ‘Λεμεσού Μνήμες’ and (2) ‘Η Λευκωσία Του Χτες – Yesteryears of Nicosia - Lefkoşa'nin Geçmiş Yillari’ as perceived by the members of these groups.²²

²² The names and the languages used here are the original names of the groups as they appear on Facebook; however, for brevity and consistency, ‘Λεμεσού Μνήμες’ will be referred in this research as ‘Memories of

Although the main data collection method used was the semi-structured interview several research methods were used during the empirical investigations of the case studies. Each method fulfilled a unique purpose in the research design, and these methods were put together to create a rich understanding of the position digital institutional repositories hold in individuals' daily lives. Prior to and during the actual data collection process, an explorative study and informal knowledge-gathering sessions took place to provide insight into Facebook groups dedicated to the dissemination of old, digitised photographs, particularly the case study Facebook groups, 'Memories of Limassol' and 'Yesteryears of Nicosia'. The explorative study, which includes the groundwork of the research — selecting case studies, and exploring the selected ones through the whole research process—was not considered to be actual data collection but a preparatory activity. It was extremely useful in that it provided information on the two Facebook groups' photographic and discussion content, helping to fill in the background of the cases under investigation and support the semi-structured interview script preparation. A similarly supportive role was also played by the web questionnaires that were posted on the walls of the Facebook groups being studied. Although these questionnaires provided background information on the members of a particular Facebook group and gave insights into group members' interests, the primary purpose of the questionnaires was the recruitment of interview participants rather than the gathering of empirical data per se. Finally, the semi-structured interviews provided rich information about Facebook members' engagement with informal (Facebook group) and formal (institutional) photographic repositories and offered invaluable information on participants' resource-seeking and photographic preferences. In addition, the interviews examined the motivations that drive individuals to engage with digitised old photographs by focusing on motivations related to memory and identity work.

This section and Figure 1 offer an overview of the research methods used in this study. Sections 3.4, 3.5 and 3.6 provide a more detailed description of these methods and how I used them.

Limassol' and 'Η Λευκωσία Του Χτες – Yesteryears of Nicosia - Lefkoşa'nin Geçmiş Yillari' will be referred to as 'Yesteryears of Nicosia'.

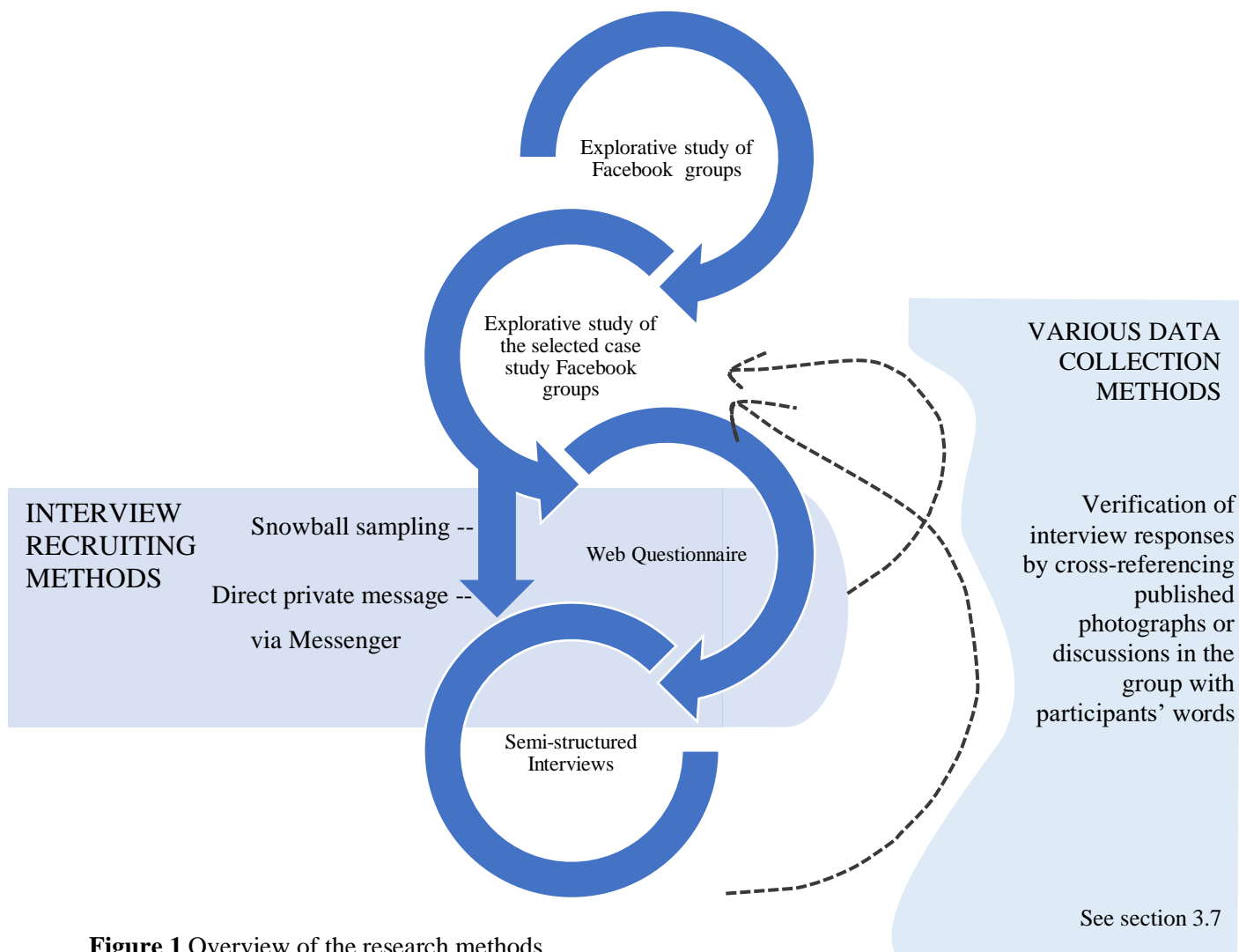


Figure 1 Overview of the research methods

3.2 The case study approach

Case study methodology, according to Yin (2018), is deployed ‘to understand a real-world case and assume that such an understanding is likely to involve important contextual conditions pertinent to your case’(pp. 14–15). Accordingly, a case study methodology was chosen for this research, as it was assumed that the investigation of Facebook groups that deal with digitised photographs, a real-world case, would elicit important insights about the use of digitised old photographs and institutional photographic repositories. Based on Robert Stake’s (1995) classification of cases into intrinsic, instrumental and collective, this research would be best described as an instrumental case study; it does not focus on the cases themselves but uses cases – the Facebook groups – to understand how digital institutional repositories are used or

not used. Hence, although the cases themselves are of secondary importance, the exploration of these two Facebook groups assisted the understanding of how and why old photographs are used by exploring the concepts that emerged.

Case study methodology is often accused of being unreliable, because it produces over-generalised conclusions. Yin (2018) takes a side in this argument by explaining that case studies are generalisable to theoretical propositions but not to populations and emphasises that the goal of the case study is to expand and generalise theories (analytical generalisation) rather than extrapolating probabilities (statistical generalisation).

This study seeks to portray the photographic preferences and habits of the members of the groups and offers specific theoretical conclusions. The drivers behind group members' choices and other 'why' questions were addressed effectively by the chosen methodology, enriching the understanding of the uses of digitised old photographs by individuals. Although there is no reason to assume that the cases used in this research differ significantly from similar cases (other Facebook groups sharing similar content), generalisation is beyond the scope of the research.

3.3 Empirical setting

In contrast to existing quantitative user studies of digital institutional repositories (Clough et al. 2017), this research takes a qualitative approach, researching user engagement with digital photographic collections that are created and maintained by individuals in two Facebook groups that operate in Cyprus. As already mentioned, case study methodology was chosen to understand the use and distribution of digitised photographs by the general public and the role played by Facebook and other sources of digitised photographs, especially digital institutional photographic repositories, in everyday life. Initially, an explorative study of five local and eight international Facebook groups that share archival photographic material was conducted. From those, two local groups from Cyprus, Memories of Limassol and Yesteryears of Nicosia, were chosen to be part of the research. Nicosia (the capital) and Limassol are the largest cities in Cyprus. The two groups were chosen because they have many members – 17,103 and 15,004 respectively – and high daily activity, which consists of members uploading new material and commenting on previously uploaded photographs. Additionally, the written descriptions and guidelines given by the groups' administrators were important factors that influenced the choice of groups. Memories of Limassol administrators state that the purpose of the group, and

by extension the material that is shared in the group, is to preserve both the history and historical memories of Limassol; they therefore discourage members from sharing photographs that are only of personal significance. On the other hand, the administrators of the second group, Yesteryears of Nicosia, have not introduced concepts such as historical or personal memory but give more generic guidelines: ‘Members can post old photos from Nicosia city and the region’s villages, 1980s and prior. The theme of the photos can be either building, urban and rural landscapes, persons, family moments, important happenings, events, advertisements, articles, etc.’ (Yesteryears of Nicosia n.d.). The different approaches of the two groups could be considered restrictive or influential elements for members who post photographs and/or participate in discussions within the groups, so these approaches became an important reference point in members’ interviews.

In the first research phase, an explorative study of each group’s feed and member activity was carried out in order to gain an understanding of how people (re)use digitised photographs and to identify the main topics and tone of discussions within the groups. This observational approach was primarily used to reveal information about the distribution of digitised photographs – photographs that derive from collecting institutions’ repositories – within Facebook groups, and by extension highlighted the relationship between the public (i.e. group members) and the digital institutional repositories. In the second phase, web questionnaires were posted in each Facebook group; these questionnaires acted as a means of recruiting interviewees. In total, sixty-three Facebook group members completed the web questionnaires, of whom thirty-two consented to contribute further by participating in an interview. The main purpose of the questionnaire was the recruitment of interview participants, which means that statistical analysis of the questionnaires is beyond the scope of this research.

Finally, the main data was collected through semi-structured interviews with Facebook group members and the groups’ administrators. The interviews offered qualitative data about the interviewees’ relationship with institutional photographic repositories and produced rich information about the role of digitised photographs, both institutional and non-institutional, in the process of memory production. The following sections briefly present the two cases by giving essential information about the Facebook groups in relation to their aims and the types of information posted.

3.3.1 Introduction to Memories of Limassol

Memories of Limassol is a private Facebook group that was created on 28 April 2013. The group was founded by seven individuals who admire the city of Limassol and its history. As mentioned in the group's description, the primary objective of the Memories of Limassol group is the preservation of historical memories of Limassol. The group has around 17,400 members, but of course the exact number fluctuates daily. Every group member has the right to contribute freely to the content and feed of the group according to the thematic guidelines laid down by the group administrators. These guidelines restrict content to old photographs of Limassol and its everyday life, historical studies, and relevant bibliography. If advertainments, event invitations and irrelevant posts are submitted by the members of the group, the administrators reject the post. Additionally, the group's description states that discussions of current events or problems, political discussions, or the expression of partisan points of view are restricted, because they might cause arguments among group members. The group administrators urge members to see the group as common ground based on affection for the city instead of as a focus for division and disagreement among members. The group description is written only in the Greek language (Figure 2).

3.3.1.1 Content curation

The administrators of Memories of Limassol have attempted to organise the content of the group into different thematic albums. In total there are 407 albums in the group (Figure 4), but due to the high upload rate, many posted items (photographs and videos) are left 'uncategorised', meaning that they are not assigned into an album (Figure 3). The number of posted photographs on 12 November 2020 was more than 9000. The content of the group changes daily, so the number of uploaded images will undoubtedly be different today.

Λεμεσού μνήμες
Private group · 17.6K members

[About](#) [Discussion](#) [Announcements](#) [Members](#) [Events](#) [Media](#) [Files](#)

About this group

Καλωσορίσατε στην ομάδα κοινωνικής δικτύωσης «Λεμεσού μνήμες». Αυτή η ομάδα δημιουργήθηκε από ανθρώπους που αγαπούν τη Λεμεσό και την ιστορία της και στόχο έχει τη συντήρηση της ιστορικής μνήμης της πόλης. Αναρτήσεις που είναι άσχετες με το αντικείμενο παρακαλούμε να αποφεύγονται. Μπορείτε να αναρτάτε παλιές φωτογραφίες της πόλης, της καθημερινής ζωής σ αυτήν, ιστορικές μελέτες, βιβλιογραφία, και ό,τι άλλο σχετικό με όλα αυτά. Διαφημίσεις, ανακοινώσεις εκδηλώσεων, άσχετα δημοσιεύματα κ.λ.π. θα διαγράφονται. Παράκληση επίσης όπως αποφεύγονται συζητήσεις για σύγχρονα προβλήματα, πολιτικές συζητήσεις, κομματικές τοποθετήσεις, που πιθανόν να προκαλέσουν διαπληκτισμούς μεταξύ των μελών της ομάδας. Υπάρχουν άλλες ομάδες σχετικά με τα θέματα αυτά. Ας κρατήσουμε την ομάδα αυτή ως σημείο που να μας συνενώνει η αγάπη μας για την πόλη και όχι να μας διαιρεί. [See less](#)

- Private**
Only members can see who's in the group and what they post
- Visible**
Anyone can find this group.
- General group**
- History**
Group created on 28 April 2013 [See More](#)

Members · 17.6K

Figure 2 Screenshot of Limassol Memories: ‘About this group’ section



Figure 4 Screenshot from Limassol Memories: ‘Albums’



Figure 3 Screenshot from Limassol Memories: ‘Images’

3.3.2 Introduction to Yesteryears Of Nicosia

Yesteryears of Nicosia is a private Facebook group created on 19 August 2019. This group has approximately 15900 members, who are invited to post photographs from and before the 1980s) of Nicosia and its suburbs. The subjects of these photographs include buildings, urban and rural landscapes, people, family moments, important happenings, events, advertisements and articles. The group description and name are given in Greek, English and Turkish (the order in which they appear in the image below), the three official languages of the Republic of Cyprus.



Figure 5 Yesteryears of Nicosia: ‘About this group’ section

The administrator lays out the group guidelines and urges members to read and follow them.

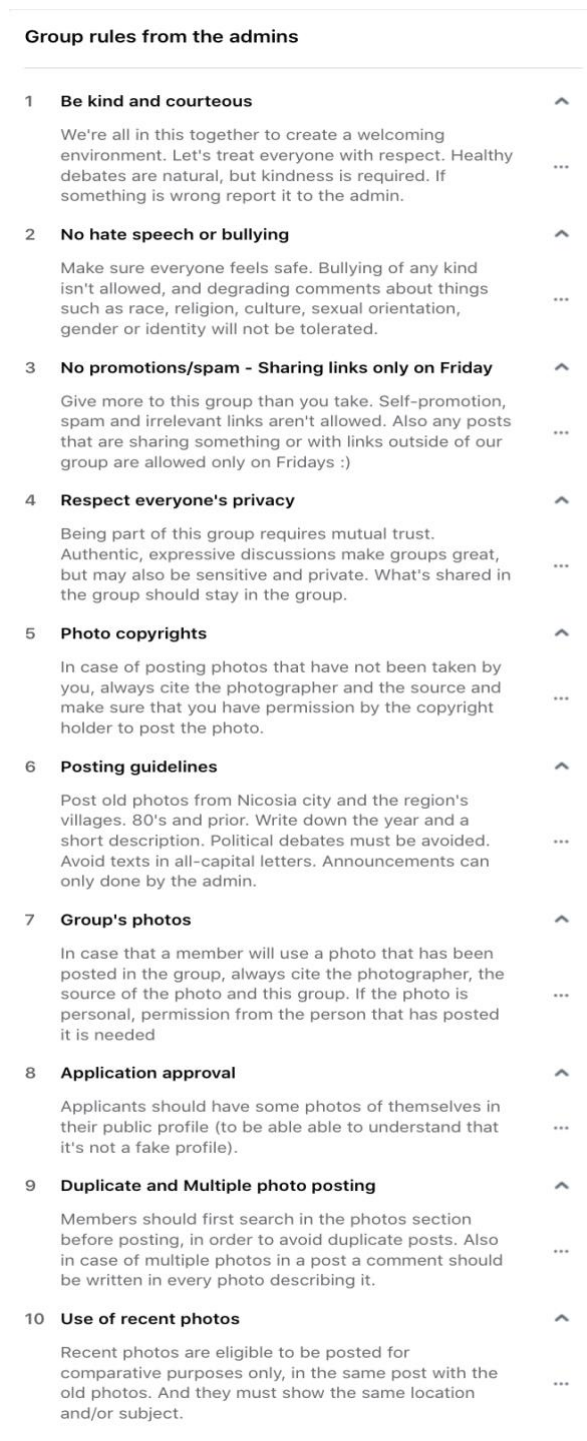


Figure 6 Screenshot from Yesteryears of Nicosia: 'Group rules from the administrators'

The group's rules include publishing only permitted content, following a certain code of behaviour, and sharing photographic material in the group according to ethical considerations.

Figure 6 shows the group's specific rules:

3.3.2.1 Content curation

Yesteryears of Nicosia has only a few thematic albums (Figure 8), and the rest of the uploaded images are not allocated into albums (Figure 7) but are posted on the group’s wall and automatically displayed based on the date of posting. The number of uploaded images changes daily; for example, the number of images on 12 November 2020 was 7258.

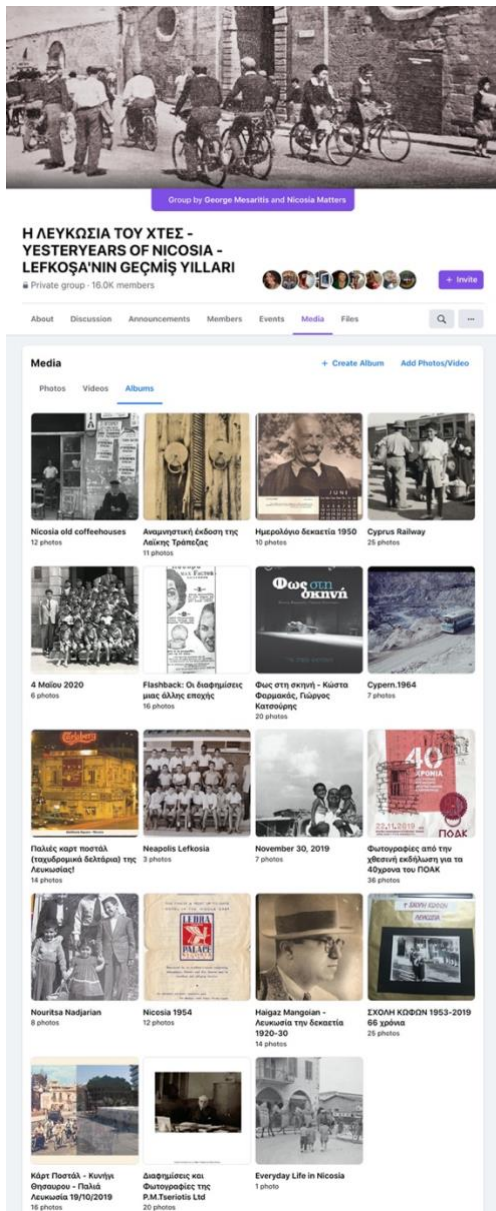


Figure 8 Screenshot from Yesteryears of Nicosia: ‘Albums’



Figure 7 Screenshot from Yesteryears of Nicosia: ‘Images’

3.4 Explorative study of the Facebook groups

Prior to making a final decision on which Facebook groups would be chosen for the case studies, an explorative study of different Facebook groups was conducted. There are many Facebook groups that have as their main purpose the dissemination and discussion of digitised old photographs, so I set the following criteria for choosing which groups to include in the explorative study:

- 1) Groups that focus on the dissemination of old/digitised/historical photographs, not groups that share contemporary, born-digital images
- 2) Groups in which there is high member participation. This meant that groups where only the administrators had the right to publish new content were excluded from the study
- 3) Groups with a high number of members (more than 2000)
- 4) Groups in which memory and identity are central subjects of discussion

In addition to international Facebook groups,²³ most of which had been in existence for at least two years and which were also investigated during the explorative study, I developed a particular interest in Facebook groups dedicated to Cyprus. This came about because in 2019 – the year of the explorative study – a trend could be observed in Cypriot towns and villages of creating Facebook groups to share old photographs of that town or village. In contrast to international groups, these local groups seemed to focus on discussions of memory, the recounting of past events, and specific incidents from members' memories or post-memories. The members of the groups I examined appeared to be heavily involved in creating the photo collections within the Facebook group, and they also actively participated in the discussions held under the posted images.

Mother tongue as a primary element of ethnic identity, and as an element through which people might better express themselves and recall their past experiences and memories, became a decisive factor for the decision to focus on groups where the predominant language used by members was also the mother tongue of the researcher. Although many such Facebook groups exist, two very active Cyprus-based groups were finally selected for the case studies in this research. Messages were sent to the administrators of the selected groups to inform them about

²³ 'International Facebook group' is used in this research to refer to groups that are not country- or region-specific and where the only restrictive requirement for the posted photos is that of a specific time period. Appendix I refers back to an attempt to require participants from an international group

the research and discuss the possibility of their involvement. The administrators of Memories of Limassol were the first to be contacted, and they responded positively. They indicated their willingness to participate and also to promote the research to group members by pinning the post at the top of the group's home page for several weeks. Later, the administrator of Yesteryears of Nicosia was also contacted, as the group had a growing number of members and regular updates were made to its photographs. The administrator responded positively, and soon several replies to the initial questionnaire were received. Thus, Yesteryears of Nicosia became the second case study in this research.

The explorative study was used to lay the groundwork for the study and select the case studies to be carried out. The explorative study continued through the whole process of data collection; it provided useful information for developing the questionnaires and the interview script, and for steering discussions that arose during the interviews. I was aware of existing posts in the group, so I was able to understand the context when interviewees provided or referred to specific examples from within the group. Insights from the explorative study of Facebook groups will be presented and discussed throughout the following chapters.

3.5 Web questionnaire survey

The purpose of the questionnaire was primarily to recruit interview participants. The main advantage of using a questionnaire was that it allowed many possible interview participants to be reached simultaneously instead of contacting potential participants one by one. The link to the questionnaire was posted on the wall of each case study Facebook group along with a short introduction to the research (see Appendix II). Although the questionnaire was aiming to reach a specific target group – the Facebook group members – this population could also constitute a larger target group, that of the ‘invisible users’²⁴ of various digital institutional photographic repositories.

²⁴ In this research, the term *invisible users* refers to users of digital institutional repositories, as they are not easily identified; in a sense, they are ‘hidden’ under an IP address, as repositories do not offer visible interactivity features, such as comment and discussion panels or the uploading of one’s own material. From such features one could communicate with the individuals who use them. The term *invisible users* describes the struggle I encountered at the beginning of this research when I was trying to find research participants through institutional repositories in order to interview them.

3.5.1 Design of the web questionnaire

The questionnaire was divided into different topic sections and included both closed and open-ended questions. For closed-ended questions, dichotomous, multiple-choice and rating-scales formats were included. Based on their answers to dichotomous questions, participants were directed to skip certain sections of the questionnaire. For this reason, I tested the questionnaire several times to guarantee that every response combination would lead to the right section. For the design of the questionnaire, the EUSurveys platform was used.²⁵ Appendices II and III show the English and Greek versions of the questionnaire, respectively.

Before publishing the questionnaire on the Facebook groups, it was sent to seven individuals for pretesting. Pretesting the questionnaire helped to reduce the rate of abandonment of the survey, as it provided feedback on survey navigation, content and language clarity prior to commencing the actual study (Sue & Ritter, 2007). It was important to take into consideration the fact that colleagues – in my case, colleagues were fellow PhD students – ‘may not catch jargon or leading questions, because they are familiar with the survey topic’ (Sue and Ritter 2007, p. 58). For this reason, only one colleague took part in the pretesting and the rest of the pilot participants, a total of six, were friends who were members of the case Facebook groups or active in groups with similar content. The pilot participants suggested that three of the questions should be rephrased. They also suggested specifying at the beginning of each question whether that question could accept more than one response and that the open-ended questions should be marked as optional, that is, the responder could proceed without answering. The pilot participants felt that the questionnaire as a whole was short and easy to complete. After implementing these suggestions, the questionnaire was tested by two Memories of Limassol administrators, who offered no additional remarks or suggestions.

3.5.2 Response rates and alternative recruiting techniques

Because web questionnaires were used as the primary interview recruiting tool, analysis of the data that was collected was beyond the scope of this research.²⁶ The response rates differed between the two Facebook groups, because the administrators of each group promoted the post differently. The size of the target population remains undetermined, as it was impossible to tell

²⁵ Initially, Google forms was used, but I soon switched to EUSurveys for ethical and safety reasons.

²⁶ The questionnaires are included in the appendices.

how many group members read the post about the questionnaire, and therefore an estimation of the response rate is impossible. In Memories of Limassol, the questionnaire post was pinned for several weeks, so it was not obscured by the updated feed on the group's wall. This was not the case in the Nicosia group; here, the post was not pinned, so it disappeared rapidly. A total of forty-nine members of the Limassol group filled in the questionnaire. Twenty-four of them left their contact details for a possible future interview. By contrast, the Nicosia group accounted for only fourteen questionnaire responses.

The last question of the questionnaire invited members to fill in their contact details if they were interested in participating in an interview. This generated a good response (almost half the responders provided their contact details) in the case of Memories of Limassol. In the case of Yesteryears of Nicosia, though, the administrator disagreed with including the last question on the questionnaire, even though it was optional for responders to answer it. He proposed instead that a note should be added at the end of the questionnaire asking responders to contact the researcher to arrange an interview. Unfortunately, this plan did not work out, as none of the responders contacted me. An alternative recruiting plan was therefore put in place, that of a direct message to Facebook group members via the Messenger application.

3.5.3 Recruiting interview participants through direct message via Facebook Messenger

The participant sampling criteria were not selected prior to conducting the research as happens in purposeful sampling. Instead, this study aimed to make use of theoretical sampling, meaning that participant sampling occurred as data collection progressed.

Even though several (26 out of 49) members of Memories of Limassol left their contact details, only half of them replied to the interview invitation email and took part in an interview. As there was a need to recruit more interview participants, an alternative recruiting plan was used for members of both groups. Several members were contacted via Messenger, regardless of whether they had completed the questionnaire. After interviewing research participants who were recruited from the questionnaires and who were either highly active²⁷ or semi-active members,²⁸ the recruiting strategy became more targeted in order to reach a more

²⁷ Members who share photographs and initiate or participate actively in group discussion.

²⁸ Members who follow the news feed and who often react with emojis or comments under the photographs.

comprehensive and representative case population in respect of members' activity, age and sex. Private messages were sent to several members during the exploratory study of the case groups. As those who were aged over fifty proved the most responsive age group, the most challenging part of this process was to recruit younger members, so I approached three members of younger age groups (one from Memories of Limassol and two from Yesteryears of Nicosia) through my personal networks. Snowball sampling was then used to recruit the rest of the interviewees, meaning that currently enrolled research participants named other individuals and helped me recruit further subjects for the study.

Limitations and disadvantages of direct contact

As mentioned earlier, communication via Messenger between people who are not friends on Facebook can be tricky; often these messages end up in the message request section, which is rarely visited by users, so the messages might not be read. To prevent this, I sent many 'friend requests' to members of the case study groups via my personal Facebook account, and after each member accepted my friend request, I sent an interview invitation. To avoid intertwining my professional and personal social media activities, I considered creating a separate Facebook account for the PhD project. However, those receiving friend requests might have considered a new account to be suspicious, or even spam, because any new account would have limited content: few posts, little activity and few friends.

3.6 Semi-structured interviews and interview concepts

The primary data collection sources were the interviews, in particular semi-structured interviews. As Corbin and Strauss (2015) explain, semi-structured interviews make it possible to maintain some consistency in the concepts and topics that are covered in each interview. In my research, these topics were guided by the research questions and were also identified through the explorative study and the responses received to the questionnaire. Planning and preparation for the interviews was also partially based on Mason's guidelines for qualitative interviewing, outlined in her book *Qualitative Researching* (2002). Following Mason's suggestions, the main research questions were subdivided into simpler questions, which were then organised into possible interview topics. As guidance material for each topic, I prepared

some open-ended questions before the interviews (See

72. Επεξεργάζεσαι φωτογραφικό υλικό για επαγγελματικούς σκοπούς; *

Mark only one oval.

Ναι

Όχι Skip to question 74.

Σχετίζομαι επαγγελματικά με τη Φωτογραφία

73. Προσδιόρισε τον τρόπο με τον οποίο το φωτογραφικό υλικό σχετίζεται με το επάγγελμά σου *

Συμμετοχή σε μελλοντική συνέντευξη

74. Μήπως έχω ξεχάσει να ρωτήσω κάτι που θεωρείς ότι είναι σημαντικό για την έρευνα; Γράψε τα σχόλιά σου εδώ:

75. Σε ευχαριστώ για το χρόνο σου! Εάν επιθυμείς να συμβάλεις ακόμη περισσότερο σε αυτή την έρευνα συμμετέχοντας σε μια μελλοντική συνέντευξη/συζήτηση, μπορείς να γράψεις τη διεύθυνση του ηλεκτρονικού ταχυδρομείου σου ή το όνομά σου όπως αναγράφεται στο Facebook. (Λάβε υπόψη ότι όλα τα στοιχεία επικοινωνίας είναι εμπιστευτικά και θα χρησιμοποιηθούν μόνο για τους σκοπούς αυτής της έρευνα) *

Ευχαριστώ πολύ | Thank you very much

Appendix III for open-ended questions used as guidance material for the interviews).

Woodside (2010) noted that the order of questions in semi-structured interviews ‘did not follow the same route for all interviews because of elaborations by respondents when answering’ (p. 249). Similarly, the interviews in this study followed the answer flow of the interview participants. Thus, except for the first topic, which concerned the activity of members of the case study Facebook groups and which was important in order to initiate the interview, the rest of the topics emerged organically during the course of the interview.

The interview topics were:

- Activity and participation in Facebook groups
- Primary photographic sources
- Copyright
- Digitisation
- Personal connection to and preference for old photographs (memory and identity)
- Institutional archives
- Digital photographic communities

In each case, after detailed discussion of these topics, participants were asked to add any points that might not have been touched on during the interview. Although photo-elicitation²⁹ is not a methodology that was specifically used in this research, during the interviews the question ‘Do you have a specific photographic example that raised your interest? Would you like to describe it or share the photograph with me?’ was designed to make use of the photo-elicitation approach. According to Rose (2016), this method allows interviewees to express feelings and details that might otherwise remain unspoken. The reason for not employing photo-elicitation as a methodology for this research is that in most cases photographs were not shared with the researcher during the interview. Photographs were instead described by the interviewee, who would explain what was included in the photograph and why it was important; occasionally these photographs were sent to the researcher via Messenger after the interview had ended. This meant that it was not possible to benefit fully from information that a discussion centred on the photograph could potentially have revealed. It is also important to mention that on most

²⁹ Photo-elicitation is a method of interview that uses visual images to elicit comments. The images are either provided by the interviewer or the interviewee.

occasions interview participants would spontaneously offer a photographic example in order to explain their personal interest in and connection with the group's content.

3.6.1 Lockdown and (the increase in) research participation

The Covid-19 pandemic and the uncertainties surrounding it profoundly changed daily habits and the way people thought, acted and organised their lives. One result of these changes happened to work in favour of this research. During the first lockdown in Cyprus, from 24 March to 13 April 2020, people actively sought things to do to pass the time. As a result, it became much easier to recruit research participants for the interviews.

Prior to the lockdown, the average time it took to set up and conduct an interview was two weeks. This time frame began with the first communication with a potential participant; the time it took for them to read and reply to my initial message was typically two to three days. If they did not reject the invitation to be interviewed, the next step was to find a suitable time to meet and conduct the interview. It was not uncommon during this setup period for research participants to postpone the meeting or cancel it entirely.

During the lockdown, however, this procedure was compressed into just one or two days. In addition, I was more likely to receive a positive response to my invitation to be interviewed. Facebook users immediately read the message I sent to their Messenger app and were able to arrange an interview for the same day or the day after. Interviews during lockdown were conducted via telephone or a video call using Messenger or Skype. Two interviewees preferred to submit their answers in writing instead of having an oral interview. I had a live chat with one of them through the Messenger application, which meant that the form of the semi-structured interview could be preserved as I could ask for clarification and follow the flow of his responses. In the second case, questions were sent in a Word document and the research participant wrote his answers in that Word document. As these written responses did not allow for any discussion and the responses to the questions did not develop organically through the interview, the answers collected from this participant cannot not be considered the product of a semi-structured interview.

Consent forms and lockdown

A consent form (Appendix IV and V) was sent to and signed by each research participant prior to the interview. During the lockdown, collecting printed consent forms was impossible and collecting electronic consent forms was challenging, especially from older participants,

especially because of the technical difficulty of providing an electronic signature. The forms were sent electronically to participants to sign, and I also gave a brief verbal explanation of the consent form at the beginning of the interviews. After this explanation, most interview participants opted to give their consent verbally instead of returning the signed consent form electronically.

3.6.2 Collecting and storing the data

Thirty-two interviews were conducted, of which two consisted of written responses. The average length of the interviews was twenty-eight minutes, with the shortest interview lasting thirteen minutes and the longest fifty-two minutes. To ensure accurate data, the Greek language was used in both the questionnaire³⁰ and the interviews, as the research participants felt more comfortable using their mother tongue. All the interview participants were Greek speakers except for one Turkish-speaking person, who chose to do a written interview in English. All the interviews were recorded and transcribed (GDPR³¹ Article 12(1)), and for analysis purposes parts of the interviews were translated into English. To ensure the anonymity of the research participants, nicknames were assigned to each participant and used in this research instead of their real names.

All the original data is stored securely and no further copies have been made other than one digital copy, which is stored on an encrypted external hard disc, and another copy in the software (MAXQDA) that was used for transcription and analysis. The data retrieved from the web surveys is stored on a EUSurvey cloud.³²

Before beginning to gather data, an application to carry out ethical research was submitted to and approved by the Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Hamburg. This application stated that, as defined by POEM regulations, the data will be kept for five years after completion of the study, after which it will be deleted. An exception is given according to EU GDPR Article 6(4); Recital 50; Article 89; article 6(1)(f); Recitals 47, 157 in

³⁰ The questionnaires were offered both in English and Greek.

³¹ GDPR stands for General Data Protection Regulation; it is an EU regulation for data protection and privacy.

³² All questionnaires that were completed on Google forms were downloaded and stored on a local server. They were then deleted from Google cloud.

the case of re-usage of the data for further research if notice is given to the participants (Article 13(3)).³³

3.6.3 Transcription, coding, and analysis of interview data in MAXQDA: case study database

Transcription and coding were done with MAXQDA, a software program that allows audio, visual and text documents to be imported, transcribed and coded. The advantage of MAXQDA is that it offers the possibility of marking time points on the interview transcript document that automatically redirect to the corresponding moment of the interview for easier and quicker navigation to the audio file. Working simultaneously on transcription of the interviews and building up the coding system contributed to a more organised analysis of the data. Additionally, in the same MAXQDA project document, researcher's notes, questionnaire replies and screenshots from the case groups could be imported, making up a case study database.

3.6.4 Analytic strategy

Yin's (2018) suggestions for how to approach analysis supported this work and aided the development of an analytic strategy. Yin (2018) draws upon four analytic strategies: a) relying on theoretical propositions, b) working data from the 'ground up', c) developing a case description, and d) examining rival explanations. Nevertheless, an inductive strategy was used for the analysis of the data, meaning that key concepts and codes mainly emerged after a close examination of the data gathered from the interviews.

Following the explorative study and prior to conducting the interviews, a preliminary coding system was developed (Figure 9). This coding system corresponded to the categories that were first used for the interview script. Codes were also assigned during and directly after the interviews. However, as the general research approach was inductive, or, to use Stake's terminology (see section 3.2), an 'instrumental case study', the codes were developed after completing all the interview transcriptions (Appendix VI). The code system developed in this research shares the characteristics of grounded theory coding practices, specifically those based on Charmaz (2014):

³³ EU General Data Protection Regulation (EU GDPR) <https://www.privacy-regulation.eu/en/index.htm>

During initial coding we study fragments of data – words, lines, segments, and incidents – closely for their analytic import. From time to time, we may adopt our participants’ telling terms as codes. Initial coding continues the interaction that you shared with your participants while collecting data but brings you into an interactive analytic space. (p. 204)

According to Sue and Ritter (2007), basing coding categories on participant responses rather than on a priori research decisions can also increase the validity of the data.

To examine all the evidence collected, review the important elements of the case studies, challenge the hypothesis of the researcher, and reflect on related literature and theory, explanation-building analysis techniques were used. A comprehensive list of the codes used to organise the data gathered for this research can be found in Appendix VI.

	Code	% Cod. seg. (a...	Documents
●	Digitisation	1.82	14
●	Institutional Repositories	7.22	19
●	technical	10.65	22
●	Sources	12.40	23
●	Identity, Language	11.45	23
●	Personal Archiving	1.68	12
●	Important	0.07	1
●	Uses of Facebook Groups	32.02	25
●	Nicosia	2.84	14
●	Photographs	12.04	25
●	Uses of Facebook	5.03	22
●	Personal Information	2.77	15

Figure 9 Preliminary coding system, screenshot from MAXQDA file

3.7 Methodical reflections: validity, reliability, credibility

The use of different data collection methods (questionnaires, explorative study, semi-structured interviews) contributed to the construction of more comprehensive and rich case study research. Although collecting questionnaires was a time-consuming process that could have

been eliminated by posting a simple interview invitation on the walls of the two groups,³⁴ the benefits of this choice were great: the questionnaires helped to recruit half of the interview participants and also aided with the preparation of the interview script and interview discussion.

Questionnaire answers and the explorative study of the case study Facebook groups added valuable background knowledge about the cases and aided in the preparation of initial interview topics and the facilitation of the semi-structured interviews. Yin (2018) argued that case study findings and conclusions are more convincing and accurate if they are based on different sources of information and follow a similar convergence, for example the same set of questions.

The use of different data collection methods in this study contributed to the verification of interview responses by cross-referencing published photographs or discussions in the group with participants' Facebook comments. The different data collection methods also enriched the data of the explorative study, which would have been remained unexplored without the indications and explanations given by interview participants. Although Yin (2018) noted that case studies are rarely repeated, he emphasised that keeping detailed documentation of the research process will minimise errors and biases in the study and could also help to ensure the reliability of the research.

³⁴ A simple interview invitation would have been an alternative solution to the problem of recruiting interview participants, but if the questionnaires that put first-contact responsibility on participants (questionnaires without a contact information section) are compared with the questionnaires that left this task to the researcher (questionnaires with a contact information section), a simple interview invitation would most likely have been postponed by the Facebook group members or even ignored altogether.

4 Photographic themes and how they relate to memory work

This chapter addresses the first research question: which photographic themes are research participants interested in and how do these themes relate to memory work? The chapter is divided into four parts, each of which focuses on an aspect of the photographic themes discussed during the interviews with Facebook group members. Section 4.1 presents the photographic themes mentioned during the interviews. Section 4.2 reflects on research participants' emotional connections with places and chronological periods and how this affects their interest in particular photographs. Section 4.3 discusses family photographs, which appears to be an underappreciated photographic theme among the interviewees, and examines how participants' reluctance to engage with this type of photograph could influence the content of the photographic collections in Facebook groups. Finally, the different criteria that the interviewees believe make a photograph rare are presented in section 4.4, which also focuses on the photographic themes that members wish they could have more access to through the Facebook groups.

4.1 Photographic themes

During the interviews, research participants mentioned a large number of photographic themes that they liked to view, interact with or post about in the case study Facebook groups. As will be discussed later in the chapter, the photographic topics mentioned by participants also reflect the participants' general interest in photography and are not topics they like to see only in the context of these Facebook groups (4.2). All interviewees mentioned general themes, such as architecture or people. Some interviewees mentioned specific photographic themes and examples of posted images that aroused their interest, such as Eleftherias Square, the main square in Nicosia; or Tourkomachalas,³⁵ a district in the municipality of Limassol. The following table (Table 1) presents the main themes mentioned by interviewees.

³⁵ Tourkomahalas [τουρκομαχαλάς, greek], from Turkish 'mahalle' which means neighbourhood, district. This district of Limassol came into being in 1571, during the Ottoman occupation of Cyprus. It used to be a home for the Turkish population, but over time Greek Cypriots also moved into the area, until eventually they formed the majority of the population. The area has substantially changed and the population has dramatically reduced. This is in part due to the expropriation of houses for the construction of a new harbour – which was never completed – and also because during the EOKA struggle, local community relations were disrupted and Greek Cypriots left the area. Finally, in the 1960s all the expropriated houses were demolished and the district was completely abandoned.

ARCHITECTURE	RURAL LIFE	AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHS
Veregaria	Agriculture	FOREIGNER
Aluminium tower	Village life	PHOTOGRAPHS
Old airport	INDUSTRY AND	FAMILY PHOTOGRAPHS
Buyuk Han	PRODUCTION	SPORTS
Agia Paraskevi	Industrial areas	Football
Agia Sophia	CHILDHOOD	PEOPLE
URBAN LIFESTYLE	SCHOOL PHOTOGRAPHY	Urban figures ³⁷
Clothes	Pancyprian gymnasium	Famous people
Street vendors	Elenion	Footballers
Cars	UNKNOWN SIDES OF THE	Politicians
Women's bazaar	CITY	Makarios
GENDER ISSUES	Northern Nicosia	Musicians
Carnival	CULTURAL ASPECTS OF	EVOLUTION OF THE CITY
Cafene	NICOSIA	Changing urban lifestyle
Women	HISTORY	Changing urban landscape
URBAN LANDSCAPE	BICOMMUNAL DISCOURSE	
Streets	SPECIFIC YEARS	
Eletheria square	1930S–1940S	
Traffic lights	Pre-EOKA ³⁶ era	
SPECIFIC AREAS OF THE	1955–1959	
CITY	1960	
Pallouriotissa	1963	
Kaimakli	1974	
Pedieos	Colonialism	
Tourkomachalas	Urbanisation	
(turkish neighbourhood)		
Enaerios		

Table 1 The photographic themes and subthemes mentioned by the interviewees

³⁶ EOKA (Εθνική Οργάνωση Κυπρίων Αγωνιστών) National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters was a Greek Cypriot national paramilitary organization set up in 1955 for the suppression of British rule in Cyprus and for the union of Cyprus with Greece.

³⁷ By urban figure I refer to people who are known to the residents of an area, not necessarily because of a personal relationship, nor because of political prestige or celebrity, but rather because of the services they offer to residents or the frequency with which a resident encounters them on the streets of the city. An urban figure can be a sandwich maker, a hawker, a street vendor, a homeless person.

The complete list of topics mentioned in the interviews is longer than the one shown here, but this is nevertheless a comprehensive list, as some topics are very specific³⁸ and are subsumed into the themes listed above.

Additionally, it is important to clarify that the connections between themes and sub-themes are not limited to those in the table above, but for readability purposes I have listed them as such. Often a sub-topic is linked to more than one main topic, for example a 'cafene' (coffee shop) is a building and therefore might fall into the 'architecture' category, but interviewees referred to it in several other contexts, such as 'urban lifestyle', 'gender issues' and 'the evolution of the city'. The following sections focus on analysing interviewees' relationships with and attitudes to the photographic themes.

Occupation, age, gender, and thematic preference

The first aspect to examine is possible connections between interviewees' demographic data (occupation, age and gender) and preferences in photographic themes. As evidenced by the interviews, occupation is a component that might affect Facebook group members' interest in certain photographic themes, but this does not necessarily apply to all interviewees³⁹ and is definitely not the sole factor determining a person's interest in a particular photographic theme. Although the themes might match their profession (researcher, architect) or their hobbies (historian, writer, basket-maker), none of the interviewees expressed interest exclusively in topics related to their profession or a specific project they were currently working on. For example, Anestis is employed in the Public Works department, and several themes he expressed interest in, such as road signage, road networks and urban development,

³⁸ For example, interviewees mentioned that they liked photographs of named urban figures. I did not consider it necessary to include specific examples of this in Table 1. This was also true for references to street names that indicate the exact location in the city where the photograph was taken; these details might enrich the narrative of the interview but most of the time do not alter the meaning of the description. For example, 'There are aerial photographs ... where you can see what Nicosia looked like, at least here in my office, it had three houses and I found the neighbourhood, I found Stasinou, Androkleous, I found everything.' (Aris, pos. 76). Aris talks here about how the urban development of Nicosia can be traced from aerial photographs, so his reference fits two Table 1 categories: 'Changing urban landscape' and 'Aerial photographs'. The fact that these photographs provide the names of streets in his neighbourhood is important, not for creating a thematic category but, as will be analysed later in this chapter, for highlighting the importance of the personal connection that can develop with the content of a photograph.

³⁹ Twelve interviewees associated their thematic interest in photography with their professional field.

were related to his professional field. Although his interest was not limited to these themes, he talked about them extensively during the interview. Similarly, Martha was curious about the history of Cyprus and liked to view photographs relevant to that topic. It was also notable that her professional and research interest in basketry also determined the photographic themes that interested her.

Some [photos] on a personal level, some on research. The research one focuses on basketry ... On a practical and research level, then, I would be interested in anything to do with weaving, embroidery, etc. because I'm writing some articles for an NGO that I'm a volunteer member of. And then the other things on a personal level. More curiosity about the history [of Cyprus, and Nicosia] so to speak. (pos. 20–22⁴⁰)

Moreover, themes that happen to be related to a specific professional field, such as architecture, are not exclusively of interest to people within the profession, but are also of personal interest to other members; twenty-eight (out of a total of thirty-three) interviewees expressed interest in photographs of buildings and the architecture of the city. For example, Charis, a political scientist, stated that he liked to view photographs of both Limassol and Nicosia⁴¹ and was particularly interested in the architecture of those cities. As he said, 'I like a lot to observe [in the photos] the road network and the pedestrian access and the architecture. That is what interests me the most. But not only that of course' (pos. 56). Similarly, Stavros, who is a historian, separated his personal from his professional interest in photography by saying that:

It's the environment that I feel, as a human being, I'm more attracted to, the environment or the architecture of cities, but I'm also looking for other kinds of photographs as a researcher. I'm looking for political figures, I'm looking for journalists, things like that. Prominent figures of the early twentieth century, anyway. (pos. 100)

As will be discussed in the next chapter, one of the reasons interviewees search for a specific photograph or photographic theme is to find photographs that will be useful for a professional

⁴⁰ The abbreviation 'Pos.' followed by a number is used to indicate the position of the quote in the transcribed interview document. It is an automated abbreviation created by the MAXQDA software. I have included these numbers to make it easier to locate the transcribed quote if required.

⁴¹ Charis belongs to the small number of interviewees – five out of thirty-three – who follow both *Yesteryears of Nicosia* and *Memories of Limassol*.

or work-related task. While the age of a member often defines their purpose in joining and participating in these Facebook groups, the photographic themes that interest members do not seem to be influenced by their age. Thus, for example, Petros, who is twenty-seven, is interested in the same photographic themes as George, who is seventy-three. They both like viewing photographs of Eleftherias Square. Specifically, Petros says, ‘The two main topics that somehow interest me are Eleftherias Square and anything related to the bicomunal issues, because it is always a polarised issue. And Eleftherias Square because it’s kind of funny’ (pos. 28). Similarly, George stated: ‘Another thing that struck me is the changes that Metaxas Square, now Eleftherias Square, has undergone. That is, so many interventions, so many changes that you could write a whole book’ (pos. 43).

While the data collected does not prove that age defines participants’ thematic interests, what seems to correlate with the age of the participants is their connection to the content of the photograph. In other words, age influences their preference for certain photographic themes and also what these particular themes or specific photographs mean to them. Finally, in regard to gender, no remarkable differences⁴² were observed in terms of preference for certain photographic themes. When data from the questionnaires was compared with what participants said in their interviews, it became evident that gender, like age, did not influence a person’s preference for specific photographic themes. The following sections will analyse why group members are attracted to specific photographic themes and reflect on how the connection members make with the content of a photograph also seems to be age-dependent.

4.2 The importance of a personal connection to the photograph

‘I am interested in photographs that relate to representations of my own, representations that I perceive’ (Aria, pos.32).

The two Facebook groups analysed in this research, ‘Yesteryears of Nicosia’ and ‘Memories of Limassol’, are thematically focused on the cities of Nicosia and Limassol. Not surprisingly, then, the themes listed in Table 1 highlight the multiple layers and elements that compose an urban environment, corresponding to what Mumford (1937/2015) defines as a ‘city’. According to Mumford:

⁴² The only theme that was mentioned only by male participants (three out of thirty-three participants, of whom twenty-one are male) was the events and battles of the ‘riots of ’63’. 1963 was frequently mentioned as a chronological marker by both male and female participants.

The city in its complete sense, then, is a geographic plexus, an economic organization, an institutional process, a theater of social action, and an aesthetic symbol of collective unity. The city fosters art and is art; the city creates the theater and is the theater. It is in the city, the city as theater, that man's more purposive activities are focused, and work out, through conflicting and cooperating personalities, events, groups, into more significant culminations. (p. 112)

Central landmarks of the cities, photographs depicting the way of life in the city and its suburbs, its architecture and urban figures are the photographic themes that stand out in Table 1, as well as in the quotations that follow. The aim in this chapter is not only to list these photographic themes but to explore and understand the nature of the connection members of the groups make with these photographs.

As indicated in the data presented below, what motivates the participants of the research to follow these specific groups, but also the element that makes them show interest in particular photographs, is the connection between them and the place. The connection with place refers either to where they or family members were born, where they or family members grew up, or to the city they only know as adults. Rania, for example, replied to a question about her interest in photographs of Limassol by stating:

Actually, my mum is from Kyrenia, and my grandmother, but I was born in Limassol and I live in Limassol. So, yes, [my photographic interest in Limassol] is related to my origin, since I grew up here. The reason why I'm in the group and I didn't leave, for example, is that I can see how Limassol was in the old days and it's very interesting to see how it evolved. (pos. 6)

Rania clarified that she did not have this interest in other cities, either in Cyprus or abroad. 'I am not interested in seeing how the port of Paphos looked before and how it is now' (pos. 12). Similarly, Burak located his interest in photographs of 'Cyprus, but mainly Nicosia, where I live' (pos. 31).

For all the interviewees, photographs that represent their country or city of birth have a special meaning and thus are preferred over photographs representing other regions of Cyprus or other countries. This means that their reaction to the images is not an aesthetic response to a beautiful picture but rather an emotional response. This highlights the importance of Schroeder's (1991) distinction between 'preference' and 'meaning'. The literature review discussed Schroeder's definition of 'preference' as the degree of liking for one landscape

compared to another, and ‘meaning’ as the set of thoughts, feelings, memories and interpretations evoked by a landscape (p. 232). George, one of the interviewees, talked about the ‘impressive photographs’ that might evoke his interest, but he concluded that his interest is more focused on his homeland of Cyprus and specifically Nicosia.

Look, it must be so impressive, images from other places, that is, to see African scenes, how they live there, or Asian, these kind of primitive scenes, I would love to see such images. But I am more concerned with [photos from] my place.’ (pos. 99)

Like George, five other participants mentioned that they might like to view and interact with photographs other than ‘local’ ones, but at the same time they rarely brought into the discussion specific examples of photographs from other countries or cities. Similarly, Martha aspires to a personal connection with the place to which the photograph refers, but she explores her photographic interests not only visually or aesthetically but also historically or anthropologically, reflecting her curiosity about the way of life in foreign countries:

I would have an interest in all of Cyprus, not just Nicosia, but, okay, I feel that when I get a piece of information that comes to my attention about Nicosia or some other part of Cyprus where there was something going on that I don’t know about, I feel like, ‘oh, I don’t know anything about Cyprus’. But yes, the truth is that I will sometimes see pictures of other countries and I will be interested in their way of life, past or present.’ (pos. 42)

What these members of the groups are looking for, most of the time, is a personal connection with the photos. Elena, for example, mentioned that she might be interested in photos of other countries, but that would not be enough for her.

It’s nice to see other places, sure, but when you don’t know them that well, they may not make as much sense to you. Whereas the places, especially if you’ve been through those places that you remember when you were, let’s say, a little girl, they make you feel more ... I see a picture and I try and see if I know someone. Or the place. Sometimes they put, can you tell what area it is? I try to remember. I might not remember, but I try. Or if I see a person and I say, ‘I know him, do I know him?’ But a foreigner, a foreign photograph of a foreign country, I like to see it, but I don’t really bother. I think it depends. Although I like to visit other countries, I don’t bother. (pos. 36–38)

Elena's example, as well as other interviewees who expressed similar ideas about their relationship to certain photographs, makes it clear that interviewees looked for a connection to the images, in the sense of identifying a familiar person, landscape or event in the picture. Often this connection-seeking limited their interest not just to Cyprus but to one city. A good example of this narrow focus is the attitude of Stavros, who prefers photographs of Nicosia to photographs of Limassol due to his personal connection with the former.

No. I usually visit the [group about] Nicosia. The Limassol one is similar, but yes, I'm mainly interested in Nicosia. I'm not able to identify the places in Limassol, either, I mean if they say and comment, I still can't understand what they're referring to, so I don't particularly care, unless it's something that we know. (pos. 23)

Interviewees often like to challenge their memory, to remember past events or at least build a relationship with the content of the photographs. Attraction to site-specific images seems to be limited to photographs of the viewer's place of origin, which means that strong connections are rarely developed with photographs of a foreign country. Pantelis, for example, mentioned that school photographs and other images 'awakened memories' of his teenage years. Although he is following groups dedicated to cities other than his home town, he limits his participation entirely to Facebook groups based in Cyprus. The reason he does not follow similar image-collecting groups in other countries is that he feels no connection to the content: 'I want to have more connection, and of course I want to be able to follow it and I want to be able to participate [in the groups], to enrich the elements that this group wants to give' (pos. 52).

'Participation' is a key word in many parts of this study. Participation is a fundamental feature of the Facebook platform, keeping members' interest alive by allowing them to contribute to the visual and written content of the group. Members who do not contribute still benefit from the dynamic, continuously enriched content provided by other members. In Pantelis' case, participation is achieved through contributing to a group's content. According to him, to contribute and thus participate in a group requires knowledge, experience and memories that are a good fit with the chronological and geographical themes of the group. In the following chapters, participation will be analysed as a) one of the drivers that send people searching for photos online (Chapter 4) and b) as a platform feature that is perceived by research participants as key to making a digital repository engaging (6). The quotation from Pantelis highlights the importance of a connection to the content of the photographs that the members/viewers of the photographs find meaningful; it also demonstrates that this

relationship encourages participation within the group. As Pantelis revealed, the relationship between a photographic theme and the members of a group is not necessarily limited to an internal process of remembering. Instead, personal connections with photographs are ‘externalised’ through participation in the group, whether by sharing relevant photographs or discussing the image in the comments under the posted photograph.

As the data showed, the formation of a personal relationship with the content of the posted photographs seemed to be a fundamental prerequisite for developing an interest in site-specific photographs and stimulating participation in the Facebook group. Aria, an architect, talked about the significance of having a personal connection to certain photographs. She focused on the importance of experiencing a place, either by visiting it or by recalling her visit, rather than just viewing photographs of the place:

Photographs as a medium I admit I don’t have too much of a warm relationship with, but the geographical interest, yes. That’s a nice way of putting it. I am interested in photographs that relate to representations of my own, representations that I perceive. Even on the level of architecture, seeing spectacular architecture from the world for the sake of seeing it, two-dimensionally, doesn’t mean anything to me. Because I don’t believe that you experience architecture in two dimensions, but in any case, I believe that to perceive something you have to see it ... sense of space. (pos. 32)

Aria spoke at length about her interest in photographs of Limassol, her city of birth. Like most of the interviewees, she attributed this interest to her personal relationship with Limassol and its people. It is noteworthy that at the end of the above quotation, Aria added ‘sense of space’, an important aspect of the relationship between the content of the photograph and the viewer. According to her, the two-dimensional format of the photograph does not provide a full understanding of a place, which means experiencing that place in person is necessary if one is to gain a complete experience of it. Aria here uses ‘architecture’ and ‘sense of place’ to explain the importance of the relationship between the photographs and her own representations, her geographical interest.

In most cases, a sense of connection with a place was limited to the particular city where participants were born or grew up. However, some research participants also follow

photographic groups⁴³ on Facebook and other social media, such as Instagram, that are dedicated to cities where they have spent other parts of their lives. Below are two such examples. The first is from Anestis:

I'd love to see photos from other places as well. Especially in countries I have lived in or have memories of ... I view photographs from the States, I do this regularly, I have some pages on Instagram that I follow, especially of America in two or three states that I lived in that they now regularly post pictures of what it was like in, let's say, New York in 1940 and what it was like in 2020. And I find these very interesting. The urban development of a city, for example, or old photos or how the skyscrapers came, I still see it now. I was living in Colorado, in Denver, and I left in 2001, it's been 19 years, and I see how much the structure of the city has changed, new skyscrapers, new parks, because I'm watching different sides, you see the before, the after, I happened to [live there] in between. These things I like to see chronologically, so geographically I have a personal interest in something I'm connected to. (pos. 116)

Anestis makes it clear that being a student in Denver was a good reason to create a tie with the city and also keep exploring it or remember it through photographs on the Internet and social media platforms. Similarly, Claire maintains a connection to the city where she studied, Thessaloniki, through photographs shared on Facebook groups:

Because I was living in both cities [Limassol and Thessaloniki] and because, okay, it's very interesting, especially in Limassol, where otherwise we don't try at all to keep the character and the history of the city either architecturally or cognitively, at least in the circles that I move in, the knowledge that I have. Anyway, it's very good that there is a point that you can refer back to [the city], with people [members of the Facebook groups] that you don't even know how to interact with in other settings [outside of Facebook] and they share their knowledge with you. (pos. 8–10)

Both Anestis, who was born and grew up in Nicosia, and Claire, who was born and grew up in Limassol, talked about their interest in viewing photographs that represent cities other than their cities of birth. These examples bring the argument back to Schroeder's distinction

⁴³ Four of the interviewees follow Facebook groups or other social media pages that are dedicated to photographs of foreign countries or cities.

between preference and meaning. These interviewees' attraction to Colorado or Thessaloniki is anything but random; both Anestis and Claire refer to a connection they made to these cities by living in them, so viewing photographs of those cities has a special meaning for them. Their words do not indicate an aesthetic preference for Colorado or Thessaloniki, nor do they make a comparison with or show a preference for these cities over other places. Instead, emotions and nostalgia play a large part here; their attraction to photographs of these specific cities is rooted in their experience of living there.

To sum up: the interest in photographs depicting a particular city is not linked to any localist obsession on the part of the participants. Rather, it can be characterised as an experience-specific preference, reflecting the experiences of either the participants themselves or someone close to them in that specific geographic location.

4.2.1. Post-memory and Nostalgia

Finding meaning in a photograph does not always indicate a link with direct memories (one's own past and experiences). Meaning can also be linked to indirect memories, which were referred to in the literature review as post- or fictive memories (see section 2.6.2). Images linked to indirect memories were mostly related to members' parents' generation, and thus members' preferred photographic themes that correspond to these decades that their parents or grandparents were living in the cities either as kids, young adults or older. In some cases, seeking to enrich, refresh or confirm the information presented about the posted photographs, participants move the discussion outside the Facebook group by asking older members of the family, most frequently their parents, to give more details. This tendency to transfer the discussion from an online to an offline setting will be further discussed in the next chapter.

Polly noted in her interview that she often discusses the posted photographs with her father and attributes her interest in specific decades to the fact that her parents lived through them:

My father doesn't have Facebook, but it happened too many times that I showed him photos of the group ... from the sixties, the seventies, and I said, 'Oh, dad, this street, do you remember what it was like?' And I showed him, and I told him which street it was, so he could guess. So, yes, maybe that's why I like this decade, because my dad and my mum have lived, I mean they have memories of Nicosia and Cyprus at that time. (pos. 31)

Similarly, Stavros showed a particular interest in photographs that depict and therefore refer to his parents' generation and are related to his parents' narratives.

I have not [a specific thematic interest]. I just feel like I want more photos that capture Nicosia before the wild urbanisation starts. That is, before the sixties ... I think there is an innate tendency in humans to idealise the past and to be fascinated by it and to embellish it. Obviously, the period, just because our parents have this innate tendency, as all generations have, they describe their own past to us in a very embellished way and make it look so beautiful, so yes. It stuck in my consciousness as something moving, something that gives me a thrill because I identify it with my parents' memories. I don't know what weighs more. I don't know if this process is happening because of my parents' descriptions or if it is in the context that every human being has a tendency to search for roots. I haven't looked into it that much. I didn't delve deeply. (pos. 29–31)

For this research, fictive memory, or post-memory, as Hirsch (1992) calls it, is given the chronological context of pre-1980 photographs. This chronological context has been set as research participants born after 1980, do not have their own memories of those years but they do have post-memories. In both Facebook groups, the shared photographs are mostly from before 1980, limiting the relationship with these photographs among those born after 1980 to post-memories rather than lived memories. In these cases, the attachment to photographs refers to post-memory, which 'is distinguished from memory by generational distance and from history by deep personal connection' (Hirsch, 1992, p. 7). Stavros, in the above quotation, assumes that his preference for photographs from before 1960 is caused by post-memories inspired by his parents' descriptions and memories. His concern about embellishing and idealising the past through the eyes of his parents is a critical approach towards memory and post-memory. Here, he echoes Hirsch (1992), who reflects on the fragility of memory construction, claiming that 'post-memory should reflect back on memory, revealing it as equally constructed, equally mediated by the processes of narration and imagination' (pp. 7–8).

Stavros was not the only research participant who talked about idealising the past, although the vast majority of the research participants (twenty-eight out of thirty-three) did not reflect on this phenomenon. Idealisation of the past also appears sometimes in the comments beneath photographs posted in the Facebook groups. This attitude was identified during the explorative study of the Facebook groups, but it was also raised by five of the interviewees, who treated these kinds of comments as quaint. For instance, Orestis provided some examples of the type of comments that idealised the past: 'And usually, the comments are,

“oh what nice years they were”; those comments are sappy. Or other comments like “society is ruined now”, “the world is ruined nowadays” (pos. 30).

Phanos, on the other hand, identified another aspect of idealisation. This aspect is not time-specific (idealising the past) but rather site-specific (idealising a place). He said: ‘It always depends on the person and who is responding in the comments ... there are some [members] who start the comments like “this is the most beautiful city in the world”. I mean, come on!’ (pos.16). Although the comments of the group that Phanos is referring to could be described as localist in nature (such as ‘the most beautiful city in the world’), neither in the interviews nor in the exploratory study was any kind of bigotry observed but rather an emotionally charged description or commentary.

Elena is the only interviewee who mentioned that she made this kind of comment sometimes, reflecting her nostalgia for times gone by or the places where she grew up. Specifically, she said, ‘No, no. Not really [I’m not commenting]. I might like a photo and say, “very nice”, or something else, “nice times”, but no [I’m not participating in discussion]’ (pos. 4). These comments, as well as how critical some members were of the discussions beneath the posted photographs in the Facebook groups, reflect the reason these members originally joined the Facebook groups, which will be further discussed in the next chapter.

Elena’s comments under the posted images might be attributable to nostalgia, as she referred a few times during the interview to how nostalgic she feels about the past. Yiannis thought that nostalgia was indeed the purpose of such Facebook groups, and he strongly believed that the personal connection a person made with old photographs was built on memories and nostalgia:

Definitely the fifties, sixties [the time periods he favours for old photographs] ... Nostalgia. All these [Facebook groups], their basis is nostalgia. Anything that’s nostalgic for older people. Let’s say they put up an old photo. For you, it’s nothing. But for someone who lived near the Altamira record store, for example, or who lived near the Scorpio [a bar/disco], which was our childhood, for us it’s nostalgic. It brings back memories. For you [referring to me – I am 40 years younger than my interviewee] it’s nothing. (pos. 56–58)

Conversely, Thalia and most of the younger interviewees use old photographs as an opportunity to connect with their present; even though it might not be a nostalgic process for them, they definitely find meaning in it. It might not be connected to their own past or

memories, but it connected with their post-memory of national or local history, as previously discussed. And it also seems to be connected to their present, as Thalia notes:

Okay, from 1990 onwards I don't care much, because it's stuff I've already experienced. I get a little excited to see images of that period, but I'm not really interested. But from 1980 and before, and especially in earlier years, let's say 1890 to 1930 or 1940, that is the period I'm most interested in skimming, if you like, or analysing. 'Oh, that's still there now, and what's there today?' That's pretty much my thoughts. (pos. 24)

Here, Thalia makes a connection that is not nostalgic between the photographs and the viewer. This kind of connection, which will be discussed in the next section, has as a reference point the present, which research participants compare with the past as depicted in the photographs.

4.2.2. Find the difference: a past–present game

The further back you go the more interesting I find the photograph ... I think because I see the big differences, the further back you go the bigger the differences with today.

That's why it's so striking to me. (Zina, pos. 22)

Like Zina, many interviewees enjoy comparing the past with the present. A large number of interviewees (twenty-five out of thirty-three) expressed an interest in photographs that capture the evolution of the city's landscape or the many changes in city lifestyles. Research participants often referred to specific chronological periods or years, for example the colonial period, 1955–59, 1963, 1974, or the pre-EOKA era.

There are some cases where dates were used to refer to a specific event, such as the intercommunal conflict in 1963,⁴⁴ but most of the time references to a year or period did not imply a preference for photographs of that specific year nor the events that might have characterised that year; rather, years or time periods were used as shorthand to refer to turning-points in history. Stavros' words are representative of the way in which research participants used chronology to highlight periods that had great influence over future events,

⁴⁴ The Intercommunal Riots [Δικαιοσυμμετρικές συγκρούσεις] is the name given to the first clashes between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots in December 1963, following the independence of Cyprus in 1960. The crisis that erupted led to the withdrawal of Turkish Cypriots from the government of the Republic of Cyprus. Three interviewees referred to and expressed special interest in photographs of the intercommunal riots.

and which may have brought about notable changes in urban landscape or lifestyles. ‘I don’t have [a specific time period that I’m most interested in]. I just feel like I want more photos that capture Nicosia before the wild urbanisation starts. That is, before the sixties’ (Stavros, pos. 29). Similarly, Martha was curious about the past, and specifically how Cyprus was before industrialisation:

I think I’m interested in this period which was perhaps before the industrial revolution, not revolution, I mean when life in Cyprus was more rural, and I would like to know more, because I’m interested on a personal level to see how they managed, when Cyprus was perhaps greener, how, if it had its own industries, what it produced, things that we don’t know now. (pos. 50)

The interviewees often traced the evolution of the city by comparing the past, represented by photographs posted in the Facebook groups, with the present, represented by the current landscape, buildings or lifestyle in Cyprus. The main difference in this past–present game is that older members, born before 1980, were more likely to have direct personal experience of the past represented in the photographs, so for them viewing the photographs could also assist with the process of recalling their own past.⁴⁵ On the other hand, those born after 1980 experience the past either directly from the posted photographs or from fictive memories, often derived from their parents’ narratives. Polly, who was born in 1994, is among the youngest participants in this study, and in the following quotation she described how viewing an old photograph of a familiar landmark in her city of birth made her aware of how much the landmark and its surroundings had changed through the decades:

I was shocked when I saw the old roads, the Kolokasidis roundabout ... many years ago, thirty years ago, the roundabout was empty, there was nothing, nothing, and now it’s full of buildings. Just this. This photo made me very, very impressed by how quickly the city is changing. (pos. 75)

Her description echoes the words of Aris, a 58-year-old participant who emphasised that he found it interesting and also helpful to remember how Nicosia was when he was young. But for Aris the most important thing was that the photographs offered an opportunity for

⁴⁵ There are several examples of interviewees entering the process of recalling the past through the photographs. Stavri, for example, said: ‘Yes [the photographs help the memory], but more to know things, because in 1963 Nicosia, you couldn’t go to the other side. I remember the ginekopazaro [women’s bazaar], before [19]63, that existed. I remember as relatively young girl. My memory is not strong’. (pos. 44)

younger generations to see and understand how the city had evolved through the decades. Aris mentioned that he liked ‘doing a redevelopment of old Nicosia’ using old photographs to experience a time he never lived in or experienced only as a young boy:

Of all the participants, only Rona made a comparison between past and present using the same chronological period but different geographical points – two different countries or urban versus rural life. She focused on the differences between countries or places rather than the evolution of a single urban centre:

This comparison, it was always inside me. Always. And I always have this conversation where I say, yeah, but in the days when my grandmother was little, barefoot in Pedulas, look what was going on in New York. Yeah, ah, sorry, there’s another group I’m in, Modernism in Cyprus, in architecture, and I also see things that help me to make these comparisons of mostly urban versus rural Nicosia. So I see things about Nicosia that I didn’t know about, the thirties. Mostly architectural, but then again that’s a big ‘wow’. Sure, the comparison is there. (pos. 18–20)

Here Rona, in a humorous tone, compares two extremely dissimilar places: Pedulas, a village now part of the Nicosia suburbs, and New York. Rona enjoyed using photographs to contrast the standard of living in her home country with the rest of the world. She used her grandmother as an example, comparing her life as a barefoot village child with life in New York during the same period. Similarly, she found that photographs helped her to compare the urban centre of Nicosia with rural life in villages outside Nicosia. However, like most of the interviewees, Rona was interested in the urban and architectural development of Nicosia through the decades, so she enjoyed viewing photographs of Nicosia in the 1930s and discovering buildings she did not even know existed.

The data presented above shows that attraction to specific photographic themes is connected to and driven by personal narratives and experiences. Looking back at Table 1 as well as to comments made by the interviewees, it is reasonable to conclude that interviewees’ interest is primarily focused on photographs of Cyprus, particularly its two major cities, Nicosia and Limassol. Within this geographical context, photographic interest can be classified into specific themes, such as urban landscape, people, or history. This means it is important to highlight the geographical context of interviewees’ photographic preferences rather than the themes themselves, because interviewees expressed interest in the theme of urban landscape

specifically in connection with Nicosia or Limassol, not the urban landscape of an unspecified or unfamiliar city.

However, the Cypriot context in photographs is not always sufficient to make a photograph interesting to a research participant. For example, Cypriot family photographs were not a preferred topic. The next section examines why family photographs appeared to be the most controversial type of photographs among the group members. The controversy concerns whether this type of photograph is interesting to other members or is copyright-safe enough for the owner of the photograph to share it publicly on Facebook.

4.3 Unappreciated family photographs: how might this lack of appreciation affect collections' inclusivity?

One of the photographic themes listed in Table 1, the themes and topics group members mentioned during the interviews, is family photographs. These could be considered an underappreciated photographic theme within the case study Facebook group settings, as members and group administrators are often ambivalent towards posts that include family images. Although family photos are often published in the Facebook groups, and administrators welcome such posts,⁴⁶ the sharing of family photographs is usually avoided by the research participants, and the reasons for this will be examined below. One of the concerns of active members, and a factor deterring passive members from becoming more active, is the fear of posting a photograph that would not be of interest to the rest of the group or that would not be seen as making a significant contribution to the collection. As Martha commented during her interview:

[Family photographs] can depict some details that could provide information [to the viewer] about the past. Let's say my mother showed me some pictures from her village, when a photographer visited the village and set up four, five, eight people and took a picture. From that photograph I don't think you can get any information about their lives. Maybe you can get some information from the clothes, from the way they stand. It's different if you take a picture of them washing their clothes in the river. I

⁴⁶ Administrators of both Facebook groups mentioned that at the very beginning of the groups' activity, members shared many family photos. Administrators admitted that at some point these kinds of images and posts became boring to both the administrators and the members. The frequency of family photograph posts declined over time.

think this type of photograph [ethnographic-documentary photography] is rarer because the photographer wouldn't go to the village to take a picture of them while they were doing their daily chores. (pos. 74)

Martha never uploaded an image in 'Yesteryears of Nicosia', as she believed that family photographs would not add significant value to the group. George, who is an active member and posts regularly in this group, expressed the same opinion as Martha; like her, he never posted a photograph from his family albums:

I like to post something that is known to the whole team or that they are interested in. Because if I post [images of] my family, the interest has to be such that the clothing will cause interest: 'look at what this woman, the grandfather, the children are wearing'. But if it's a common photo of the time, without any particularity, I don't usually do that, I want it to be something that interests the whole group, to comment on or like. (George, pos. 39)

Stavri offers a similar perspective. Even though she dislikes viewing family pictures in the Facebook groups, she considered posting one family picture that she owns, as she believes it contains remarkable information about the fashion of a specific period, around 1920. She changed her mind, however, and never posted the photograph in the Facebook group:

The ones that are family-related don't interest me. I've seen a lot of people who post family ones. I don't like it. I once thought of adding to the group a photograph of my uncle, who was a refugee from Asia Minor, and he has some photos of him dressed as a scout; and back then scouting, were talking about after [19]22, was something unprecedented in Cyprus. Or he has some photos with his brothers and sisters, whose dress is much different to the Cypriot one. They were more modern, supposedly, the Asia Minor people. But then I said, well, okay, who cares? (pos. 119)

On the other hand, Elena's father happened to be a well-known local figure, and she thought it would be interesting for the group members to see a picture of him. So she chose to post family pictures in the group, not only to get some likes or initiate a discussion, but also to honour her deceased father:

I said if I find some old photos of my father, who was a sandwich maker, I'll put one on there too ... And I found it, I went to my mother's cupboards, opened the albums and found these two very nice photos ... where my father [was] on his bicycle, where the little shop next door, so to speak, was making sandwiches ... I guess we all have

some old photos ... It would honour my father, I thought, so I put it in. I wanted to. Because so many people knew him. I liked it. And did you see that there were comments that people knew him? They remembered him. And I imagine that all those who liked the image may also remember him. (pos. 6–14)

The reason that members avoid sharing their family pictures is not only connected to the recognition of their photographic contribution (which also reflects the preferences of their fellow members), but sometimes also concerns copyright issues. For example, Yiannis, a very active member of Yesteryears of Nicosia, admitted that he avoids posting family photographs in the group for fear of copyright infringement:

I have a picture of my mother when she was six years old, that is 1932–33, in a little metal car in the garden of the old town hall. It was the carousel of the amusement park. And I'm not posting it. Because it's a family photo of my mother. Somebody might get it and put it somewhere else and put his name on it. (Yiannis, pos. 16)

Finally, as an aid to understanding the viewer's perspective, Rania and Anestis explain why they prefer to see photographs that are not family or other personal pictures:

The photographic themes [I like to view] are specific locations in the city, the buildings, how the harbour used to be, how the coastal road used to be, how they were built. It's these things that interest me, not so much these photos of old school friends and classmates, so to speak. Although it's interesting to see how they used to look, how the faces used to be, they don't interest me that much. It's the buildings and the structure of the city that's more interesting for me. (Rania, pos. 8)

Anestis goes a bit deeper to explain why he does not like personal or family photographs:

There are people who systematically put up their family photos or their grandfather's wedding, grandmother's wedding, let's say. Okay, I'd rather see more landscapes. You know, events, stuff, say, street photography within this group from Nicosia, streets, aerial photos, there's a lot of interesting stuff. Rather than seeing the grandparents of a 'Lefkosiati',⁴⁷ so to speak. If I don't know him I can't associate with this one. You understand. (pos. 22)

⁴⁷ 'Lefkosiatis' is a Greek word that refers to a person who comes from or leaves Nicosia.

Anestis' thematic preference is for personal connection with the content of the picture, an element that is lacking in family pictures of strangers.

From the quotations above it can be seen that some interviewees do not find family photographs appropriate for posting in either of the Facebook groups studied in this research, because they believe such photographs will not make a significant contribution. Some think that group members will not find them interesting, and others do not find them interesting themselves or are concerned about copyright issues. From these comments the conclusion can be drawn that those interviewees prefer to add photos that showcase a topic they believe is relevant and interesting to the general public rather than revealing very personal scenes. On the posting of personal photos, one of the administrators of Limassol Memories commented:

Yes, we [the administrators] agreed that [a photo] should be of common interest. I don't reject or delete someone's photo. Let's say, for example, [group member's name] posts photos from when she was a baby. [Through these photos] she brings memories to others. But we don't want [the group] to become self-centred, either.

That is, [the group and the posts] should be about public opinion. (Costas, pos. 214)

It is also clear, however, that these concerns are affecting the choice of material that is uploaded to the photographic collections of the Facebook groups, because fewer and fewer people now publish their family photos. The variety of photographic subjects in Facebook groups is primarily determined by group administrators, who set the thematic parameters for photographs that can be posted and accept or reject members' posts; as discussed in the methodology chapter, the two Facebook groups studied in this thesis contain guidelines about which region and chronological periods the posted photographs may depict. As this chapter reveals, however, the administrators are not the only curators; the groups' photographic collections are also curated by the members themselves, as they are the ones who upload the photographs and ultimately define the content of the photographic collections. The group members and administrators have gradually defined what is appropriate and what is not.

As will be discussed in the next chapter, the variety of photographic subjects is one of the perceived advantages of Facebook groups' photographic collections. The fact that members often avoid posting family photos may also be due to some members' limited understanding of what information a family photo may offer to the viewer. As the interviews show, interviewees are often quick to define family photographs as very personal images found in family albums: people posing at large family events such as weddings, christenings, birthdays

and more casual gatherings or just family portraits or portraits of couples. At the beginning of their interviews, participants typically reiterated the above definition, which limits the scope of what a family photograph can include and what it can offer to a viewer who is not a member of the family with whom the photograph is associated. Over the course of the interview, however, some participants revised or explained their thoughts and concerns about posting, viewing, or interacting with family photographs, classifying them into different types. These interviewees identified examples of family photographs that did indeed contain important and rare information about Cyprus and/or Cypriots. These examples challenge the way other interviewees characterise family photographs as “boring”, because they seem to have no interesting information for the viewer. Orestis describes this situation:

Photos appear [in Facebook groups] that are very rare and very revealing, many times, in personal albums, which are hidden for a long time in family albums that would never come out. And then suddenly they appear, and you see an incredible richness, and even the standard postcard photos or photos that have been published that are good and well-composed, they are stylised, but they are just photos of everyday life. (pos. 14)

It follows from this that family photographs have been described by the interviewees as personal images that represent family members in different contexts (everyday life, celebrations, events, family/couple portraits, school photographs). However, the term ‘family photographs’ can also include photographs that belong to a family (a private individual rather than an institution) but do not necessarily include either family members of the person owning the photograph or life-cycle events. What seems to make any type of photograph interesting to the members of the group is the personal connection between the member and the image, but the rarity of the image and the information that it contains are also important factors. The importance of rarity will be discussed in the next section.

4.4 Rare photographs: the attraction of the unknown

Many interviewees were concerned about their contribution to the photographic collections of Facebook groups. Zina thought hard about whether to publish certain family photos: ‘They are those staged photos of husband and wife, with a very common background ... I don’t think they would have been of that much interest to the group. I imagine ... anyway, a large percentage [of people] have such photos.’ (pos. 40). She concluded that she would not post the images, since she did not think that the photographs would offer something valuable to

the rest of the group; she felt they were a very common type of photo, not rare. Rarity of image seemed to be considered an important element that added value to the related Facebook post. The rareness of a photograph was defined differently by each research participant. During the interviews, participants mostly talked about the photographic themes they most liked to interact with; these themes were mentioned earlier in this chapter. Additionally, nineteen participants mentioned that they would like to have more access to less common photographs. Three of them did not specify a particular theme; what mattered was that the photograph was rare and not similar to or a repeat of photographs that had already been posted to the group. Two members specified a preference for photographs that dealt with everyday life in the past; eight preferred images of unfamiliar areas of the city or its buildings, and six were most interested in bicomunal discourse and history.⁴⁸ This section presents the evidence that emerged during the interviews about what constitutes a rare photograph. For some interviewees, rare images are those that are posted in the Facebook group for the first time;⁴⁹ in these cases, the rarity of a photograph is not related to its content or theme but instead is attributed to the frequency with which photographs of this type appear in the Facebook group. The second definition of a rare photograph is based on the difficulty of representation of a particular event or building, in other words how hard it was to get an opportunity to photograph that event or building. This is borne out by Martha's comment in the previous section, in which she mentions that everyday life in the villages was not frequently photographed. Similarly, Anestis described the photographs he posted in the group and how rare this material is.

⁴⁸ Bicomunal refers to the two larger ethnic communities of Cyprus, the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities.

⁴⁹ Many interviewees, both members and administrators, complained that with the passage of time and the increasing amount of material added to the group, some members will repost photographs that already exist in the Facebook group collection. As a result, they are included two or more times in the group. 'One of the problems we face over the years is the fact that the material no longer goes into albums and gets 'lost', so many people take photos from Memories of Limassol and reupload them to Memories of Limassol' (Jenny, pos. 268). As the administrators explain, these incidents are probably accidental, as it is difficult to go through and check all the posted material in the group, but they may also be deliberate acts performed with the aim of bringing a certain photograph back to the top of the feed in order to initiate discussion.

I thought, how many people would have seen these photos of ‘testing’ [of new equipment] in the sixties inside the old airport, where they set a testing environment to test the first traffic lights in Cyprus? It’s very wow. (pos. 34)

Here he is referring to a specific professional event that was photographed for documentation purposes by the Cyprus Public Works department. The event was not open to the public, but the relevant photographs were accessible at all times to people who were interested, as they were kept in the archive of the department. Other interviewees connected the rarity of an image with the photographers and their attitudes towards the events represented. One example, listed in Table 1, is ‘foreigner photographs’. This theme does not refer directly to the content of the photograph; instead, it refers to the photographer and/or the photographic source, and, more importantly, it indicates the rareness of these images. Interviewees claim that photographs taken by personnel working for the United Nations or the Royal Navy, or other foreigners who passed through (such as archaeologists during British colonial times⁵⁰), are priceless, because these images often provide information about Cyprus which otherwise would not have come to light. Zina talks about the importance of the archaeological photographic documentation that was left behind after British colonial rule ended:

I think that if it weren’t for those files my discipline [archaeology] would have a real problem. Because my discipline has to do with, well, archaeological research, it necessarily includes this part of it [archival research]. Why? Because when the British were in Cyprus, the only things they left us were some photographs and some scribbled diaries. (pos. 22)

Similarly, Orestis, a member and administrator of Memories of Limassol, generally searches for images in various online and offline sources and sometimes posts them in the Facebook group. He talked extensively about ‘foreigner photographers’, referring to postcards of various eras and especially to photographs taken by members of the crew on British warships. As he explained, those images were not circulated in Cyprus; they were printed on the ships and given to the sailors as postcards to send to their families. Additionally, he referred to the photographs taken by United Nations personnel:

⁵⁰ Cyprus was under the dominion of the British Empire from 1878 to 1914 as a British protectorate. In 1914 Cyprus was unilaterally annexed to the British Empire; in 1925 it was declared a Colony of the British Crown, and it became an independent state in 1960.

There's a lot of British sources that have a lot of great material and the United Nations have great material, the soldiers who were here [in Cyprus] in the sixties, seventies, they have a lot of material, the United Nations, the Swedish, the Danish, the Canadians, etc., they have incredible material. You know, and material that we, the Greek Cypriot propaganda [official channels] would not show (Orestis, pos. 38)

As Orestis makes clear, issues like propaganda, which will be discussed in later chapters, seem to make a photograph rare, or at least make it look rare, because it is not widely available. Because images taken by foreigners are not generally distributed by members of the groups, and this photographic material is not promoted or shown by official bodies (schools, the media, memory institutes), access to this material becomes more difficult, and thus when such photos are finally published in Facebook groups they are considered by the members to be rare and appreciated accordingly. Like the United Nations and explorer photographs, Turkish Cypriot photographic sources were also brought into the interview discussion. According to some interviewees, Turkish Cypriot/Turkish sources and resources contain information that is not known to the Greek Cypriot community. As Orestis notes:

Also, another element is the Turkish Cypriot sources. With Limassol I collected a few, a section of Turkish Cypriot sources only. Okay. There's a lot of material out there that is unknown to us. They, we [the Greek Cypriots] don't know about it. (Orestis, pos. 40)

As will be discussed in the next chapter, some active members feel the need to showcase unknown parts of history or unknown parts of the city through photo-sharing, and often try to enrich the groups with such photos. Likewise, Aris, who is an active member of Yesteryears of Nicosia, collects visual material from multiple sources. He also makes this reference to Turkish Cypriot webpages:

I have found Turkish Cypriot pages, other [sources] in addition to Facebook pages. Because they are in Turkish I can't understand what is written, but they had a lot of pictures from all over Cyprus. I found one [group] that had a lot of pictures of Nicosia. Some known, some unknown to me. And there are many others like those groups. (pos. 32–34)

The choice of photographic sources and the representation of history through the photographs will be further discussed in Chapter 5. The coexistence of the two communities, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, and their differences and similarities over the decades –

themes that are listed above as bicomunal discourse – seem to be of interest to some members of the groups and is a topic they would like to have more access to. Limited access refers back to rarity of images, which some interviewees measure as the frequency of viewing of a specific photograph. But this time the photographic theme is specified as bicomunal discourse. ‘I didn’t see any photos [in the group] for the other community [Turkish Cypriots]. It would be nice to add relevant photos’ (Polly, pos. 55).

Another interviewee, Claire, also expressed interest in gaining more access to Turkish Cypriot material:

The truth is that in Memories of Limassol I didn’t happen to see or maybe I may have missed some posts referring to Turkish Cypriots, but I would be very interested, because I believe that we must preserve this part of memory, because we must not forget that there were Turkish Cypriots in Limassol and that as our people left from there, they also left from here. (pos. 36)

On the other hand, not all interviewees⁵¹ showed the same interest in photographs derived from Turkish Cypriot sources or images that featured the Turkish Cypriot community.⁵² For example, Pantelis said that he had no comment to make about the Turkish Cypriot community or relevant photographs that might be shared; instead, he was interested in viewing photographs of the northern part of Cyprus, which has been occupied by Turkey since 1974.

The last quotation here is from Rea; she referred to the elements discussed above, the representation of Cyprus and its history through the lens of ‘external’ explorers, but also to the plethora of personal photographs included in the Facebook groups:

The older the photos, the more I am interested in them, because they are more rare. I mean something from the 1900s, because usually it’s also where people who are not Cypriots, I mean they can be travellers, they can be anything, I like it when they connect [the photograph] to how they saw things as outsiders, and how they describe

⁵¹ In fact, less than half of the participants expressed interest in photographs derived from Turkish Cypriot sources or images that featured the Turkish Cypriot community.

⁵² Although several interviewees showed interest in the Turkish Cypriot community and history, no one showed a similar interest in or even mentioned the constitutionally recognised religious minorities of Cyprus (Armenians, Maronites and Latins).

the world, and how they basically choose [to depict their understanding through a photograph]. ... [The Facebook group] got a lot of fairly recent ones that might not be so interesting, one might put them in because they are very personal. But okay, in a garden with three ladies sitting around, I mean, all right, they may not be that important, but okay, I understand why they may want to know more about the photograph or for research purposes and so on. (pos. 64)

The difference here is that Rea factors the age of a photograph into its rarity. Rea's comments suggest that age automatically enhances the value of a photograph, in contrast to more recent, casual, personal images. As discussed in the literature review, photography became more accessible after Kodak sold the first commercial camera in 1888. This validates Rea's claim that the older the photograph the greater its rarity, since there are clearly fewer photographic records from the late nineteenth century than from the mid-twentieth century.

To sum up, interviewees define 'rare photographs' as ones they are viewing for the first time and not those they have viewed many times through frequent repostings of those images on Facebook.⁵³ Or they define rare photos as those depicting a particular event or building that was photographed rarely or only with difficulty. For others, rareness depends on the photographer (foreigners, United Nations soldiers, Turkish Cypriots, archaeologists), or how old the photograph might be, or on the theme and how unique, unknown, or strange it is.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the photographic themes preferred by research participants. It is apparent that their preferences were not based on aesthetic criteria but were linked to their experiences and narratives, and to the time and place where they or their parents grew up. When I first started analysing the interview data, one of my preliminary observations was

⁵³ Many interviewees, both group members and administrators, complained that with the passage of time and the increase of material added to the group, some members would repost photographs that already existed in the Facebook group collection. As a result, such images are included several times. 'One of the problems we face, after the years and the fact that the material no longer goes into albums and gets 'lost', many people take photos from Limassol Memories and upload them to Limassol Memories. (Jenny, Pos. 268) These incidents, as the administrators explain, are probably accidental, as it is difficult to go through and check all the posted material in the group, but they may also happen deliberately in order to bring a certain photograph back to the feed in order to initiate discussion.

that, in addition to the place-attachment characteristic, the photographic themes that interest the research participants were mirroring their reasons for joining and participating in the Facebook group. Participants were more attracted to images that fulfilled their purpose in being in the group, such as recalling or reviving the past, learning about the history of the island and its cities, experiencing the narratives of their parents' generation, or exploring the evolution of Nicosia or Limassol. In the next chapter I examine the reasons Facebook group members use and interact with digitised photographs online and how these reasons affect their choice of photographic repository.

5 Why people engage with old photographs and which sources they use

In the previous chapter I analysed the photographic topics that the subjects of this research are most interested in. The analysis revealed that a personal connection to certain images is a decisive element in defining the topic preferences of each individual. The purpose of this chapter is to answer the second research question: what prompts research participants to interact with old photographs, and which photographic sources do they use for this purpose? A key source for old photographs and the central reference point of this research is Facebook groups. Facebook is not a primary source of old photographs, however, but a mediator, so in this chapter I catalogue the sources the interviewees make use of and examine whether their chosen sources reflect the purpose of their photographic search.

The chapter is divided into three parts. In the first part I examine member activity in the Facebook groups, classifying the different actions members take in these groups. This activity classification leads to the second part of the chapter, which sets out the reasons and contexts in which research participants interact with old photographs inside or outside the Facebook groups. The final part of the chapter provides a list of photographic sources that interviewees reported using and concludes with observations on how far the choice of source is influenced by the purpose of the search.

5.1 Member activity in the Facebook groups

This study focuses on members of certain Facebook groups, and one of its aims is to understand how and why these people interact with old photographs inside and outside these Facebook groups. In order to understand why members interact with old photographs, it is important to obtain an overall picture of what happens in these groups and in particular how members participate in *Yesteryears of Nicosia* and *Memories of Limassol*. It would be an oversight not to explain the activity of these members, because it seems to be connected with their overall activity in searching for old photos.

Facebook is a key source of digitised photos and often the only arena for interacting with old photographs that the participants of this research had access to. Unlike other photographic sources, Facebook groups are not static but places where users can find and add photographic

material.⁵⁴ The opportunity to both view and add photographs allows me to classify the members of these groups according to their preferred activity.

The next section ranks members according to their degree of participation, which in turn will identify some of the reasons members search for old photographs. Four distinct actions can be taken in Facebook groups: view, react, comment, and post (image or text). Based on these actions, the activity status of members is graded as inactive, passive, active and very active. I identified these gradations during the exploratory study of Facebook groups by observing the actions taken by group members (reactions, comments, posts); later, these observations were confirmed by interviewees' answers to the question, 'How would you define your activity on Facebook group, and why?'

What follows is a description of the characteristics of the four categories of member activity as identified through the exploratory study and semi-structured interviews. I also provide quotes from members who were asked to describe and categorise their own activity in the Facebook groups. The numbers and percentages that appear in the following categories cannot be generalised to reflect the activity of the group members; they only reflect the activity of the sample used in this research. There follows a summary table of the data given below (Table 2).

Activity status name	Description of the activity	Number of participants and percentage
Inactive members	Members who do not follow the news feed, do not see the new posts, and generally do not visit the group.	2 interviewees (6.06%)
Passive members	Members who follow the news feed of the group with varying frequency. Passive members might also read the discussion accompanying the posted photographs. Passive members do not	11 interviewees (33.33%)

⁵⁴ This interactivity will be further discussed in the next chapter; many participants consider it a benefit.

	share material in the group or participate in group discussions.	
Active members	Members who see the posts, react with emojis, and comment in group discussions. They do not post photographs.	6 interviewees (18.18%)
Very active members	Members who post photographs, react to others' posts, and participate in group discussions.	14 interviewees (42.42%)

Table 2 Activity status categories of Facebook group members

5.1.1 Inactive members

In this research, ‘inactive member’ describes individuals who are members of a Facebook group but do not follow the news feed or see new posts and generally do not visit the group. Only two interviewees (6.06% of the total) appear to be inactive members, and one of them, Martha, takes an even more distant position by disabling notifications:

Someone put me in this group, I don't remember who. At first, I would see the posts when they appeared on my wall, and then I turned the notifications off, so I can say that I don't have any action in the group ... I found that some posts might be interesting, and if I want to see something at some point, I can see it. [I turned off notifications because] there were a lot of posts, and they didn't concern me. (pos. 4–8)

Makis, on the other hand, receives notifications from Memories of Limassol from time to time.

I'm not actively involved. I see notifications come in maybe once in a while, but I don't open them ... I like these old things, I was excited when I first saw the group, but okay, nothing beyond that. (pos. 2)

The example of Makis, who was initially enthusiastic and followed the group and its content (passive member) but whose enthusiasm waned so he stopped looking at the news feed (inactive member) might not be rare behaviour for the members of this group; many

interviewees noted that their interest in the Facebook groups was transient. The activity status of members is not fixed; as will be seen from the examples that follow, many members participate to a greater or lesser extent at different times.

5.1.2 Passive members

Passive members follow the group's news feed with varying frequency. Some members view the feed daily, others less often. Following the news feed means not only viewing images but also sometimes reading the discussion accompanying the posted photographs. Passive members do not share material in the group or participate in group discussions. Eleven interviewees (33.33%) appear to be passive members. As mentioned earlier, activity status is not static, and members might change participation attitudes throughout their engagement with the group. For example, Stavros, who can be considered a passive member, viewing images posted in the group without commenting, once participated in a discussion:

I am rather passive. I happened to comment just once. Otherwise, I log in, I am not always logged in [to Facebook] ... because I get distracted, I log in whenever I have time, at my leisure, to sit and look at pictures, half an hour. But it's not consistent. That is, I won't log in every day, nor will I come in regularly, nor will I comment. (pos. 3)

Some passive members, like Rea, react to posts with emojis. 'I am an observer. I mean, I just see, I don't know how often, I just see the posts and sometimes I might like them [using the 'like' button], but, okay, I don't join the discussion on the page' (pos. 4). Rea points out that curiosity is what drives her to follow the discussions in the Facebook group:

Mostly I look at the pictures, and if it's interesting and I read the other person's description, I mean if they put something that's interesting and if I feel it's a little more controversial, I might look at the comments out of curiosity. Or if I'm curious to see who, I mean, I like to watch the way people write, if they ask, 'who is this person?' [pictured in the image], or 'where is this place?', then I'm curious to see if other people find the answer, if they answer. I like that. (pos. 6)

Zina describes her activity in Yesteryears of Nicosia in a similar manner, distinguishing her activity status from active members:

[I am a] passive member for sure. What is the reason? Basically I won't take my own photos to post them there, nor will I comment on other people's photos in particular, it's just that every time I see an image on the group that sparks my interest, it will

then become either a topic of discussion with other people [offline discussion], for example show the photo and say it looks like this ... or basically I will just react with a Facebook emoji. (pos. 4)

In describing her status within the Facebook group, Zina adds a very interesting element. She mentions that she may not participate in a discussion around a photo on Facebook, but that this doesn't mean the discussion is not happening. A photo, she says, can be a reference point in a conversation with friends outside of social media:

Basically, instead of discussing in the Facebook group with comments, I happened to show pictures to my parents or friends, and we would talk about things we saw [in the pictures]. For example, I happened to discuss the women ... how the women were dressed or how they walked around. (pos. 18)

Although her overall activity in the group is passive, meaning that she does not participate in discussions online, when specific images catch her interest she often wants to discuss them with her family and friends outside of social media. Therefore, she might not be active online but actively engage with the material offline.

5.1.3 Active members

Active members are those who see the posts, react with emojis and comment on discussions occurring in the groups. Six interviewees (18.18%) appear to be active members. Charis, for example, identifies himself as an active member: 'To post [photographs] no, above all I am an observer, and a commentator sometimes in discussion, yes' (pos. 6). Thalia gives more details about her activity status and describes situations when she is more involved with the group:

I mainly comment on photographic material. I don't think I uploaded a photo to Memories of Limassol, or if I did it must have been only one, because I don't have this material in my hands, but I comment on places that are familiar to me, either from descriptions of my parents or my grandparents, or they are mainly buildings or places that I don't recognise and I wonder where these things are or where these things were. I will rarely comment on faces, because I don't know them most of the time. They are much older than me, unless it is a distant or close family member who is depicted. (pos. 6)

Thalia's goal in participating in the discussions is to enrich her knowledge, which is why she mainly asks questions in her comments. Elena, however, who is also an active member,

differs greatly in how and why she comments on the photographs. Elena is the member mentioned in the previous chapter who adds comments of a nostalgic and idealised nature (e.g. ‘very nice’, ‘nice times’; see section 4.2.1). In her comments Elena does not provide any information about the image per se; rather, she is expressing the feelings viewing the image evoke in her. The last example of an active member is Lakis, who said, ‘I usually comment on posts in the group by providing additional information and sometimes corrections ... I only comment on photos, I have hardly any old [photos] to add’ (pos. 2–4). The last three examples confirm that within an activity status category (inactive, passive, active or very active) there are many different approaches to frequency and quality of participation. As the quotes from Thalia, Elena and Lakis reveal, active members comment beneath the posted photographs in three distinct ways: to ask a question, to express admiration or nostalgia, or to add information.

5.1.4 Very active members

The final activity status category for the Facebook group members is very active. Members in this category post photographs, react to others’ posts, and participate in the discussion within the group. At the time of the interviews, fourteen research participants (42.42%) appeared to be very active members. From the explorative study it was quite easy to identify the very active members, since their names were more prominent in the posts and appeared more often in the group’s feed than those who only comment on or react to photographs rather than posting images.

As in the previous activity status categories, the frequency and quality of posts varied from member to member. Some members post very regularly; some post for a while but their posting frequency declines over time; and others post photographs in the group only occasionally. Aris, for example, identifies himself as very active: ‘I consider myself a pretty active member. I added several photos in the group [Yesteryears of Nicosia]’ (pos. 2). Aris posts new photographic material almost every week, and he uses a wide variety of sources to find photographs. Yiannis, Jenny, Costas and Orestis used to share images regularly, but for different reasons they do not post new photographs in the groups anymore. Yiannis, for example, stopped sharing photographs because of copyright infringement. Even though he owns a lot of images that could enhance the Facebook group collection, he refuses to share them, because in the past some members reshared them in other groups without his permission and without attributing credit to the legitimate owner. As he said, ‘It was very annoying to have people take some photos that I had watermarked, remove [the watermark],

crop [the photo] and repost [it] as if it was theirs. It was sick' (Yiannis, pos. 6). The other members mentioned above do not have new material to share, but they still actively participate in discussions about the photographs. Rona and Anestis share photographs in the groups but not as frequently as they participate in discussions. Panos, a very active member, posts and participates in discussions regularly. During the interview he also provided observations regarding the participation of other members of Yesteryears of Nicosia's group:

I think I am one of the very active members of this group. We are close to 11,000 members. There is a group of members that is very active, that is, they post on a daily basis ... and there is a large, huge group of people who are just members and just viewers, but they comment on the photos, they have something to say, even if they don't post their own photos or videos. (pos. 4)

Facebook itself categorises group members and rewards very active members by automatically adding a badge that appears next to a member's name on group posts and comments and on the member's profile. These badges help group members identify admins, moderators and active group members. Facebook can assign seven different badges: admin, moderator, new member, conversation starter, founding member, visual storyteller and rising star. Group administrators can choose which badges will be available for members to earn. Facebook's definition of each badge is given below.

- **Admin and Moderator:** These badges help members easily identify group leaders, which in turn enables your moderation team in keeping your community engaged and safe. This badge will always appear for group admins and moderators.
- **New Member:** Welcoming new members and making them feel supported is critical to building community. This badge will appear for members who have joined the group within the last two weeks.
- **Conversation Starter:** Recognizes members who start meaningful group discussions. This badge will appear for members whose posts receive the most likes and comments in the past month.
- **Founding Member:** Acknowledges early members who have helped grow your group. This badge is awarded to people who join within the first three days of a new group's creation and write a post, invite people to join, or share to the group within those first three days. This badge is only available in newly created groups.

- **Visual Storyteller:** Recognizes members for unique contributions to the community, which could help spark conversation within the community. The visual storyteller badge will appear for members who share photos or videos that group members find valuable.
- **Rising Star:** Recognizing new members within their first month with the group that contribute to the community. The rising star badge will appear for new members that receive the most comments and reactions on their posts and comments.

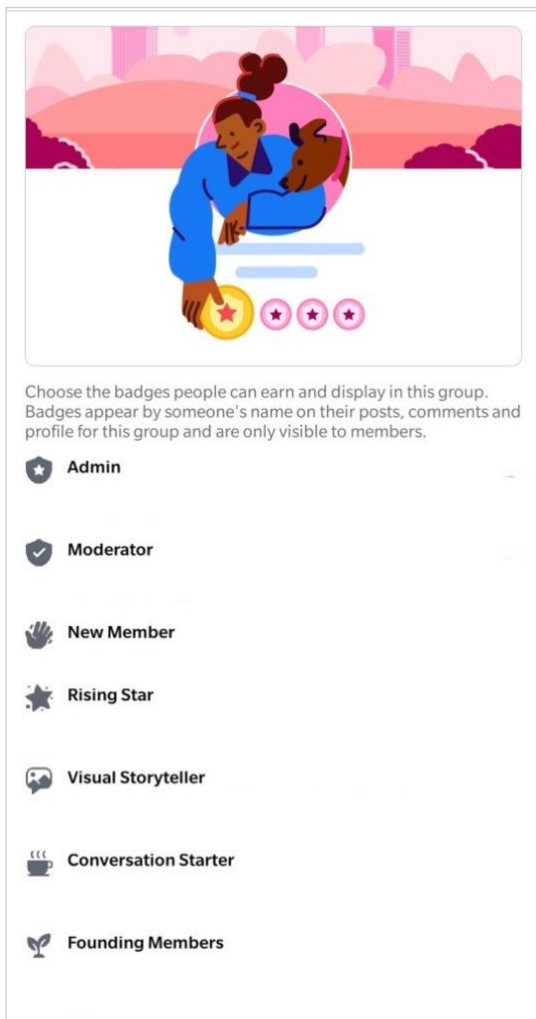


Figure 10 Facebook's group badges and their icons

During the interviews only one participant referred to these badges; he was curious about their meaning. 'I don't know about the hierarchies now, but there are top members and so on ... What does the coffee badge⁵⁵ mean?' (Petros, pos. 86–90). The badges given by Facebook

⁵⁵ A coffee mug is the icon for the conversation starter badge, as shown in figure 10.

are constantly updated, so for example a member who often posts photos can earn the visual storyteller badge; but the badge only appears for one month, so if over time the member's activity in the group changes and they start participating with comments, he or she could earn a conversation starter badge instead. The activity status categories defined for the purposes of this study are not absolute either, meaning that members who were very active at one point may not continue to be active over time. I set up the activity status categorisation rather than using Facebook's badge system for reasons of clarity and inclusivity. Badges are only given to active and very active members; they ignore inactive and passive members. Additionally, badges describe a specific activity and its frequency, whereas my categorisation covers a wider spectrum of activities, which gives a more realistic reflection of member attitudes within the groups.

5.1.4.1 Move the discussion outside Facebook

Moving the conversation out of Facebook was mentioned by ten research participants (30.3%), who also described the context in which they discussed the images found in *Yesteryears of Nicosia* and *Memories of Limassol*. The reasons for initiating a discussion with people outside the Facebook groups varied, but as will be revealed in the following sections, these offline discussions often reflect members' reasons for searching for old photographs. Some members discussed photographs in a professional context; for example, Rea and Petros showed photographs found in the Facebook groups to their colleagues, because they were working on a project that was related to these images. Rea noted that she didn't discuss images she found on Facebook with family. 'I did at work, though. Yeah, I found something [in the group] related to the research we were working on at the time, "oh, here it is," and I showed it to them' (pos. 66).

Similarly, Petros forwarded the photographs to people who shared his professional interest. 'I took that photo and sent it to various people, I think in another group chat we have with some fellow architects, because it seems somehow Kaimakli, which was a village, was not connected to the city' (pos. 50).

In addition, two interviewees, Zina and Phanos, wanted to share their excitement about certain images they had found in the groups, but they did not wish to share these feelings publicly, just privately with their contacts. For Phanos, this does not happen frequently: 'Maybe forwarding a picture will happen, but rarely; in the last five years, for example, I once happened to find a picture and sent it to my brother and said, "look"' (pos. 50).

The most common reason for members to share and discuss photos outside Facebook is to involve people who do not have a Facebook account. The remaining six interviewees have shown images retrieved from Facebook groups to members of their families who do not have a Facebook account, believing that they would probably be interested in the material or that these family members would be able to provide them with more information about what is depicted in the photograph. Zina discusses photographs with family members as well as with friends. Polly describes a bonding activity with her father based on images found in Yesteryears of Nicosia:

Because my dad doesn't have Facebook, it happened many times that I showed him images from the group, they could be from the sixties, the seventies, and I said, 'oh, dad, look at this street, do you remember what it was like?' or not to show him, I am not telling him which street is, so he can guess. He usually finds it. (pos. 31)

This 'guessing game' between father and daughter is just one example of how an image found in a Facebook group can become the subject of an offline discussion. Another example: wanting to make the most of her father's memories, Zina described showing him photos of the old town of Nicosia, where he lived, in order to get some answers to her questions about this specific area and its history:

I happened many times to show my dad photographs, and because he lived within the walls of Nicosia and because a big part of the group is about within the walls of Nicosia, he comments to me with a lot of, how can I put it? He has beautiful memories, and he associates them with these photos. And I showed [the images] to him for that very reason. Well, I am asking a lot of questions, because don't forget that we live in a generation that, well, of course we didn't live in the northern area of Nicosia at all ... I feel that I have many gaps that I have to fill with the photographs. (pos. 48)

Likewise, Thalia knows that her mother appreciates old photos and enjoys seeing images related to her past, so whenever she finds such images, she shows them to her mother:

My mum doesn't have Facebook, nor does she want to because she doesn't understand it. And I go to her and show her. 'Mum, mum, doesn't this house remind you of the house of someone?' 'Where did you get this picture?' 'Mum, I told you, it's from that Facebook group' and so on and so forth ... My mamma is not that old, she just refuses to use Facebook. (pos. 70)

This is also the case for Stavros, who characterised the photographs as a stimulus for starting a conversation with his father-in-law. Rania, on the other hand, thought that some photos might have been of interest to her grandmother, but she won't show them to her, as she explains:

No [I won't show pictures to my grandmother], but I could have done if I had been with her when I saw them on Facebook ... but when I'm home I won't save the picture to show her [when I visit her]. (pos. 36)

As these quotations show, most of the participants (six out of seven) who discuss photos outside Facebook out of personal interest, rather than for professional reasons, do so with older people, such as parents, grandparents or in-laws. The exception is Pantelis, who shows his wife photographs from Facebook groups that relate to the village she comes from:

For example, when I look at the St. Elias group, St. Elias is an occupied village near Trikomo. And St. Elias is where my wife comes from. When I see a post from the St. Elias group, my first job is to call my wife: 'come and see a fellow villager, come and see something from your village'. (pos. 62)

Pantelis is not only an exception because he discusses photos with his peers outside Facebook but because he is a very active member at seventy-eight years of age. This is in contrast to the majority of members, who discuss these photographs outside Facebook only occasionally and are passive members under thirty-four years old. Of course, it cannot be concluded from this data that the most active members never comment or move the discussion of an image outside Facebook. However, I observed in the interviews that active members focused more on their interactions within Facebook. They ignored my questions about off-Facebook discussions as they were focused on and excited about the chance Facebook gave them to interact directly with other users to discuss and exchange information about specific photos.⁵⁶

5.1.5 Activity status and age groups

To give a more comprehensive picture of members of the two groups, I provide here some basic demographic data regarding participants' age and activity level. The administrator of Yesteryears of Nicosia commented on the relationship between activity and age:

⁵⁶ The perceived benefits of using Facebook groups as a photographic repository, one of which is participation in discussion, will be presented and discussed in detail in the next chapter.

As an admin I can also see group statistics. Although it seems that older members of the group are the only ones [in the groups], in reality they are not. It's just that the older members are the ones who are more actively involved in posting, talking. But when you look at the ages, it's all ages. I mean in the group there are also quite a few members in the 18–24 age group ... that's very good if those ages are sitting and watching and learning from the photographs and the discussions. (Andreas, pos. 8–10)

Indeed, during the exploratory study, my first impression from looking at the group posts was that most of the members were born before 1970, which means they are now over fifty years old. This erroneous observation arose because in both the description of and the comments on the photographs, members seemed to be related in age to the year of the image. For example, a photo set in the 1980s showing young adults on a main street in Nicosia, including the member who posted it and who is also depicted in the image, could lead to the conclusion that this member was born in the 1960s. Many members commented with descriptions of their carefree youth or that they related to the picture because they lived in the area at that time. But looking at the participants of this survey, and taking into account the information given by the administrator in the quotation above, the conclusion that the majority of the participants in these groups are older people can be refuted. Specifically, eleven group members in the 25–34 age group, four members aged 35–44, five members aged 45–54, three members aged 55–64, six members aged 65–74, and four members aged 75–84 participated in the interviews. It appears from the data that there is participation from several age groups in both *Yesteryears of Nicosia* and *Memories of Limassol*. In the research I did not manage to identify people aged under twenty-five, although the administrators' statistics⁵⁷ (Figure 11 and Figure 12) show that younger individuals are members of both groups, albeit in a smaller percentage than other age groups.

57 The tables showing age and gender information are based on the screenshots from 'groups' insights', an automated statistical formula available only to group administrators. The screenshots were taken by the administrators of the groups and were sent to me. I combined the data in two graphs to bring together the information from both groups.

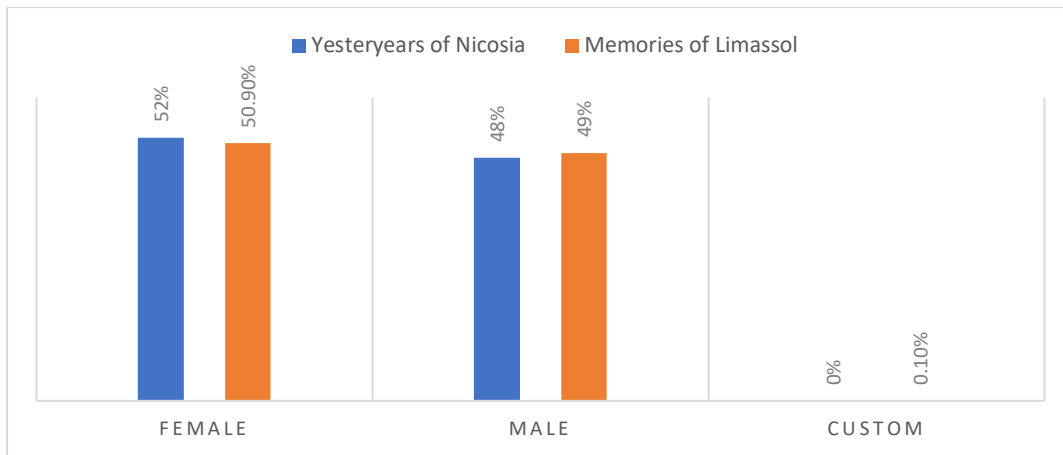


Figure 11 Gender participation in Yesteryears of Nicosia and Memories of Limassol, based on statistics provided by the administrators of the groups

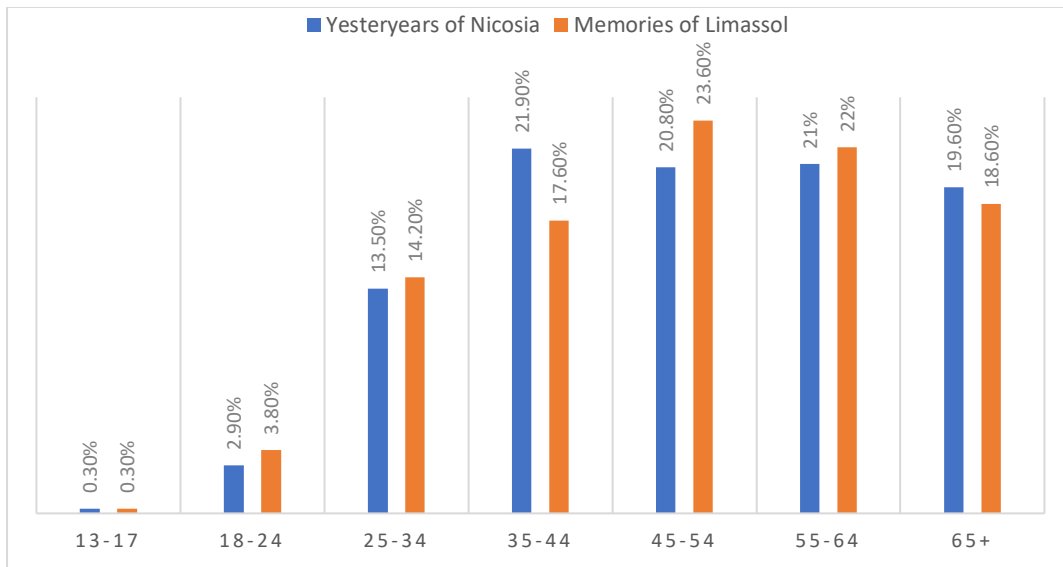


Figure 12 Age participation in Yesteryears of Nicosia and in Memories of Limassol, based on statistics provided by the administrators of the groups

Although the above graphs summarise the overall representation of gender and age in the groups, they do not provide information about the relationship between activity status and age

of members.⁵⁸ This information was gathered during the interviews and is illustrated in the following graph:



Figure 13 Interviewees' age groups and activity status

Perhaps the most significant finding is the absence of very active members in the 24–35 age group. With the exception of a small number of participants in the 25–34 age group (inactive members, two out of thirty-three interviewees, 6.06%), members follow the groups and the news feeds in different ways. Members can be divided into givers and receivers: those who share information, whether written (through comments) or visual (through images), and those who only receive information, reading the comments or viewing the images. A common characteristic, however, is their engagement with old photographs, and this is what the next section (5.2) will focus on: examining the reasons for members' engagement with these groups and whether this activity arises in the context of searching for old photographs. In other words, it seeks to answer the question of whether Facebook groups are used as a source of old photographs.

5.2 Why do people engage with old photographs?

The reasons why interviewees engage with old photographs vary, as do the photographic sources they make use of. The engagement with photographic material can be a deliberate

⁵⁸ **Appendix VII** is a list that includes the nickname, age, professional field and activity status category of each research participant.

intention when someone searches for an image, but it could also occur unintentionally when someone stumbles upon an old photograph. Twenty interviewees from all activity status categories (inactive, passive, active, very active), reported that they had searched for old photographs in various sources, once or regularly. In the interviews I identified two types of motivation that drive individuals engaging with old photographic material: extrinsic and intrinsic. These motivations are sometimes combined, meaning that extrinsic and intrinsic motivation could simultaneously drive a person to engage with old photographs.

5.2.1 Extrinsic motivation

Extrinsic motivations are connected with outside drivers and involve completing a specific task. In this research I identified two extrinsic motivations: professional and educational. In other words, the motivation to engage with old photographs is the need to complete a professional or work-related task. Six interviewees mentioned working on professional projects that involved searching various photographic collections. Some interviewees who regularly use old images in their work highlighted the importance of photography, but also of the photographic archives, in their professional activities. Orestis and Zina in particular talked about the importance of old photographs for their work in cinema and archaeology respectively.

I've always had an interest in archival photography in general because of my work in cinematography. Photographs are the most essential, the most basic material we have when we have to deal with period, period films. Regarding the atmosphere, the costumes, the fashion, the faces of the people, the behaviour we can see, the composition of the population we can see, for example, it is unbelievable how many black people there are in Cyprus in the old photographs. There are too many images [depicting Cypriots]. There are African-Cypriots, Afro-Cypriots. (Orestis, pos. 4)

Orestis states that photographic documentation from previous eras is essential for the discovery of the past and a key element for evidence-based representation of the past through his films. He stated that archival photographs are an important resource for his work. Similarly, as Zina notes in section 4.4, photographic archival collections form a significant part of archaeological research; without this material, modern archaeologists would not have had access to a lot of information from past excavations in Cyprus. This is why she uses old photographs for her work as archaeologist:

If you really want to go back and find information about an excavation or a site, the best way to do it is through photographs. So, yes, I actually happen to use old photos a lot of times to be able to find out about archaeological sites. (pos. 22)

Photographs also provide support materials for Rea, who retrieves information for her job in peace education. She looks for photographic material in different places:

Because I'm looking for a lot of things at the moment, I like it, because it's also for educational purposes that I'm looking. I've been checking out Europeana a lot, lately. Museum websites that are more organised, okay, when I'm looking for something on archaeology, I always look at what the British Museum have, or the Wellcome Collection. I found out they have open access, and I was excited, I mean, what else am I looking for? Okay, sure I'll always start with the 'all time classic option' Wikipedia when I don't have a clue about something, I mean I might know I can't use it or I might not be sure of the information [on Wikipedia] but I get an idea of what's out there. (pos. 16)

In addition to the repositories mentioned above, Rea happened on material in Facebook groups that was related to her job:

I'm currently working on a project where we were creating educational materials for places that schools might want to take their students, field trips ... if I see something that's especially relevant to what I'm looking for in the group, I mean I always save it or I'll look it up later at work etc. But, okay, I can't say that when I'm just scrolling on Facebook casually, I will look for old photographs particularly. I'll look for this material more extensively after seeing it 'accidentally' in the group, so to speak. (pos. 10–12)

For Rea, searching for work-related information on Facebook groups is definitely not an end in itself, but, as she says, she sometimes finds material relevant to her work without seeking it. Anestis, who also searches for photographic material for professional purposes, did not mention and does not remember specific photographic sources. Instead, like many interviewees, he initiates his search on a mainstream search engine, such as Google, or an online encyclopaedia, such as Wikipedia:

I don't know if there is anything on official websites, I couldn't find access. Maybe I happened to look on websites, I don't remember. What I do, I google very regularly,

let's say, to look up old photos, on many topics, mostly of professional interest. Not so much for personal stuff, I won't search for photos for that. (pos. 54)

Anestis clarifies that he does not search for photographs out of personal interest but only for professional purposes. Some participants who do not use old photographs for professional purposes themselves commented on this possible use of old photographs. Specifically, four interviewees assumed or knew that some people are using old photographs derived from various sources, including Facebook groups, for professional or educational purposes. Polly, for example, assumes that her sister, who is an architect, might be searching for old photographs for professional purposes:

No [I do not search for old photographs]. But I assume, for example, my sister, who is an architect ... is looking [in different photographic repositories], but because it's about her job and her studies. (pos. 83)

On the other hand, Stavri doubts that photographic material derived from Facebook groups is used by individuals for professional purposes; she refers to engagement with old photographs as a hobby activity instead. As will be discussed later in the chapter, for some of the interviewees, engagement with old photographs on Facebook is indeed a leisure activity, but this does not negate the use of Facebook group content for professional purposes.

There was a period when I was doing an educational tour for Israelis and Palestinians ... we were studying and reflecting on the 'conflict' and I had downloaded photos to give them, images showing the before and after [before 1963 and before the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974], when the two communities of the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots were somehow living in harmony. (Charis, pos. 22)

Contrary to Stavri's assumption that Facebook groups are not used on a professional level, some members, such as Charis, confirm that Facebook groups can be used as digital photographic repositories from which users can draw material and information for professionally related tasks. Educational projects, like professional projects, are considered to be extrinsically driven interactions with old photographs. Twelve interviewees, including those who use old photographs for professional purposes, mentioned that at some point they had searched for old photographs for educational purposes, specifically for a master's or PhD degree. Aria says: 'I used many [digitised photographs] in the context of my doctoral study. But I found them in the archive of ... a library in Limassol that has digitised photographs' (pos. 10). Similarly, Petros searched in various places for photographic documents for his

master's thesis: 'I went to the Department of Land and Survey and got some maps and drawings from there' (pos. 12). He also used: 'Google images, some images from newspaper articles' (pos. 20). Interviewees mentioned using many sources, and it would be excessive to add more here, which is why all the photographic sources are listed at the end of the chapter in Table 4.

Many individuals also use Facebook groups to find photographic material for their educational projects. Petros, for example, joined Yesteryears of Nicosia and other Facebook groups because he was able to find oral history data and photographs of Nicosia there that he could not find through other sources:

For my ... architecture thesis project, I was trying to do a little bit of research on maybe a little bit of oral history and architecture of some specific periods of the past couple of centuries in Cyprus, and [Yesteryears of Nicosia] was one of the groups that a friend of mine suggested to me, 'ahh, it's got stuff', 'join it', 'check it out', etc.

(pos. 4)

On the other hand, Martha, who searched for archival photographs for her master's thesis in the field of cultural management, stated that she did not count Facebook as an option for collecting old photographs for her research; she used other offline and online sources instead.

It's not that I prefer [the printed photo], it's that I didn't happen to find any material on this particular topic online, that is, I didn't think to go to this Facebook group [Yesteryears of Nicosia] to see if it had [relevant photos]. Or I did think that it probably wouldn't have, and if it had, how would I search in the Facebook group to find something specific? (pos. 38)

The above quotations reveal several reasons – content, navigation, searchability – for choosing one specific source over others. These reasons will be analysed in the next chapter.

While all the above examples relate to the use of photographs for professional and educational purposes, the disciplines as well as the sources used by the participants vary. Members using old photographs for professional or educational purposes come from fields such as archaeology, architecture, cinematography, civil engineering, education, fine arts, graphic design, history, music and social sciences. As mentioned in the previous chapter, a member's educational or professional field is a component that sometimes defines their interest in a particular photographic subject, and, as discussed in this section, occupation is also a reason for interviewees to initiate a search for a particular photograph. However,

extrinsic motivations, such as professional or educational tasks, are not the only drivers for initiating an image search. The next section examines the intrinsic motivations that drive members to search for or engage with old photographs.

5.2.2 Intrinsic motivations

It has been noted that the main reason research participants search for old photographs is for use in professional or educational projects. In addition, most members do not seem to intentionally search for old photographs; instead, they stumble upon photographs, and their interactions with this photographic material emerge organically from their participation in Facebook groups. Specifically, twelve interviewees never searched for old images but happened to find them in Facebook groups, and most members who searched for images for professional and educational purposes stopped searching after completing their projects. Otherwise, they were content with random engagement with old photographs in the Facebook groups and generally did not turn to other sources.

The appearance of photographs in interviewees' news feeds, however, cannot be considered completely random or algorithmic, because they chose to join Yesteryears of Nicosia and/or Memories of Limassol, suggesting they were interested in the topics these groups deal with. Hence, it seems that there are intrinsic motivations that drive research participants to engage with old photographs of their place of origin and therefore join relevant Facebook groups. For example, Kyriakos, a passive member who did not engage with old photographs outside of Facebook groups, explained why he became a member of Yesteryears of Nicosia and similar Facebook groups:

The main thing that prompted me to join these groups was that I saw them on Facebook, that is, having contact with Facebook, I happened to see these groups. For example, where I was interested in learning historical facts and seeing pictures from the past, I decided to become a member and that's why I followed them. That is, in fact, it is by chance that the group came up on my [Facebook] wall and because I liked these topics, I decided to follow them. (pos. 22)

Most members' exposure to old photographs often depends on Facebook notifications of new posts in these groups, since most do not actively visit the groups; posts from the groups simply appear on members' Facebook feeds during casual scrolling. Casual scrolling may lead to further investigation, however; some members reported that seeing a photo or a comment in their Facebook feed may pique their interest and act as a trigger to investigate

this serendipitously received information. For example, Manthos admitted that he does not search for old photographs, but he often come across images that match his interests:

I'm not looking for old pictures on purpose. But if I see a photo or a story in, let's say, Yesteryears of Nicosia, I can use it and say I found this photo, or I can use photos that are in newspaper texts ... but I won't go to a webpage, for example, that says old photos of Nicosia. But why not, maybe some day I will try it just for my pleasure.
(pos. 43)

Manthos did not reject the possibility of exploring photographic repositories in the future as a leisure activity. Polly took a similar approach, stating that she did not deliberately search in a photo repository, but she might do so in the future, since the photographs she often sees on Yesteryears of Nicosia arouse her interest:

To search on purpose, it didn't happen. But I happened to look in various museums or on some pages I was following, and the truth of the matter is that I should search. I mean, I would have liked it if I looked more ... Okay, I'm an amateur, I'm not an architect, it's not my profession. Originally, I was going to look through Facebook to find a group ... electronic museums, I wouldn't have thought to search in. I couldn't imagine that they had some stuff online, some images. (pos. 21–27)

On the other hand, Stavros, who is looking for archival photographic material for professional and educational purposes but also out of personal interest –‘I'm interested in [photographs], I mean also as a person, I like this stuff' (pos. 25), comments on the attitude of Facebook group members towards searching for old photographs and assumes that the average user does not have or seek daily access to such material beyond the Facebook groups:

It's a process [to use Facebook groups] that I don't think is done on purpose. It's a subconscious process that takes place in the user, let's say, of these groups, which is important because the average user does not have the opportunity, I don't think, to have daily access either in the environment around them or from the sources, how will he have access to sources, that is, only when he has some books of his own, how many people refer to books? And so it becomes easier and more integrated into people's daily lives without even realizing it. We are in a period in which people have the need and make an effort to return to their roots. I think that effort is more intense

now and this thing [Facebook groups] helps people to [return to their roots] in their daily life without even realizing it. (pos. 98)

Stavros' assumptions in the first part of the quote about the photographic sources most people use are to some extent in line with the data of this research: twelve of the interviewees do indeed use only Facebook to access old photographs. Some of them are not aware of alternative ways of accessing digitised photographs or simply do not want to look in photographic repositories, since the Facebook groups meet their needs. Stavros refers to the easy accessibility of Facebook and the possibilities it offers for meeting people's spontaneous need to discover their roots and history.

The intrinsic motivations that Stavros mentions, such as nostalgic feelings or contemplation of the past, do not seem to be drivers for searching for old photographs, but they do often push individuals to join these Facebook groups. There are also other motivations that arise from viewing old photographs in Facebook groups. In other words, only a very small percentage of interviewees mentioned that they were looking for old photographs in order to feel nostalgic. Instead, these intrinsic motivations arise when members of the groups stumble upon old photographs that remind them of their past. These reminders of the past are sometimes enhanced by comments posted by very active members, which may prompt feelings of nostalgia. Members like Zina are attracted to such posts, which can induce nostalgia through personal stories and narratives:

Going into the process [of following the news feed of the Facebook groups], while I didn't think at first that I was going to get into reading, I found myself reading entire paragraphs [captions that accompany the photos] of strangers' stories. It is very interesting. (pos. 12)

To explain why she is attracted to reading the stories of strangers, Zina referred to the descriptive elements such stories contain. This is the kind of information she does not find in history books, such as everyday stories of Nicosia residents. Zina also notes:

I would go into the process [of searching in digital photographic repositories] even if it was beyond my professional research and tasks ... I would go into the process, yes, if it was about something to do with me or my family or my place. I think yes, for these purposes. Yes, I would go into the process of looking in a repository, yes. I like to learn about where I come from. (pos. 32)

She added that although she had been looking for photographic material in connection with her work as an archaeologist, she would like to extend her photographic searching to personal areas in order to find information about her ancestry and family. However, she has not yet searched other sources; she seems to be content with the photographs she happens to see in the Facebook groups.

Claire is one of the few interviewees who searches in different photographic sources, such as books, digital photographic repositories and Facebook groups, because of her professional and personal interest in the history of Cyprus. Like Zina, Claire appreciates the fact that when members of Facebook groups share personal photographs they give her access to oral history, and she has come to understand what her father's past looked like by stumbling on relevant photographs in the Facebook group:

That sharing of knowledge and images is highly appreciated. The image is something very powerful. And I am thankful to people who have memories and images and share them [on Facebook]. My father unfortunately does not have any photographs, he comes from a poor family. He doesn't have any photographs of his childhood. [But in the group] I can find pictures from my father's time. I can imagine and learn how my father lived, let's say. Or what his neighbourhood looked like all those years ago, so that's a very useful thing. (pos. 32)

Pantelis is one of the members who is not searching for photographs, but nevertheless he joined Memories of Limassol and sees images from this group. He identified the reason why the posts keep his interest active as the feeling of nostalgia that the posts often evoke. Nostalgia could be said to be both his reason for joining the group and the unexpected outcome of viewing the posts:

I'm in Paralimni. And it's been fifty-five years since I moved from Limassol. And therefore anything I see that reminds me of old Limassol is particularly attractive to me. It's one thing to live in Limassol permanently and it's another thing to see something that reminds you of your teenage years or your schooldays etc. This is the thing that draws me. It drew me. (pos. 12)

Other members, even though they are not trying to feel nostalgic, get this feeling by viewing photographs on the Facebook groups. Andreas, for example, describes how he felt when he came across a certain image on Yesteryears of Nicosia:

It made a great impression on me; I mean I am generally more impressed by more recent photographs [recent compared to the images which are generally shared in the group] ... [The image showed] three or four people walking down the street where the Wimpy is [famous burger bar of the 90s] ... that's a photo from my younger days, when I was a teenager, I was young, and I identified more with that [photo]. I was more in the Nicosia that I long for. Not so much the old one [before the 80s]. The old, okay, as nostalgic as it may seem, it had many problems that we don't have today. You can't see them in the pictures. They're not easy to identify. But the eighties and nineties were the best decades for the city of Nicosia, better than today. Why? Downtown was more thriving, people were moving. It was at a time when, regardless of whether you had invasion and division, after things settled down, you had the most 'sensitive' period of the city ... It's the one I look back on and it's why I want downtown to be downtown again. (pos. 86)

Andreas uses photographic archives for professional purposes from time to time, but he does not have an intrinsic motivation for doing so. As an architect he has strong opinions about the urban planning of Nicosia, which he stated in the interview when he referred to a relatively recent image that he came across on the Facebook group. His view was charged with a sense of nostalgia evoked through the viewing of this image. Andreas locates his younger self in that photograph; he sees the urban development of today by looking back at his own past and realises how strongly he remembers and longs for that period. Finally, he expresses his desire to return the city to its former glory. Even though Andreas does not search for old photographs to satisfy his desire to feel nostalgic, he finds that engagement with old photographs in the Facebook group produces nostalgic feelings. Yiannis, who is a very active member, explains that 'All these pages [Facebook groups], their basis is nostalgia' (pos. 58).

Nostalgia was not mentioned by all interviewees, however; each of them mentioned different motivations for engaging with old photographs. This section focused on the intrinsic motivations of individuals, identified as knowledge, curiosity, contemplation of one's origins, nostalgia, and pleasure. The next section will examine the role of active members in formulating the character of the groups.

5.2.3 Motivations for sharing

The third type of motivation, an additional driver seen only in nine (out of fourteen) very active members, is sharing old images in Facebook groups. Members who do this have a

strong desire to search for and collect old photographs from various sources and share their discoveries in Facebook groups. By sharing old photographs they often enhance, intentionally or unintentionally, the intrinsic motivations of the rest of the group. As Michalis explains:

When I identify a photograph which I believe will resonate with the members [of Yesteryears of Nicosia], I keep it in my personal photos, edit it a bit and then post it to the group. Among other things, I can take snapshots from digitised chronograms or documentaries, edit them and then post them [to the group]. That's what I did [with images] from various RIK [Cyprus Broadcast Association] documentaries. From the old photos you can draw some conclusions. (pos. 8)

Michalis mentioned that he visits the database of the Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation, known as Digital Herodotus, to take screenshots from films and publish them in the Yesteryears of Nicosia group. He points out, however, that: 'I don't have a specific database [that I use to collect photographic material]. The sources are mostly from the Internet!' (pos. 10). Apart from the sources he uses, Michalis also refers to what he believes he achieves by posting photographs that already exist on the Internet in Facebook groups:

When I became a member of Yesteryears of Nicosia, several members who are permanent residents in other countries, such as Greece, England, Australia, America, South Africa, see the photos I post and start commenting on them, getting nostalgic, depending on the lens they see [the images] through. (pos. 13)

Similarly, Panos tries to evoke a feeling of nostalgia in his fellow members through his posts. Not content with what the photo might convey, he also enriches his post with stories, which he says makes it more romantic:

I may make a post, I may decorate it a little bit, embellish it a little bit, nicely, so that I can provoke the other person who sees it to enter the conversation, to get him [or her] interested. To feel something romantic, something nostalgic, so that he [or she] can open a conversation. (pos. 28)

Apart from evoking nostalgia, Panos aims to cultivate historical memory by presenting parts of history that are not so well known to the general public. He searches for historical images in various sources to share them to the Facebook group:

I don't publish photos that are circulating on the Internet and are well known. That is, I will not publish a photo that the whole world knows. I'm going to post photos that are rare, that people haven't seen, most people haven't seen. One photo, for example, a

photo that showed three girls in [19]63, which was the separation of Nicosia, riding their bicycles, so beautifully dressed, I think some people who know the details [of the story of this image] wrote that they were going to Government House to deliver a petition. A very beautiful picture, with many beautiful girls. Photos that people don't know about and that show another side of Nicosia ... but there are other moments [from history] that I don't publish, at least at that moment, images that have to do with the conflicts in Cyprus between the Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots and vice versa, and there are many of images that no one has seen, no, they haven't seen them but not many people know about them. I have several of them, but I will publish them on this group little by little ... I do a lot of posts with photographic material related to Turkish Cypriots, Turkish Cypriot villages, Turkish Cypriot Nicosia, Buyuk Han, the Hani of the Kurmatzis, the Hagia Sophia, and in these posts I try to give some historical information, so that people get to know the history. (pos. 14–19)

The same goes for Burak, who is also aiming to provide historical information through his posts. His main concern, he says,

is to give information about the Turkish Cypriot community and about our common history. I try to find a suitable picture for each subject. Or if someone already posted a picture and I would like to write something related to this, I write my comment. (pos. 11)

Apart from historical facts and information, such as the history of the particular community Burak mentions, there is also talk among group members about the everyday personal stories of the people seen in the photographs. Aris, for example, looks for photos depicting everyday life in Nicosia:

I put up several photos that I think can help people learn about a particular site that they haven't caught up with, either age-wise, or they're reliving the history by viewing the post and the conversation that's going on beneath the post, because the best part is the conversation that happens afterwards. People who themselves, their fathers, or grandfathers lived in a certain decade or who owned or recognise shops, jobs, houses [depicted in the posted images]; they initiate a nice discussion, a good conversation is going on in the group. (pos. 2)

The feeling of helping to provide access to old photographs through Facebook groups seems to motivate some of the very active members to search for new images to contribute to the

groups. This is evident not only from Aris' quote but also from the words of George, who searches his own photographic collection in order to share material with others on Facebook groups, because, he says, someone who owns a photograph has a duty to share it with others:

When I saw this group, I thought it would be good to join, because I have a good interest in the history of our place. And through the photographic material, I thought I would learn a lot of things, which I did. Personally I have a pretty good photographic archive of both Nicosia and all of Cyprus, especially old photographic material, which I wanted to share with my fellow citizens who have the same love as me and the same interests.... I like to put up a photo which will also provoke some discussion. That is, something unknown to some, some information. In short, I give and take. (pos. 31)

Very active members are more likely than individuals who have purely extrinsic motivations to make frequent use of photographic repositories and personal photographic collections to gather images to post to the Facebook groups. This might be partly attributed to very active members' desire to offer their fellow members access to images; but it could also be attributed to their personal interest in searching for, viewing and discussing old images, activities that three very active members referred to as 'meraki'.⁵⁹

In the explorative study I identified another reason why members post photographs, either from their own collections or from other sources: they seek to gather information about the content of the photos through others' comments. In the interviews, however, only one such case was mentioned. Rona reported that after she spotted a photograph in another Facebook group, she saved it and posted it on both Memories of Limassol and Yesteryears of Nicosia in the hope of gathering information about the photograph for professional purposes:

I collect photos that might be of interest to me, plus the comments underneath [the posted photographs], and I keep them [on my device] ... there's a photo I want to use in a paper [academic article], I already used it in a presentation, in a conference ... but now that it's going to be published, I'm looking for references and it's amazing how many responses and information I received [from members of Facebook groups] (pos. 4)

⁵⁹ The word 'μεράκι' comes from the Turkish word 'merak'. 'Μεράκι' means 'strong desire'. It also means curiosity, love, care and attention to detail.

This is a good example of the circulation of old photographs that is often observed on the Internet and especially on social media. Rona's example also highlights the changing roles of Internet users, who move back and forth between being information receivers and information givers. Rona started out as a receiver of information, searching for and finding a photograph for professional purposes, but she became a giver of information by posting this image on Facebook, offering it to others with the aim of becoming a receiver again by collecting additional information about it.

To sum up, sharing has different purposes: 1) revealing historical information that was previously unknown to most group members; 2) evoking nostalgia; 3) enriching the content of the group, fulfilling a perceived obligation to the group or gaining a more prominent position in the group; 4) initiating or engaging in a conversation; or 5) asking for information about an image found elsewhere. What is remarkable is that the different reasons for sharing, and thus the values promoted by the very active members, correspond to a large extent with the intrinsic motivations analysed earlier in this chapter. It appears that very active members, who hope to arouse the interest of members who are driven by intrinsic motivations, might have an impact on both passive and active members, as these members are attracted by the values promoted by very active members. Although this is not the main reason to start searching for old photographs, it is probably enough to keep members' interest in the Facebook groups alive.

Table 3 illustrates research participants' motivations for engaging with old photographs, using photographic repositories, or sharing old photographs on Facebook groups.

Extrinsic motivations	Intrinsic motivations	Motivations for sharing
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Professional purposes ○ Educational purposes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Knowledge ○ Curiosity ○ Contemplation of origin and past ○ Nostalgia ○ Pleasure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Disclose previously unknown historical information ○ Evoke nostalgia ○ Enrich the content of the group/sense of obligation to the group/gain a more prominent position in the group ○ Initiate or engage in a conversation ○ Ask for information about an image found elsewhere

Table 3 Extrinsic and intrinsic motivations for engaging with and sharing old photographs

Classification of photographic sources

The following list presents the photographic sources used by interviewees.⁶⁰ In the literature review I did not find any research into the categorisation of photographic sources, so I have chosen four categories, each named after the type of the photographic source: non-profit repositories, for-profit repositories, offline sources, and general or unspecified sources. I based this classification on interviewee comments about accessibility in terms of both cost and ease of accessing the source.

⁶⁰ Comparing the photographic sources mentioned during the interviews with the sources found in the description of the photos posted in the Facebook groups, it seems that many more sources are used in the Facebook groups than were mentioned in the interviews. This is not because interviewees concealed their sources but because they simply could not remember them all and chose to refer to those they used most often.

Non-profit repositories	For-profit repositories	Offline	General or unspecified sources
Apsida	British Newspaper Archives	Books	Academic papers
Associated Press	British Pathé	Calendars	Archive of US Peace Corps
Bank of Cyprus	eBay	Newspapers	Archives of archaeologists
British Museum	Instagram	Personal photographic collections	Films
Cadastre	Getty	Physical libraries	Google images
CCA (Canadian Centre for Architecture)	Pinterest	Specific printed materials: calendars, photobooks, or photographs emphasising the photographers Edwards, Foscolo and Thomson	Internet sources
Cyprus Institute	Facebook		Personal/professional websites
Europeana	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Çocukluğumuzun Lefkoşası (Nicosia of our Childhood) 		Private companies
Kallinikeio Mouseio Athienou	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cypriot Modernism 		Stock photos
KOT (Cypriot Deputy Ministry of Tourism)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ESOBGA Cyprus 		Turkish Cypriot sources
Leventis Collection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forgotten Architecture 		
Likinthos	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Frozen Cypriots 		
MOMA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Landscapes of Cyprus 		
National Geographic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Photos of Cyprus 		
PIO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ploumisto Psomi 		
RIK (Cyprus Broadcast Corporation) – Digital Herodotus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tales of Cyprus 		
Royal Archives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Η Λευκωσία του σήμερα και του αύριο 		
Royal Navy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Κάποτε στη Λεμεσό 		
Severis Foundation			
Smithsonian			
Wellcome Collection			
Wikipedia			

Table 4 List of photographic sources

5.2.4 Non-profit repositories

This category includes examples of non-profit repositories such as museums, archives, university databases, and also open-source projects such as Wikipedia. The common characteristic of these sources is their non-profit profile, which does not only cover non-profit organisations; for example, the Bank of Cyprus, a for-profit organisation, maintains an online repository that does not aim to generate any profit. Stavros carries out his historical research in various places, including non-profit repositories:

I go to websites with archival material. I look at Europeana, and as I said I tend to go to the original source, that is if I see that Europeana refers to Lykinthos, or if it refers to the Apsida of CUT [Cyprus University of Technology] ... I may go there directly and look there. The other thing I do, I don't know if you're interested, I've found a couple of sellers on eBay who put old photos up for sale.... So I go in there and see, and for some antique dealers that I'm aware of I go in [eBay] and look. (pos. 41–49)

In addition to primary and secondary non-profit repositories, Stavros uses eBay, for his professional tasks. Similarly, Thalia and her graphic art studio colleagues use various sources to find visual material for their projects:

We had asked the CTO [Cyprus Tourism Organization] to give us some photos for the job ... [the CTO] has a website, and you pay, I don't know, a euro, something like that, for a hundred photos, it's a ridiculous price to pay for some photos. It's mostly tourist content, but it has buildings and people, villages that are protected by UNESCO [United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization] and buildings. You buy [these photos]. Then some other photos you can find from general content though, say Cyprus, Troodos, something like that, from photo banks like iStockphoto or Getty. (pos. 94)

Thalia's search for photographic material led her both to non-profit organisations, such as the CTO, and for-profit organizations, such as the Getty repository. In both cases, her employer had to pay the fees levied by these organisations to buy the rights to use the images.

5.2.5 For-profit repositories

This category includes organisations such as Getty Images, Flickr, eBay, and British Pathé. These are commercial licensing companies, but sometimes they operate in commercial partnership with non-profit institutions. An example of this is the British Newspaper Archive,

which is owned and run by Findmypast Newspaper Archive Ltd.⁶¹ Andreas experienced a problem with these organisations:

Okay, those are for-profit, I get it. But [Findmypast Newspaper Archive] do not own these photos. Most of the photos are from various agencies.... How can a photo that is so many years old, and it's probably been so many years since the photographer [the creator of the photograph] died, which means the photo is in the public domain and has a watermark on it, be sold? It's because they took the trouble to digitise it, it's in high resolution, etc. But how can they justify selling it? Especially the Getty, which sells them for 400 euros apiece if the resolution is high. How do they justify this? (pos. 48)

Often these repositories offer their photographs or other listings for sale, but they also offer a 'preview' option, which is accessible to the public. Claire finds this very helpful:

Let's say, because I'm into music, I'm very interested in it, I found an audiovisual document from British Pathé, where they have archives of material about food from different countries, and I had seen a video of a feast, it must have been from the fifties or sixties, and it shows musicians, it shows dancers ... it's very interesting to me. To have access to records like that, of that type, to hear how they were performing, how they were singing, how our villages were, how some historical figures were, how they looked, how they sounded, has been something very, very nice. (pos. 48)

Claire's visit to the British Pathé website can be seen as an act of lifelong learning driven by her passion for music. The kind of audiovisual resources Claire used seem a useful tool for experiencing, exploring and understanding the past. The for-profit category also includes social media platforms; although these platforms are owned by for-profit companies, they are used for distribution of and access to photographs, not the sale of photographic material. Also, the material available on social media platforms, as well as on Wikipedia, Flickr and eBay, is not generated by the company that owns the web domain but by the users:

Pinterest has some old images, I know it does. I found very few images, though. And [the image collections on Pinterest are] a little bit uncontrolled; somebody has [images] in a folder, 'Nicosia', let's say, you can view them, you can [download the

⁶¹ https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/content/company_information

images, but] ... you don't have as much information as you would like to have about what you see. (Aris, pos. 72)

Aris refers to the platform's usability, a factor that seems to concern many of the research participants. Although interviewees mentioned Twitter, Instagram, and YouTube, they focused on their reasons for not choosing these platforms to view old photographs. The topic of preference of photographic source will be covered in the next chapter.

Facebook seems to be the most popular social platform among the research participants for engaging with old photographs. This study focuses on two specific Facebook groups, but some members named other Facebook groups or Facebook pages that are also dedicated to old photographs. The vast majority of interviewees do not use photographs found in Facebook groups for specific purposes; rather, they stumble upon material on topics they are interested in, such as their hometown or school. For example, in addition to the Memories of Limassol group, Lakis follows a Facebook group dedicated to the school he graduated from. 'The other one I also use, it doesn't have much material, but I follow it regularly, is ESOBGA ... English School Old Boys and Girls Association ... They usually post old photos and stories from the alumni' (pos. 66–68).

A small proportion of interviewees use Facebook groups to gather information for a professional or educational task. Rona, for example, follows several groups on Facebook for this purpose: 'In Memories of Limassol, and other similar groups that I'm in, which are Yesteryears of Nicosia, Once Upon a Time in Larnaca, Frozen Cypriots, that kind of thing, I have a common presence in all of them' (pos. 4). Lastly, some of the very active members sometimes search Facebook groups other than Yesteryears of Nicosia and Memories of Limassol to collect photographic material to share in the groups they are most active in.

5.2.6 Offline sources

Calendars, physical libraries and personal photographic collections are examples of the offline sources that interviewees mentioned using to look for old photographs.⁶² Rania describes under which circumstances she will use both online and offline photographic sources and explains that she generally does not seek interaction with photographic sources:

⁶² As discussed earlier, many of the active members digitise printed photographs they find in offline/physical sources, either to keep them for their own use or to share with others on Facebook groups.

No, [I will never search for old photographs] never, and I wouldn't have done it, either, if they hadn't been in front of me. For example, my grandmother, who has the old encyclopaedias with the old photographs ... if I am with her, she will show them to me. Yes. That way only. To look for myself, no. I'm not really interested. (pos. 22)

Rania represents the largest portion of the participants, who do not look for photos out of purely personal interest but will do so when the photos – in this case in print form – appear in front of them. The exception seems to be Charis, who likes to deal with offline photographic sources, such as libraries and personal photographic albums:

Since I was nine years old, I have been very fond of libraries, and even today I try to refer to archives physically, that is, to go to the Archbishop's archives ... I'll go to all the libraries and return to them many times; I'll even go to storage rooms where I know old photographic material is kept. Still, when I visit retired people's homes, [parents of friends, elderly relatives] I will ask them if I can see their photo albums. (pos. 28)

Martha mentioned that she happened to visit Europeana for educational purposes, to find material for her study. She also described the hybrid search method – both online and offline – she often follows. On one occasion she spotted photographs in an online article and quickly located the printed primary source of the photographs in order to use them in her study:

For example, there were some National Geographic photos, which were about Cyprus, old ones that were in a particular issue, and they were published online, I think by the City newspaper, which is an electronic newspaper. I don't remember where I saw it. And then I looked for that issue of National Geographic in the Severios Library, and I went and found the print. Yes, I can say that I may have more often found photographs from books, and not found as many, or maybe I didn't think I could find them online. (pos. 28)

Lastly, very active members, who use every possible means to obtain photographic material and enrich the collection of Facebook groups, use offline sources like old calendars (which contain old photographs) and books, digitise⁶³ selected images and post them in Facebook

⁶³ Some interviewees described their digitisation methods. Some use their mobile phone camera and others use scanners. This means that the quality of the digitised images shared on Facebook groups varies. Image quality will be discussed in the next chapter.

groups. An example of how offline sources are used by very active members is given by Panos, who said that he finds photos: ‘From the books I own about Nicosia, and I take pictures of them [to post later in the group]’ (pos. 12). Like Panos, Yiannis digitises images from calendars:

I have old calendars⁶⁴ that have old photos in them. Banks, in particular, had large collections and still have collections of old photographs and old books. What is my source? My source is the calendars. It’s not the photograph. By the way, Severi has a big collection at CVAR [Centre of Visual Arts and Research]. A huge collection. CVAR bought Camille Enlart’s collection a while ago, I don’t know if you’ve seen these pictures? (pos. 46)

Yiannis refers to the calendars published by banks, where he often finds old photos to digitise and post in the group. He stresses that whenever he posts photos, whether from these calendars or from other sources, he always credits the primary source of the image. When he made the above comment, it was clear from his tone that he was making the point that, unlike him, most members of the group do not acknowledge their sources.

5.2.7 General or unspecified sources

For some respondents, Facebook groups are the only place they access old photos, while for others, search engines such as Google are the starting point for finding old photographic images. Burak exemplified this: ‘If I need a particular photo, I ask Google and go where it directs me!’ (pos. 20). Google, however, like other search engines, cannot be considered a primary source, but it is often an intermediate stage between the source (primary or secondary) and the Internet user. Martha explains:

I would certainly look in a search engine, and it would probably direct me to a website or something. But if we’re talking specifically about basketry [her field of research], I remember looking on a search engine. I didn’t find things [there], but I think now, in retrospect, that there might not have been the right code [metadata] that would have linked me to the relevant website or relevant photos. (pos. 30)

Martha believes she was not able to find the information she was looking for because of incorrectly written metadata. Navigation and cataloguing are issues that often concern interviewees and will be further discussed in the next chapter.

⁶⁴ These calendars are published each year by banks and often include photos from their collections.

Some interviewees did not specify their sources but referred to the medium of the source – films, for example – or to general information such as that found on Turkish Cypriot websites. Aris, for example, says:

I have found Turkish pages [websites]... which are not on Facebook ... because it is in Turkish, I can't know what it says, but [these websites] have a lot of pictures of Cyprus, and a lot of pictures of Nicosia. Some [photographs] are known, some are unknown [to me and the members of the Facebook group]. (pos. 32–34)

Aris does not give more information, not because he does not want to reveal his sources but because he does not remember the domain names, since he probably visited these websites via a link from Google.

In conclusion, the only time interviewees use a particular online photographic repository is when they do not have a search purpose in mind. However, they do have occasional and unintentional interaction with photographs in Facebook groups. The rest of the sources and photographic repositories could not be distinguished according to the purpose of the image search, as all the sources mentioned in the list above are used for professional or educational purposes as well as for posting on Facebook.

5.3 Conclusion

This chapter started with a categorisation of group members based on activity status (inactive, passive, active, very active) in the groups. From there it analysed the relationship between members' age and their participation in the Facebook groups. It was shown that the 'very active' category does not include any members aged 24–35, whereas all other age groups have representatives who contribute photographs to the Facebook groups. The chapter also examined the motivations of Facebook group members for engaging with repositories of old photographs, identifying their motivations as extrinsic (professional- or education-related) or intrinsic (knowledge, curiosity, contemplation of origin and past, nostalgia, pleasure). There is a third motivation: sharing, the desire of some individuals to share photographs with others through Facebook.

As revealed by the interviews, people who have extrinsic motivations or who are very active members are more likely to search a variety of photographic sources to find material, while interviewees who only have intrinsic motivations do not search for photographs but are satisfied with the images shared in Facebook groups. Perhaps what drives individuals to search for or share images or to follow Facebook groups is their need to give or receive information about a lost past or reveal a less-well-known part of history. The final section

provided a full list of photographic sources used by the interviewees. People who search for photographs for a specific purpose use an extended range of sources, while people who just like to look at photos are satisfied with the material they find in Facebook groups. The justification for this conclusion will be discussed in the next chapter, where I will present what the interviewees perceive as the advantages and disadvantages of using various types of digital photographic repository.

6 Facebook groups as sources of photographic material: perceived characteristics

The previous chapter examined the photographic sources used by the participants in this research. Each source has different characteristics in terms of organisation, operation, reliability and what is included. The classification of sources in the previous chapter was based on the accessibility of those sources in terms of cost and ease of access. This chapter addresses the third research question, which asks: according to individuals searching for and interacting with archival photographs, what are the most important technical and content characteristics of digital photographic repositories? The chapter aims to provide a deeper understanding of the characteristics that encourage individuals to or discourage them from using specific photographic sources.

Facebook groups are the central point of reference, and a common point of connection among the interviewees, so all the perceived characteristics reflect interviewees' interactions with this platform. The interviewees identified some of the characteristics of Facebook groups and compared them with characteristics of other photographic sources they have used, suggesting areas that need attention and improvement in all the sources discussed. Based on their concerns, I divided this chapter into two sections, each focusing on one of the main elements that make up a photographic repository: technical characteristics and content characteristics. Elements of the two categories often overlap; for example, image quality (see section 6.2.2) could be considered a technical element but also refers to the content of the collection. In each section I present examples of Facebook characteristics – technical- and content-related – that were highlighted by the interviewees. Some of the features were perceived as beneficial, but others were thought to limit the experience of finding or interacting with old photographs.

6.1. Technical characteristics

This section focuses on the operational and organisational characteristics of photographic sources that were mentioned during the interviews. The majority of these characteristics relate to the user experience when accessing, searching and participating in digital photographic repositories.

6.1.1. Ease of access: part of everyday practice

A fundamental element to analyse here is ease of access. A phrase that was mentioned by four of the participants and which relates to the theme of this section is 'The information comes to you'. Interviewees mentioned that, without even intending it, the information

(image and related information) comes to them. They access the information without trying. Technically speaking, all the websites available on the World Wide Web are accessible to Internet users,⁶⁵ but some are more popular than others. Mainstream social media platforms are part of the daily Internet experience of many individuals and because of this popularity are considered easier to access. In the previous chapter, I argued that one reason individuals often prefer Facebook for engaging with photographs is that it is a platform used in daily life, and, as Zina describes, it does not require any effort on the user's part:

Basically, let's not be silly, it's on our phones, it's something that a huge percentage of the population can access, very easily, at the same time, without having to leave the comfort of your home, without actually making an effort, and they just come and find you. If I had to choose, I would choose a hundred times the Facebook archive, in which case I would not put [in] any special effort and I would have many times more information that I would not find in the official archives. (pos. 52)

Claire is of the same opinion, but although she gives credit to Facebook for its accessible profile, she wonders if it could be seen as a lazy option when it comes to searching for old photographs:

Generally, because I'm a Facebook person, I think it has much more accessible information maybe. You open your page and you see it all up front. Is it laziness, is it incomplete information on how and where you can find more information? (pos. 24)

Her questions sound rhetorical, as she finds this platform convenient and does not sound willing to substitute it, an opinion shared by most of the interviewees, who find Facebook a user-friendly and easily accessible medium. A point all the participants neglected to mention, however, is the procedure that one needs to follow in order to become a member of a Facebook group: first open a Facebook account, then seek the approval of the group administrator to be allowed to join. Because Facebook plays a significant part in interviewees' daily lives, and because old photographs appear without apparent effort in their

⁶⁵ Local restrictions might apply to some websites or platforms. These restrictions might be due to government censorship or licensing and copyright issues. A typical example of government censorship is China, which blocks any foreign websites, including Facebook, which do not align with the Communist Party agenda. The Chinese government blocks not only domain names and IP addresses but also particular pages from websites. Geo-restrictions on the web also exist, because licensing and copyright laws differ in different countries. For example, when the EU General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) took effect in June 2020, hundreds of US news websites became unavailable in Europe because the sites did not comply with GDPR regulations. Many of these are still inaccessible.

social media feeds, they are willing to follow the membership procedures, which otherwise might seem like a deterrent.

Ease of access seems to be an important factor in the choice of photographic repository. As Petros explains:

I am looking in the CCA [Canadian Centre for Architecture] in Canada ... and there's a lot of digitised material, easily accessible. That is, you don't even need a login to an institution, you just look for what you want. In general, this helped me a lot in my research ... not only for the last project, but in general; if you want to study a building or a project that you like, the easiest way is to google it and see the images.... But if you manage to find the plans in good resolution, if you can see, say, the floor plans, see what they look like, that's very helpful. (pos. 110–112)

While ease of access is important, it is not the sole factor when choosing a repository. Petros gives the example of Google,⁶⁶ which is probably where most people start a search, as it offers easy access to information. But Petros pointed out that Google does not always offer good image resolution, and neither does Facebook. In contrast, Petros provided an example of a digital repository that offers both ease of access and high-quality images: CCA. The question of image quality will be further discussed later in this chapter.

As previously discussed, 'ease of access' is a characteristic attributed to Facebook by users, but it is not just a characteristic of Facebook. Digitised old images are also available from other repositories, such as image repositories. However, ignorance of the existence of such repositories, as well as daily engagement with Facebook, creates a false comparison in the minds of users: Facebook groups appear to have easily accessible archival images, whereas image repositories do not.

6.1.2. Navigation and searchability

Another factor in judging how well digital repositories function is ease of navigation. Metadata is a key concept here. As mentioned in the literature review, metadata is a critical element in the organisation and categorisation of archival collections, as it is the mechanism that allows the user of the archive to locate information through a keyword search. The participants in this research often bemoaned the lack of a good navigation system in

⁶⁶ Google is a search engine and not an organised image repository, but, as discussed in the previous chapter, Google is widely used by individuals and the first choice of many people when searching for archival photographs.

Facebook groups and describe the uploaded photographs as having chaotic or no organisation. Yiannis, an experienced user of both Facebook groups and various other types of photographic repository, comments: 'It's just that the official platform is tidy. If you look at Apsida,⁶⁷ it has collections [into which the content is organised]. The unofficial platforms, like on Facebook groups, are *tourlou tourlou*'⁶⁸ (pos. 100). However, formal repositories are not always well-organised and user-friendly. Orestis offers some examples of formal repositories that disappointed him in terms of navigation and usability:

I have occasionally searched various repositories. Europeana's interface is not very, I think, friendly, though. It [a good interface] makes a lot of difference. Let's say a very bad interface for me is the Imperial War Museum's. Very bad interface. I mean, it's a real hassle, when a document is unavailable and I have to click on it and there's nothing in it. That is, it appears in my search but then is unavailable. (pos. 94)

Similarly, other interviewees give examples of official repositories that they feel do not provide a user-friendly interface and navigation:

I had heard about the RIK [Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation] archive, but I didn't understand how you could access it. I mean I think it's not that user-friendly ... occasionally some members post screenshots from RIK's archive, and there are some very interesting clips, but then you go to find them and I think access is a bit of a labyrinth for me, so I didn't get to the point [of finding them]. I don't know if it's considered a museum, of course. It is an archive, though, isn't it? (Claire, pos. 12)

Even though good navigation systems and archive searchability are important to users, the absence of these elements does not deter their use of Facebook groups.

Although many interviewees are annoyed that Facebook groups are not good at organising collections of photographs, they perceive it as something to be expected, and therefore it does not discourage them from continuing to engage with Facebook groups. On the contrary, in the case of institutional photographic repositories (the archives of museums or other

⁶⁷ Apsida is a digital repository that brings together the digital collections of the Cyprus University of Technology library as well as the digital Cypriot collections that are part of the European LoCloud project. Apsida has recently been renamed Athena (<https://athena.cut.ac.cy>)

⁶⁸ *Tourlou tourlou* (or *türlü* in Turkish) means 'all mixed up' and is a Balkan/Greek/Turkish version of a ratatouille-style vegetable casserole. It is often used in Greek to describe a chaotic, disorganised situation.

organisations), interviewees' expectations seem to be higher, and when these expectations are not met, the repository in question is considered to be a failed repository. Users' expectations of a particular repository reflect the motivations that lead them to use that repository, and the type of motivation often determines their demands for specific features, such as reliable documentation or ease of access and navigation. For example, Martha says:

Facebook has the ease of posting, you can do something else, you can randomly see something, you can scroll, it has that, but it's not easy to use if you want [an organised] search [for] something specific. I like more organised things. I mean, you know, I'm going to click that button, it's going to take me to that thing. These groups are more like a discussion hub. (pos. 60)

As discussed in the previous chapter, people who search in sources other than Facebook are mainly driven by extrinsic factors such as work or education. This means their search for photographs becomes more targeted and requires sources that are arranged in a way that will facilitate their work. Facebook groups provide a search tool that allows members to find information and photographs among the posted images of the group, as Rona points out:

Well, there's a very, very useful tool when it's a group ... there's that search box on the left. Two, three or four words put in will take you through those posts down there, and because it's visual you can immediately find the photo. So that way it's easy. And in that way I also found things that were related [to the original search topic] that I didn't expect to find. (pos. 52)

Even though some members, like Rona, are aware of and use the search tool, other members, such as Petros and Stavri, did not mention using it; they limited their searches to scrolling through the photographic collections of Facebook groups. 'The organisation was very chaotic, okay. If you're looking for something that was posted two weeks ago you're going to have a hard time finding it because you just have to scroll' (Petros, pos. 60). Petros finds scrolling a poor method for finding images on Facebook groups, whereas Stavri believes the opposite: 'It's easy to [find an image that was posted in the past] because you can go into the group and go back [scroll down] until you see what you want' (pos. 67).

Administrators of both groups mentioned that when the groups first started, they would try to assign each photograph to an album based on topic, making the content more organised. This plan was abandoned, however, when the amount of posted content increased dramatically. Jenny, one of the administrators of Memories of Limassol, said:

The original idea of the group in 2013 was that the photos that the members intended to upload would be put into albums, so that they would be neatly organised on Facebook, because Facebook doesn't work very well, so to speak, in terms of data retention. (pos. 64)

Lakis, a member of the same group, confirms what Jenny said and describes the administrators' attempts to organise the photographs in albums:

With Memories of Limassol there is a problem, which is that the photos are very messily arranged. They [the administrators] tried at first to encourage people to make albums and put them in, but it did not work because many times a photo can belong to two or three topics and then if [the photos] were transferred [into another album], the comments would be lost, this is also the problem. They need to find a way to move the photos to albums without losing the comments. (pos. 58)

Lakis noted that the organisation of images in Facebook groups still needed work in order to be functional and practical for users. He is not use the search tool provided in Facebook groups, however. This means that the only way he could explore the group's photo collection is by scrolling, so albums will seem to him to be an ideal organising principle. Respondents who did use the search tool explained how it works and also identified its limitations. For example, Phanos said, 'On Facebook it is not easy to do a search and find a photo, for example. Unless you remember the bits of text that they've written [the users who post the photograph], if you add them [parts of the text in the search tool] it might bring up the photo' (pos. 74). Phanos referred to the difficulty of retrieving previously viewed images and emphasised the importance of using keywords to find a photograph. The lack of navigational tools to help members of Facebook groups locate photographs – for example albums that organise photographs in collections, by subject, by year – seems to put more pressure on the user, who needs to remember part of the text that accompanies a photograph in order to enter one of these words in the search tool. The search tool will not give any results if a photograph is not accompanied by a caption, as Yiannis explains:

Facebook gives you the option of creating albums. Let's say sports, politics or whatever. If someone [adds] a photo in the comments this image will be lost, somehow. When [a member adds a photograph in the comments beneath another posted photograph], a friend of mine takes the image from the comments and posts it

in the group.... He also insists that a photo should only be posted if it has a description, so that the search can work. (pos. 70–72)

Claire, on the other hand, does not rely solely on her memory to recall the image. Instead, she pins images she likes to her own⁶⁹ collection:

When it's been a long time [since I saw a post] because I usually 'like' pictures I like, I go to my [Facebook] account and find them or I might pin the picture, save it – I don't know what it's called, this action – a picture or a post and you can see it later. I think yeah, [Facebook as a photo resource] is easy to use. (pos. 26)

To sum up, the interviewees used four navigation methods in Facebook groups to search among the posted photographs: 1) scrolling, which does not offer a rational categorisation of the images but instead is based on the date the post was published; 2) the search tool, although its effectiveness depends on remembering the captions or comments members have added below the photographs; 3) searching albums or collections, although the data in albums is very limited, as members and administrators no longer try to sort images into albums due to the huge number of posts; and 4) pin or save the posts, which refers to the process of retrieving previously viewed images rather than searching for an image for the first time. Group members can save images they are interested in and create an archive only they can access.

Members' contributions to Facebook groups are not limited to posting photos. Members unwittingly contribute to the creation of the navigation system in a Facebook group collection. The metadata for each image is created from captions or comments posted under the image, which makes it possible to search for images through words using the search tool.

6.1.3. Collaborative and interactive

Facebook groups dedicated to old photographs are probably best described as participatory photographic collections. A feature of most Facebook groups is active participation and interaction. This not only results in members commenting and communicating, asking questions, getting to know each other, and reuniting with old friends or family members, but

⁶⁹ To view items they have saved on Facebook, users can go to [facebook.com/saved](https://www.facebook.com/saved) and click on a saved category in the left-hand menu or click a saved item to view it.

also in shaping the content of the photographic collection. In other words, members are both users and creators of these collections.

Certainly discussion [with individuals] would help the collecting institutions. I mean I think that, okay, if you [the collecting institution] want to be an open space for discussion, it's a win-win situation both for individuals who use your collections, and for you, since you can draw information from the people [crowdsourcing] ... I think that's the point. Opening up discussions, okay, sure, but anything can go bad on Facebook, I mean something that's not a discussion, it's just people coming in and talking, but, okay, you have groups that are actually for those who are interested and actually have a nice discussion and it's controlled and it [the group] has some standards, whether it is about hate-speech or whatever. Yes, I think it's a very nice way to use Facebook and it is a medium that people know how to use very easily. You don't just put images up and say 'come to my blog and post' or 'visit a museum website' that the average person won't get into it, let's say, easily. (Rea, pos. 74)

Rea makes a connection between comparing institutional repositories, social media, websites and Facebook groups maintained by individuals, focusing on one feature, the interaction, which she believes helps to attract people and encourage them to use photo archives on a larger scale. Facebook seems to attract more users than other digital sources of old photographs because of this interactivity.

In an effort to follow social media trends and encourage people to use institutional repositories or visit the institutions' physical locations, collecting institutions have created social media accounts alongside their official websites. Commenting on the presence of collecting organisations on social media, Aris (pos. 26–28) gave a specific example concerning the Facebook page of the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation (BOCCF). Aris argued that this page does not inspire Facebook users to open a discussion under the photos, nor does it encourage them to ask for more information or to ask questions about the content of a post. He felt that although Facebook permits discussion (comments or posts) between followers of the page and BOCCF administrators, sometimes the administrators' attitude prevents interaction and discussion, because instead of answering followers' questions publicly on the Facebook page, administrators reply personally via Messenger or email. The sense of proximity and direct connection between the 'publisher' of the image – the person or institution making the post – and the viewer seem to be important factors in determining the relationships between repositories and individuals. Rona noted that although

institutionally maintained Facebook groups use the same platform as groups maintained by individuals, they do not seem to have the same dynamic nature:

I don't think museums and cultural organisations [that maintain a Facebook page] have the same interaction on their pages [as Yesteryears of Nicosia]. There is no comparison, actually. I would say, without having observed it systematically, that there are very specific people who will comment on a post made by an institution in Cyprus. Mostly it's likes, hearts [reaction buttons], let's say. Or maybe a clarification of, like, working hours, days, I don't know, something like that. A bit more about practical issues. It won't have a discussion about the exhibition, about whatever. Whereas the other groups [sharing] historical photographs, where the posts are mostly from personal archives, are exactly that, 'personal', what the word personal implies. There's a conversation [among administrators and members, and members with other members] around an image. 'No, [the story behind an image] is not that way, no, it's too far down [i.e. a shop that appears in the photograph is not in the exact location that a member described in the comments but a bit further down], but look, now look at this [a clue in a photograph that indicates the location or the year of that image was captured], and yes, and yes, and sorry I insisted, I was wrong.' [The interviewer gives an example of the type of discussions among members of the groups and how they discover the details around an image.] It's a lot of fun [to take part in or read these discussions]. (pos. 30)

Based on empirical observation of people's interactions with digitised photographs on Facebook and the level of participation in discussions under the posted images, I noticed a remarkable difference between individually and institutionally maintained Facebook groups. Specifically, observing the activity of followers of Digital Herodotus II⁷⁰ on Facebook and of members of Yesteryears of Nicosia, it seems that Rona's observation has some basis in fact. Followers of the Digital Herodotus II Facebook page, many of whom also follow Yesteryears of Nicosia, limit themselves to 'like' reactions and do not comment on posts, while their

⁷⁰ Digital Herodotus II is a programme for the digitisation and enhancement of archival material, which is implemented through the Interreg V-A Greece – Cyprus 2014–2020 Cross-border Cooperation Programme. By the time the project was completed, in February 2020, 500 hours of RIK intellectual property (audiovisual and musical material), half a million pages of Cypriot newspapers, and the most important newspapers published on the island of Rhodes that have a direct connection with Cyprus, had been digitised.

reactions to groups maintained by individuals (such as Yesteryears of Nicosia) are characterised not only by adding reaction buttons but also by the extensive discussions that arise from the comments under the photos. For example, Figure 14 and 15 show that a photograph first shared on Digital Herodotus II received few emoji reactions and just one comment, indicating no discussion, whereas when the same image was shared on Yesteryears of Nicosia it received more reactions (112) and comments (14), which led to a discussion.

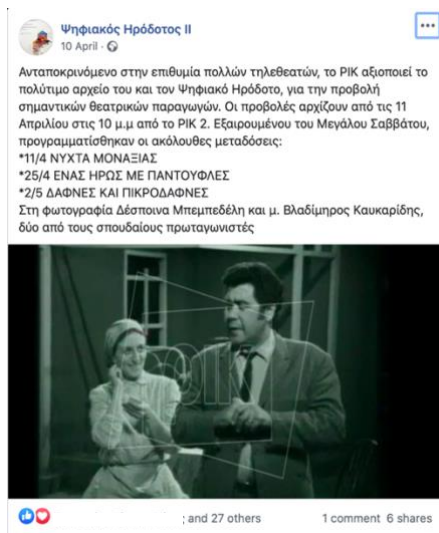


Figure 14 Screenshot from Digital Herodotus II's Facebook page. Retrieved 15/03/2022



Figure 15 Screenshot from 'Yesteryears of Nicosia' Facebook group. Retrieved 15/03/2022

Digital Herodotus II has around 3000 followers, five times fewer than Yesteryears of Nicosia, so the two pages are not directly comparable; but there is a notable third element that derives from the screenshots in Figure 14 and Figure 15. As shown in the screenshots, there is no interaction between Facebook members via comments on the institutional account page; instead, there seems to be a different kind of interaction, 'sharing'. This suggests that members are using the institutional collection to extract information and photos and start a dialogue around them by sharing the material elsewhere within Facebook, such as in personal Facebook profiles or Facebook groups such as Yesteryears of Nicosia. Thus it seems that different kinds of interaction occur in individually and institutionally maintained Facebook groups and pages, with the latter working as a source for retrieving visual material that is then

shared in other Facebook groups or personal accounts. This practice of circulating images in different Facebook groups and pages was discussed in the previous chapter.

To sum up, the operational characteristics of photographic repositories seem to be the most important and attractive element offered by the Facebook groups. This seems to be caused by 1) the plethora of information available due to the contributions of many people, not a single agent; 2) the socialisation benefits that are often attributed to Facebook and other social media; 3) and the sense of closeness between the user who posts the image and the viewer.

6.2. Content characteristics

In addition to the operational function of photographic repositories, interviewees talked about the repositories' content characteristics. These characteristics include the variety of photographic topics on offer, descriptions of and other information relating to the images, and the linguistic tone and style of these descriptions. As discussed in the literature review, the content of a repository might reflect the political and ideological stance of whoever funds the repository, or it might reflect archivists' choices when showcasing the collection, choices that lead to dismissing or overexposing certain aspects of history, or narratives of certain individuals or groups.

Archival appraisal (see literature review, section 2.3) and the subjectiveness of archives were issues identified by the interviewees and also seem to concern the users of repositories. This section is directly related to the previous sub-section, 'participation and interaction', because one aspect of participation is the contribution members make to the content of collections and thus to shaping the photographic collections of Facebook groups.

6.2.1. Alternative archives: multiple perspectives

As discussed in 4, some interviewees were more attracted to images that aid memory recall or revive the past. These interviewees might also wish to learn about the history of the island and its cities, experience the narratives of their parents' generation, and explore the evolution of Limassol and Nicosia. The interviewees expressed great appreciation for any additional information that fulfilled one of these needs. An advantage offered by Facebook groups is that they allow individuals to contribute, which encourages the formation of a participatory photographic collection. This gives members access to a multi-voice representation of history, including oral history. Stavros reflects on the special significance of the Facebook groups' participatory archives and explains how the comments beneath the images help him understand and learn more about the history behind the photographs:

The photo itself is interesting in its own right, simply because ... almost every time in the photographs I am not able to identify what they are, so I have to go into the discussions to see what they describe, what area they are in, what year the photo is from, approximately. Okay, photos, let's say, are related to people who comment and start writing their memories, this has a special, let's say, significance. (pos. 15)

Manthos also acknowledges the power of participatory archives. Although he is sceptical about the massive flow of data he receives as a user of the Internet, and how difficult it can be to deal with all the information, he explains how this phenomenon could become a counterweight to the dominant one-dimensional representation of history found in 'official' channels, such as history books, media and governmental publications:

Everything is important. If only everything could be done electronically, if only everyone could have access to the archives, it's very important. But we are entering a new era, and we don't know where it will end ... all this information, all this data that we have at our fingertips, how it will end, how it will go, which form will our memory take. Tomorrow through the images of memory you can change the whole story and present it in a new way. That is, [we prepare the story] to give it to the new generation ... So, besides photography and memory, we said it's also ethics, it's also the fake [manipulated stories and photographs] ... Already our history books are being changed according to the state of the Cyprus issue, so to speak. Depending on what is in the interest of the established class and depending on whether we want to pretend that, you know, 'we see things today with a different view and not all these tragic things happened'... This attitude exists as well. But also, there is the multi-voice narrative [in the history narrative]. This multi-voice narrative saves us from the dictatorial single narrative. (pos. 119–125)

Zina saw great advantage in being able to access this 'huge participatory puzzle' of a multi-voice narrative. She valued that fact that every member adds information relevant to their social, economic, cultural or political context, basing their comments on their own experience or the experience of their parents or grandparents, 'because you come across information that you will otherwise never find written down' (pos. 62). Responding to Manthos's point about how the narrative of history shifts in line with the interests of the established class, Zina does not believe this happens on purpose but is rather a coincidence:

I didn't actually feel [that parts of the story were being pushed aside, within the group or in an official record], but I think it is being done, not necessarily consciously. So I

think that certain historical events have been set aside or [their emergence] has been postponed for various political, economic reasons. I think they [the ruling class] don't intend to hide parts of history. In any case, I want to believe that they are not doing it deliberately and that it is just a coincidence and I find it normal. (pos. 64)

What most interviewees seem to acknowledge is that Facebook groups give them access to information that is not available through official history channels and which they would probably not have the opportunity to find otherwise. Rea, for example, is looking for photographic material for educational walks as part of her work:

We are very interested [at work] in seeing parts of history that are not represented in the schoolbooks or in the media in general in Cyprus, whether it has to do with women's history or minority history. And also, I examine whether these things that have been said are really true or we are just used to hearing this angle on history. So I do this for my work, and okay, if I see something in the Facebook group that is related especially to what I'm working on ... I always save it or look at it later at work. (pos. 12)

Learning about history through the photographs and from the oral history discussions that arise in the comments below the photographs seem to be attractive benefits of these Facebook groups. Rea's statement not only highlights the opportunity these groups provide to build an inclusive, bottom-up representation of history; it also explains that she feels that textbooks and media, the official forms of representation of the past and history, are one-dimensional. Similarly, Kyriacos talks about gaps in official history that are filled in to some extent by the visual and written information shared on Facebook groups:

My interest is more to get information. [I like] getting information for example about Limassol, its history, because I think we are provided [through the Facebook group] with information that we can't get from the official history or from books. But beyond that, [thanks to the Facebook group] we have access to knowledge that otherwise maybe wouldn't be given to us so soon, because it's about recent historical events, or if it was given to us [by channels other than Facebook groups] it would be given to us in a different way, maybe more distanced – I mean from a reportage, for example, from a book. I think I'm being offered information from people who lived through the events, so I think it's very interesting. (pos. 8)

Zina was sharply critical of the one-sided learning of history. In this case, one-sided history refers to the telling of the history of Cyprus only from the perspective of Greek Cypriots and not also from the perspective of Turkish Cypriots. She is grateful for the opportunity she was given through Facebook group posts to gain a multifaceted view of Cypriot communities and break the stereotypical view she has formed through the years:

This group is not limited to either communities or economic backgrounds, I see other aspects of what is essentially Nicosia, without limitation. What I mean is that I see Turkish Cypriots in photographs and I look at the description [of the image] and I realise that, okay, maybe dress-wise they were not so different in the end, or they had a slight difference [compared to Greek Cypriots]. In my own mind, because I am obviously not so familiar with the past decades, maybe I had it very separate in my mind how the two communities lived. So they weren't doing such different things in the end. In other words, you have the social groups of the rich Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, and you have the social groups of the poor, again Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, who did the same things. So I see this stuff. And why am I mentioning this particular thing to you? Because it was the one that had made more of an impression on me. I expected our differences to be greater, for some reason. Maybe because I learned that we were different and that's why I had it in my mind that way. (pos. 57)

The history of the larger communities of Cyprus (Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots) was mentioned in the previous chapter as being one of the favourite topics of the interviewees. In addition, but also relevant to the history of these communities, Zina referred to the representation of historical events in the Facebook group she is a member of, and she implied that posts in the groups offer a politically unbiased perspective on history:

The reason I go through the process of following the group and actually paying attention to the pictures is because it's not political. They [members of the group] might post images that relate to historical events. Whether they concern Makarios⁷¹ himself, I mean, even persons, historical persons, that for me is a historical document. It does not mean anything politically, nor does it mean that the person who wrote it belongs to a political party or a political faction ... I think we are far enough away that

⁷¹ Makarios III was a Cypriot clergyman and politician who served as archbishop and as the first president of Cyprus.

some events, and I mean the events of [19]74 and before, are far enough away that we can judge them as historical and not as political. (pos. 59)

As noted in the methodology chapter, political discussions or the expression of partisan points of view are restricted in both the Facebook groups, and it seems that this characteristic is appreciated by some members. Rona, for example, stated: '[The Facebook group] is a bit more apolitical, if you like, but in this context, it proves to be very useful' (pos. 64). As Zina commented above, politics is a state of mind, in the sense that anything can be political or perceived politically; it depends on the angle from which one chooses to view and analyse the information. Similarly, Rania believes that political discussion within the group deviates from its reason for existence, which is co-remembrance, not political disputes between members:

It depends on what profile the group wants to have. If you just want it to be reminiscing, memories etc., fine, they can get political, as long as the members don't intrigue, start commenting. They saw the picture of Makarios and start 'Makarios did this, he was like this', when it may have just been an event that happened. Some of the members believe that the member who posted the photo supports or promotes the political group that appears in the photo. Or [when a member posts an image of] a protest, and [some members] take it wrong. But to post a photo on a certain [anniversary or historical] date, a certain photo that alludes to political discussions, and to initiate debate and have disagreements, I think that destroys the character of the group. (pos. 52)

Charis disagrees with this position and considers it hypocritical to avoid political discussion, as politics can be part of everything, including the process of learning itself:

As a journalist and a political scientist, I have always said that everything is political. And clothing is political, and street naming is political, everything is political. You can't avoid political discussion. Every personality has a past. So, yes, I don't see how you can exclude political discussion and I think it's actually a cancer of liberalism, we don't talk about politics now, you are hiding behind your fingers if you exclude political discussion. And you come in and play it liberal by saying it's about politics here, you're basically trampling on the freedoms of those who want to learn, those who want to share knowledge, and those who don't know they want to learn, but if they learned they would gain something. (pos. 60)

The administrators try to keep a neutral environment in the groups, so when the discussion beneath the photographs gets political or partisan, they intervene to stop or redirect the discussion. Although Charis opposes this kind of censorship, the overall feeling about the Facebook groups is that they are a portal to multifaceted representation of history, unbiased historical information, elements that members consider important. The style of the posts, and of comments that offer personal testimonies or side stories about a place or a historical event, enrich the database of the groups, which, as interviewees reported, would not have been accessible from other sources, such as school textbooks or official digital photographic repositories.

Orestis sees it differently. Although he acknowledged the benefits of the participatory representation of history that individually maintained Facebook groups often facilitate, he pointed out that photographic collections in Facebook groups do not always achieve an inclusive narration of the past:

I find the Memories of Limassol a bit – I disagree a bit with the way they approach it ... the history of the city of Limassol is a family of a certain class, I'm bored with that ... and a certain kind of family, okay, man, I don't give a shit ... but Limassol now, if you talk about the history of Limassol, you have to talk about its historical development as a society, as a community, which was a village. (pos. 46–50)

For Orestis and some other members, the sense of connection to the content of the group is linked to the representation of shared history rather than the representation of certain classes or families. This links back to the analysis in Chapter 4, which concluded that interest in specific photographs is related to the viewer's personal connection to the content of the image. Orestis' comment is a counterweight to the general assumption that Facebook groups always offer a multifaceted representation of history; he shows how human factors, personal perceptions and experiences can affect the formation of Facebook groups' collections by overexposing certain topics.

The photographic collections of Facebook groups depend on members' contributions, and it is clear from the interviews and from the explorative study of the feeds of these groups that a member can be influenced by the posts of others. This means that sometimes the members of the groups end up making posts that are similar to or even identical with existing ones and therefore the posts seem repetitive and meaningless, offering no new information to the group. The repetitive promotion of a particular upper-class family that Orestis referred to is

indeed part of the history of Limassol and was rightly included in the Facebook collection, but at some point it became over-promoted, because people associated with this family were posting similar images from their personal albums. It is no coincidence that this overexposure involved an upper-class family; unlike the middle or working classes, being photographed was not uncommon in upper-class families, which meant they did indeed have more photographic material to share. Two other interviewees reported similar incidences of overexposure or self-promotion of certain members or their families through the Facebook groups. This indicates the difficulty of creating and maintaining an inclusive and impartial archive when that maintenance is performed by individuals.

6.2.2. Image quality

The quality of the photos is also a content characteristic. The quality of photographs refers to the level of accuracy of light signals ⁷² that form an image and define a) the information carried by a photograph and b) the photograph as an image, for example ‘noisy’ images.⁷³

Most interviewees emphasised the former, i.e. the stories and information that can be learned from the images, but a few interviewees were concerned about the quality of the images posted in these Facebook groups. Most interviewees only referred to the quality of the image after I asked their opinion about this, and overall they were satisfied with the image quality.

Five interviewees referred to the quality of the images shared on Facebook groups without prompting; they did not complain about the quality of the images, however, as they simply did not expect high image quality on Facebook. Image quality is determined by the digitisation process, the digitisation device and the platform hosting the image. Digitisation of images shared on Facebook groups (excluding photographs taken from digital photographic repositories and re-shared on Facebook) is done by members themselves, the vast majority of whom use non-professional equipment for this purpose. Two interviewees mentioned using a photographic camera; three used a scanner; and ten used the camera on their mobile phone. The rest of the participants did not digitise any photographs. Chris’s approach is probably a

⁷² Analogue photography requires an analogue camera and a roll of light-sensitive film. Activating the shutter opens the aperture and lets light into the camera. Analogue photography also requires a darkroom, where the captured image is processed into a final image. In digital photography, a sensor that records light signals on a memory card takes the place of the light-sensitive film, and no darkroom is needed.

⁷³ This term describes image distortion due to random variations of colour or brightness.

representative example of very active members who were satisfied with the digitisation results of their mobile phone camera:

I have no idea how to scan. A friend of mine said to me, 'I'll scan them for you.' 'But what's scanning?' I said. I take a picture of the images I want to post with my mobile phone and post them on Facebook. What more I can do with scanning? (pos. 58)

On the other hand, Anestis, who used a scanner to digitise printed photographs, said:

If you look at this picture that I posted, let's say, if you look at the actual printed one, there's a big difference between what's on Facebook and what's on the printed one. (pos. 106)

Although Anestis considers the quality of his scanned images decent enough for the Facebook group, he is considering contacting an institution that deals with digital heritage in order to achieve optimum digitisation and long-term preservation of his photographs:

I know Europeana and I know that CUT [Cyprus University of Technology] is contributing to this project [Europeana] and I'm curious if the photos I mentioned earlier, where colleagues retired and leave things or clean their offices, old colleagues who were 65 years old ten years ago, five years ago, that is, they had started working in the Public Works department in the fifties, sixties, so the images they own [and left at the office] include road signs from the time of the British. I found hardcopies and I scanned them ... and I was thinking of sending them to CUT at some point. I'll have to find the time. Somebody's got to take the time and do something. (pos. 46)

The administrator of Yesteryears of Nicosia takes the time to better organise the group, intervening in discussions beneath the photos or contacting members directly who shared a photo in order to verify or correct the content posted. Corrections may be about the photo itself (it may be dark, blurry or crooked due to digitisation) or it may be about the description of the photo (the information about the photo, such as the date, people, places or source may be incorrect, misleading or incomplete). Even though he is aware of the limitations of storing a photographic archive in Facebook in terms of image compression, he tries to optimise the quality of images that are badly scanned. He explained that bad digitisation results are not due to the image capture device itself nor Facebook's image compression, but is mainly because the digitisation has been badly executed, using poor lighting or bad angles:

If they put up very poor-quality pictures, I'll remove them, I mean, you know, to the extent that they can't be displayed. Now I've started, you know, people take

photographs of images they own and they usually take them at an angle with their camera and now when they're very crooked I remove them or I might fix it in Photoshop, and tell them 'here, you have to make it like that'. The most important thing is that they are vertical [posting the photograph without rotating it]. Some members, when they wanted to digitise a printed photo to post it to the group, would take a photo with the flash on, the flash reflecting on the photos and hiding elements of the photo. I don't think we're going to get to the level of having high-resolution results (Andreas, pos. 28)

Andreas tries to ensure optimum image quality, so he retouches the images on image editor software when this is needed. Panos, a member of Yesteryears of Nicosia, also talked about the quality of the images that are shared on Facebook:

If the images are dark and crooked it is understandable. The high resolution [of the image], Facebook itself or the Internet itself won't let you send high-resolution photos. I mean you can take a 10GB photo, very high quality, let's say, and it [Facebook] will make it 150 KB.... Sometimes I want to see, let's say, more details and I zoom in on [the photograph], but I can't read the street name or other labels that contain letters [depicted in the photograph]. This is an example now. Something I wanted to see doesn't show. Okay. At the time it's annoying. But okay, [it] is not the end of the world. (pos. 58–60)

Panos is familiar with image editing software. This is probably why dark and crooked images do not bother him so much; he sometimes downloads images on his device, corrects them in editing software and keeps them in his archive. But low-resolution photos are a real problem; they cannot be improved, so the viewer finds it difficult to identify details in the image, such as street names, which are sometimes necessary for understanding the story behind the image. Similarly, Petros, who used Facebook groups to gather information for his thesis, reported that even though he found images that could be included in his research, their low resolution made them unsuitable:

If it's badly scanned, I don't think I noticed. But I did notice the ones that are very low resolution, so to speak. I mean, for example, those aerial photos of Nicosia, because I could use them as part of my research, but they're very low resolution and for some reason they have some letters, like a watermark, probably included with

Paint [Microsoft Paint, graphics editor programme] above, so you can't, you can't use those. (pos. 114)

Low resolution was not the only reason preventing Petros from using the photographs in his thesis. Watermarks were also placed on those images, making their use even more complicated. Watermarks and copyright will be discussed in the next section. In the examples given above, the different levels of concern interviewees expressed about the quality of the photographs reflected the purpose they had in mind for possible further processing or use of the image. Eighteen interviewees, including Chris, were satisfied with the quality of the images shared on Facebook groups, since their interaction with the images is limited to this platform. Panos and four other members mentioned that in some cases they would like to have higher resolution in order to identify details that would help them verify the historical background of the photograph, but this was out of personal interest and not for scientific purposes. Finally, eight interviewees, who, like Petros, are mainly driven by extrinsic factors, such as work or education, were looking for photographs of higher resolution in order to use them in their projects. For this reason, the material found on Facebook groups did not meet their image quality standards.

6.2.3. Reliability of information about and attribution of photographic material

Elements that are present in Facebook groups, such as personal narratives that lead to the recording and exploration of oral history and the multifaceted representation of the history of a place and its people, are considered an advantage of Facebook groups. This advantage arises from the way the platform allows members to participate and contribute. However, because of the lack of scientific documentation of historical events, some interviewees identified other issues in their daily interaction with these groups that stem from the lack of reliable documentation. Specifically, the interviews and the explorative study identified two parameters that seem to determine the reliability of the information and attribution of the photographic material in the collections. Reliability of information refers to documentation, meaning the information given about an event, location, people or year depicted in a photograph. Attribution involves citation of the source, which is directly connected with copyright of the image. Orestis described his experience in the group and his reaction when he confronted false citations or captions to posted images:

It's annoying both not to be cited [as the primary source of the image] and to have the sources cited incorrectly. Above all [the most annoying] is to provide incorrect

description and details [of the image]. If you don't know the date, don't put it in. 'Guys, I found this picture, I don't have any other pictures, I found it where I found it,' end of story, so to speak. At least to know and check it on your own. But it's really very annoying when they post photos and put a random date, and a location that doesn't match, and sometimes photos from other countries. I've seen images from Palestine [posted in Limassol's Facebook group], from wherever you can imagine. (pos. 32)

Other interviewees also doubt the reliability of citations or documentation, and during the interviews they gave concrete examples from their experience in Facebook groups of the unreliability of the data published in Facebook groups. Pitsa is one such member: since she has no expectations of a collection that is built by individuals on a social media platform, she ensures she properly documents an image when she uses it outside the Facebook group:

I never paid much attention to the source when I saw it on Facebook, I just found the images, you know, interesting, cute, and if it was something I wanted to look into more, I felt it was my responsibility [as a researcher] to go into the process of documenting it. (pos. 22)

Although he does not intend to use the information elsewhere, Phanos does not always believe the text accompanying the images. He explains that by following the group over time, reading the posts, familiarising himself with the style each member uses, and being aware of the professional status of certain members (for example historians or archivists), he is able to tell whether a post is trustworthy or not:

Look, I don't know [the historical facts] well enough to know if they're true or not, but what I notice is that usually people who write something [on the posts], usually the way they put it, you can tell how much they know. Or at least you're biased when they phrase it nice and beautifully.... And over time you have people who, you know, they know what they're saying. Let's say you know that Sophocleous, Titos, Adonis and others, I mean they're people who are well known in Limassol and you know they know a few more things so ... OK, it's easier. And they grew up in that area there, so it's easier to believe what they tell you. (pos. 20)

Phanos' words indicate the propensity of Facebook users to observe the attitudes and identity of their co-members. An example from the literature that addressed the different functions of Facebook as a site for performing and exhibiting identity can be found in Farquhar (2012).

Farquhar used cyber-ethnography to analyse the identity presentations and interpretations of Facebook users. He concluded that Facebook users tried to obtain social acceptance through how they presented themselves on social media platforms, using over-simplified imagery to reduce ambiguity and fit in with the characteristics of certain social groups. His findings are based on Facebook users who were asked to reflect on strangers' Facebook profiles; after a short observation of the strangers' Facebook profiles, these users came up with detailed lists of personality traits for the strangers. In contrast to this example from the literature, the participants of this research formed a more substantiated opinion about the personality characteristics of their fellow members and especially whether the information a member shares is trustworthy or not, as it is based on continuous substantive interaction with each other in the group. As these interviewees make clear, the descriptions of the photographs might not always derive from people who are professionally related to the subject. It is therefore helpful that the participatory nature of Facebook groups allows members and administrators to correct, add or (in the case of administrators) delete information that accompanies an image. Chris, a very active member, describes the reaction of other members when he attributed an incorrect date to an image he posted:

I wrote that the picture was from [19]85. Oh my goodness, I was attacked [by the other members of the group]. 'It wasn't [19]85'. 'Before that.' One of the members [commented on the posted image]: 'The photo is from the sixties,' [and I was thinking,] what sixties, man? In the sixties I was in elementary school. I took the picture, because I remember [19]81, somewhere around there, [19]81 or [19]82. I put [on the caption of the posted image] 1985, okay. I wasn't too far off. I corrected it. I have some [photos] that I write [the date] on the back. In this one I didn't write a date on the back and we were trying to figure it out. (pos. 18)

As Chris explained, much of the information that accompanies images posted in Facebook groups depends on members' memories or personal notes, such as descriptions written on the back of the printed images or in the albums in which the images are kept. As the previous quotation shows, basing the descriptions on memory can clearly lead to unreliable information. On the other hand, one interviewee, George, believes the role of the Facebook groups is not academic, so he avoids arguing or providing complementary information about the images, as he does not find it necessary to prove the credibility of the information he has already published:

Like me, several people, let's say, might know something. Let's say yesterday somebody, I remember his name, I won't tell you, wrote, 'no, it's not Harry Allen the hangman' [depicted in the image], but I have so much evidence, hard evidence. But it doesn't lend itself to a group like this to do historical analysis or to give facts, sources that [prove] it was him. But it was him. (pos. 59)

Some people have purely intrinsic motivations (see section 5.2.2), meaning their focus is not on collecting or searching for images for professional or educational purposes. They see images as an opportunity for nostalgia. For these people, scientifically verified information does not seem their first priority, nor is it an expectation they have from their Facebook group.

Although many interviewees referred to problems of reliability with the information provided on Facebook groups, Rona was the only one to point out that insufficient documentation of the images is not an issue solely in Facebook groups; it can happen in institutional repositories as well. Rona described a photograph she found in one of the Facebook groups which shows four adult men and a boy sitting in a car, wearing hats and ties and posing with hunting guns. Beside the car, a little girl, in a dirty dress, stares at the camera.

I use Facebook sometimes for clarification [to retrieve more information about a photograph]. But also [she uses Facebook] because it has visual material, and you become aware that an image exists, [just becoming aware] is already a benefit. And then, okay, you always have the doubts whether the [description of the posted image] is correct, etc., but the fact that there is this visual material like this photo that I was looking for, even though it has too many inaccuracies around the information, is something. But even when I discovered that the same photograph was also listed in Apsida and I just didn't happen to come across it, I realised that even there the description in Apsida is inaccurate, I think. However, if I can't find [the owner of the image] who gave the image to Apsida to digitise, the fact that this particular image exists matters to me. And in this particular case, the photograph gives a clear meaning. It is about class issues and such things that are very strong in this image. (pos. 38)

Even though Rona was unable to collect sufficient information about this photograph from Facebook or from the documentation of the entry for this photograph in the institutional repository, she clearly appreciates being able to see this image. Access to an image notifies

the viewer of its existence, and, as Rona explained, the image itself is evidence of the visual information that it carries and that can be extracted from it. Rona hopes, however, to find out who owns the image, believing that this person could give her more information about it.

As noted in the previous chapter, most of the interviewees who have extrinsic motivations (professional or educational) or are very active members are more likely not to limit their search for old photographs to Facebook groups; they also look for sources that they consider more reliable. Often just the fact that the source is a museum or an archive is enough for the participants to consider it reliable, since the documentation that may accompany the image, for example a short description, date and location, is considered valid. These members seem to be aware of the issue of unreliability of information, but they do not seem too bothered when the documentation accompanying an image on a Facebook group does not meet reliability standards, as they will triangulate and verify the information before re-using the image elsewhere. When it comes to attribution, though, as Martha explains, it would be better if references were included, and included correctly. ‘Especially if you’re doing research and you want to cite it, you can’t [if you find this material on Facebook]’ (pos. 58).

Burak is also interested in exploring the stories behind the photographs and would like the captions to offer more information about the content of the photographs than a simple acknowledgment of its owner or creator:

Mostly the people post photographs without giving information what, who, where it is. This bothers me. I am not interested in who shot the picture but about the information it carries! I also don’t like people who copy from other sources and write on the picture as if it is from their archive. OK, maybe they kept [the image in their archives], but they did not take the picture themselves. If it is originally taken by [the members who post the image], they can mention it on the caption of the image to prevent others from stealing it. (pos. 17)

Burak mentions copyright issues and describes how blurred these issues can become in Facebook groups. Many other interviewees also referred to the misunderstandings that can arise about ownership of the photographs. For example, Panos says:

I wouldn’t call it a personal archive, because the photographs don’t belong to me in principle, because they are photographs taken, for example, I don’t know, sixty years ago, seventy years ago. So, someone else is the photographer who has taken them. Now if I have downloaded [photographs] from the Internet or photographed them

from another photograph to create my own archive, and I publish them and mention [the primary photographic source] when I have the source, I wouldn't call it my archive, something that belongs to me and which I could consider as my own property ... For example, I have books about Nicosia that I photograph [images from] and put them on the Internet [post them in Facebook groups]. I have friends, I have made friends on this particular group who send me photographs that I don't have, images that some of them have bought either from Cyprus, or abroad, or images from a book, and they scanned them, and they consider these images to be theirs; if they buy the images themselves, they consider these images to be theirs. (pos. 10–12)

Panos described a case where members buy photographs, either from eBay or private image repositories, and post them on Facebook groups without giving credit or other information about each photograph's primary source. According to Panos, these members have the right to distribute the image on the Internet but not to appropriate it. Kyriacos remembered a specific incident that took place in Yesteryears of Nicosia, and although he generally does not pay much attention to the citation of the photographs, this case made a negative impression on him:

As far as the official websites, truth be told, I never noticed, I never paid attention to where the pictures came from. However, I did happen to see something once that struck me, and somehow, I just saw it in a negative light for the person who did it. A man posts images to Facebook. And they were very nice images. After some time, someone wrote on Facebook that this man took his photos and posted them. Look, the truth is I didn't feel good about the person who did it, but to be honest I wouldn't have paid any attention if other members had not reported this incident. This was an example from unofficial archives [Facebook groups]. But now if we're talking about official websites, there I might pay more attention to attribution, but again, I think it won't be making such a negative impression on me [if someone does not give the credits for a photograph] as it would make if I read a text that does not have references. It's more reprehensible to me, so to speak, than in a photo. [I never had to refer back to that photo again, so the primary source is not as important.] Let's just say never. I never did that. I wasn't even interested in seeing, for example, who posted the photograph or where from. The only thing that made a negative impression on me was that person, who was using and posting photographs and pretending [they were] his own property. (pos. 36–38)

This confusion over who has the rights to an image was critically commented on by seven interviewees and brings the discussion back to what was mentioned in section 4.3: for fear of copyright infringement, some members do not share personal photographs in the groups. Claire presented these incidents of copyright infringement as the norm, explaining that anything that is shared on Facebook might be a copyright infringement:

I think that once you post something on Facebook you have to be ready for it, that it could be shared and that anything can be written, so you have to be ready for that. Really, how you can secure the copyright, maybe watermark your name or something, a caption, that you're the one who posted it. But in general, I think Facebook is a little bit lax on copyright. (pos. 46)

On the other hand, incidents like this one, described by Chris, demonstrate respect for the rightful owners of the photos, even in settings like Facebook:

Yesterday I was in Messenger and I noticed a message from someone in Paphos. It was from a magazine, something, a radio station, something like this. 'Do you allow us to copy the image you uploaded and put it in our magazine?' I say certainly. No objection. There's no question.... Yes, but how will [the copyright] be registered? And then it is a long story to prove that this one [photograph] is mine. Okay. You can prove it. But you should go to court and blah blah blah? No, there's no such thing, there is no reason.

Unless I find out that my photograph was sold for 50,000 euros [laughing]. (pos. 74–78)

Better understanding of and respect for ownership and copyright laws and regulations would perhaps encourage group members who do not publish images on Facebook for fear of copyright infringement to feel more secure about sharing their images. However, since not all members understand or respect copyright laws and regulations, some members choose to watermark their images. This method is used by Facebook group members and also by institutions in order to secure – and declare to others – their rights to an image. There are cases, however, where members digitise an image from a book or other source, in other words an image that is not theirs, and add their own name to the digitised version of the image (for instance by watermarking) before posting it on Facebook. These cases were negatively commented on by interviewees. However, even when watermarks are inserted by the lawful owner of the image, the result frequently does not satisfy the viewers of the image. For example, Yiannis talked about some official repositories that are watermarking their photographs:

For me it is like offering you a gift but then asking for it back. As soon as you destroy the image by adding a huge watermark so big so I can't pick out details on the image, [members who post such an image on the group] argue 'but they'll copy it' [i.e. peer-members will use the image elsewhere without the owner's permission]. I say put [the watermark] in the corner, like others do. I mean, the stupidity, because you give me something, I'm the researcher and I want to see something, let's say. You're ruining the image. (pos. 120)

Most of the interviewees who commented on watermarks emphasised the factors that found annoying, such as the size and the position of the watermark, which can obscure parts of the photograph. Decades before copyright law came into force, some photographers signed their images; as Phanos notes, in these cases the originator of the photograph is clearly identifiable:

Most of the time [members who post images] don't cite sources, they don't mention where they got [the image] from, for example. If it's signed by a photographer, you might know who captured the photograph. But that's all. I mean, it's rare that I'll find someone who'll say: 'I took [the image] from [this source]'. Sometimes it is annoying [if the source is not mentioned], but it depends. I think since [a Facebook group] is not an academic group, it is ok [not to mention the source of the image]. (pos. 60)

Many members of the groups are concerned about issues such as copyright or the reliability of the information they gather from repositories. They make it clear that it can be annoying to be confronted with incorrect information, but this does not stop them using the material posted on Facebook groups; it just makes them more suspicious about the reliability of the information, such as the citations accompanying the posted photographs. Aris, a very active member of Yesteryears of Nicosia who posts photographs there regularly and also collects old photographs as a hobby, explains how negligence can arise in the recording of copyright information for photographs and describes how he cites an old image:

Where I can, yes, I think it's good to [mention the primary source of the image].

There is a bit of a problem in the sense that when the Internet started there was no Internet copyright at all, or maybe there was no copyright at all, especially in Cyprus, which was a bit of a mess. We started keeping the photos or archiving them without much knowledge. In retrospect, we learned about the great Cypriot photographers, who are the ones to whom we owe our knowledge about how Cyprus was built [from

their photographs we can learn about the building development of Cyprus in the past]. Yes, now, learning and knowing some things, I think it's a good thing, I think it's quite a good thing, because through the [oral history or narration] of [past events] you learn about the creators of the photographs. (pos. 8)

It is also important to highlight the efforts of the administrators of both groups to verify the image descriptions or copyright-related issues and encourage members to be respectful towards the photographs and their lawful owners.

The administrators take the role of librarian, as Rona (pos. 58) explained, and try to ensure satisfactory image quality, organise the material for easy navigation, remove inappropriate or irrelevant posts and comments, and encourage members to provide sufficient and reliable information about the images. This administrative activity has the potential to improve the reliability of Facebook's photographic archives, because as a result users will be reassured that the information they see in the group is cross-referenced from other sources or people who are professionals in the field, and therefore the information they receive is valid.

6.3. Do Facebook image collections have a sustainable future?

All the perceived characteristics and perspectives of the Facebook group members outlined in sections 6.1 and 6.2 and summarised in Table 5 could be used to improve the user experience in future digital photographic repositories.

Perceived characteristics	Definition	User perspectives
Ease of access	How accessible digitised old photographs are	Facebook, unlike other photographic archives, is part of everyday social media usage for many individuals, so online access to digitised old photographs seems easier through this platform
Navigation and searchability	How easy it is to search for new images or re-find an image in the collection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - scrolling - search tool (function depends on captions or comments) - looking at albums/collections - pin/save the posts

Collaboration and interaction	Technical features that make individuals both users and creators of the archives, offering a multi-voice narration of the past through multiple oral and visual perspectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - information provided by many people, not a single agent - socialisation benefits often attributed to Facebook - sense of proximity between the ‘publisher’ of the image and the viewer - group members read and sometimes participate in discussions beneath the posted photographs
Image quality	The level of accuracy of signals (various-sized grains of silver for analogue photographs and identically sized pixels in digital photographs) that form an image	<p>Images on Facebook are affected by</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - digitisation processes and digitisation devices - the platform hosting the image (compression) - large watermarks, which can hide details of the image
Reliability of information	Documentation: the information given about the event, location, people and year depicted in the photograph	Administrators and members often verify, correct or enrich the information provided
Attribution	Citation, which is also directly connected with copyright of the images	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Incorrect or no attribution makes it difficult to locate the originator or source of the image - Sense of ownership and copyright infringement

Table 5 Perceived characteristics and user perspectives

In concluding this chapter, I want to highlight one element that, although mentioned by only a few people during the interviews, is vital not only for photographic collections in Facebook

but also for archives in general. This element concerns the future of the archival collections and highlights the main reason for the creation and existence of archives: the long-term preservation of the archival holdings. Most interviewees focused on the features that determine how repositories are used (content, navigation etc.), but four interviewees, thinking about the long-term operation of the repositories, were concerned about the sustainability of the repositories' published material. For example, Yiannis, a member of Yesteryears of Nicosia, commented in a tone of disappointment: 'Some discussions have very useful material, which is wasted. Wasted because no one from the administrators will sit down to record it ... And it's a shame that the comments won't be recorded or preserved somehow' (pos. 102). Similarly, the administrator of Yesteryears of Nicosia commented: 'I don't know how these photos can be used by people when they are low resolution; it's difficult to document them elsewhere, to make exhibitions, to put them in libraries etc.' (Andreas, pos. 30). Andreas and Yiannis want to change the ephemeral nature of Facebook group photographic collections by ensuring long-term access to the posted photos and the written information that accompanies the photos. Their desire for long-term access to this material is not limited to online organisation and access; they also advocate publication of the collected material outside of Facebook. Although few respondents expressed an interest in preserving the material shared in Facebook groups, the fact that this issue was raised demonstrates that some users see the value of the photos and related information and are aware of the vulnerability of the platforms that host the images.

6.4. Conclusion

This chapter discussed Facebook groups as a platform for old photographs. The perception that Facebook is characterised by ease of access to digitised old photographs may result from interviewees' daily interaction with Facebook. The fact that no extra effort is required by users to find or view old photographs seems to have established Facebook as an optimal platform for sharing visual material in the minds of the interviewees. The features of participation and user-generated information, characteristics that draw individuals to follow Facebook groups, enrich both the visual and oral history narratives of the collection, offering a multi-voiced narration of the past.

However, as many members reported, the reliability of the content is sometimes doubtful, because there is no expert verification of the posted information. This means it is difficult to avoid inaccuracy. The limitations of Facebook groups as platforms for accommodating old photographs include a lack of historical and scientific documentation of the photographs and

a weak navigation system. This system is also largely member-dependent, as it is group members who provide the written information that allows the visual content to be searchable. The same limitations apply to the quality of the images, which are not always of a high standard.

What makes an image repository ideal for users is determined by their expectations. Facebook is not known for its ease of navigation, image quality or reliability, which means that group members' expectations around these issues are much lower when using Facebook than when using a repository maintained by an institution. But when it comes to selecting photographs for professional or educational purposes, Facebook's issues with navigation, image quality and reliability limit or even prevent users from finding what they need on the platform; in these circumstances, users turn instead to institutional repositories. However, as several interviewees revealed, Facebook groups are often a starting point for an extrinsically driven task, as it introduces members to photographic material that was unknown to them until they saw it on Facebook.

This chapter closes by noting the concerns of group administrators and some interviewees, which echo my own concerns about further utilisation of the photographs and accompanied comments that have been shared in these Facebook groups. Building collaboration among individually maintained photographic collections and institutions seems a good way to create functional, reliable, relevant and participatory photographic collections.

7 Discussion and conclusion

In this final chapter, I delve into the meaning, importance and relevance of the results of this research. I explain the findings that have been presented in the previous chapters and relate them to the literature review and the research questions. The chapter is organised in six sections: 7.1 Key findings of the research; 7.2 Meaning of the results; 7.3 The sense of belonging; 7.4 Facebook groups and communicative memory; 7.5 Limitations of the study and recommendations for further research; 7.6 Concluding remarks and implications for institutional practice. To avoid repetition between the discussion of the results and the conclusion chapter of the dissertation, are both sections included in this chapter.

7.1 Key findings of the research

Through my research, I aimed to understand the actual use made of digital institutional photographic repositories. I explored the motivations that prompt individuals to engage with digitised photographs, emphasising the relationship of this engagement with memory work. The research problem was defined after I identified a lack of qualitative studies of users of digital institutional repositories. Although existing research does focus on the users of the repositories, providing useful information about the usage of specific repositories, this approach is quantitative and overlooks non-users of repositories and users of alternative sources of similar material.

I observed that current user studies do not position the user in a broader context, meaning that they avoid comparing what the repository under examination offers in relation to alternative sources. Therefore, I proposed opening up the research target group and deploying a qualitative research approach that looks at individuals who engage with digitised photographs outside of institutional repositories. By doing so, I aimed to examine a) the actual outreach of the institutional repositories and b) the technical characteristics and the content of various digital photographic repositories – both institutional and non-institutional – as perceived by individuals. Specifically, I examined two Facebook groups dedicated to sharing old photographs. The resulting data suggests that institutional photographic repositories are not widely used among individuals who interact with old photographs through Facebook groups. Many users simply interact with old photographs they come across in the Facebook groups and do not use any repositories. The data indicates that the motivations that prompt individuals to interact with old photographs often define the source that individuals choose to

use. The fact that individuals are attracted to photographs that are related to their direct or indirect past explains their preference for using Facebook groups to interact with these photographs. Their preference for this platform arises from the fact that the features of Facebook enhance the personalised relationship between the viewer and the image by allowing members to participate in discussion and description of the images.

7.2 Meaning of the results

Confirming my initial hypothesis, the research results confirm that digital institutional photo repositories are not widely used by individuals, at least in the case studies of this research. The most important achievement of my research, however, was not the confirmation of my hypothesis but the discovery of the reasons why digital institutional photographic repositories are or are not used by individuals. Following Sartori's (2016) suggestions about the need to conduct empirical and qualitative research to understand repository users, my methodological choices and research sample helped me answer my research questions and identify the different user and non-user segments of digitised institutional repositories.

In 4,5 and 6 I organised and presented the data that answer the research questions. In Chapter 4 I analysed the preferred photographic themes of the research participants and how these themes are related to memory work. In Chapter 5 I identified the motivations that prompt individuals to use photographic repositories, and in Chapter 6 I listed the technical and content characteristics of the repositories in an attempt to understand how these characteristics affect the user. At several points these three chapters are interconnected, with several concepts reappearing and thus linking, confirming or explaining the responses and attitudes of the research participants. It would be redundant to repeat the main points of each chapter, so in this chapter I have chosen to present the interconnection of the main points by juxtaposing them with concepts and studies discussed in the literature review.

The point where all the findings seem to converge is the 'sense of belonging'. I believe this is the key element that makes a photographic repository acceptable to and popular among users. As I discuss in the sections that follow, this sense takes various forms and is sometimes perceived differently by the research participants.

7.3 The sense of belonging

As this research demonstrates, the sense of belonging, or belongingness, is a determining factor in making a platform that accommodates photographs popular among users. I have

identified two levels of belongingness, both of which are equally important for users and which in combination strengthen the motivation of individuals to engage with a photographic repository or a platform. The first level concerns the relationship of the individual to the photograph itself and the feeling that in some way the individual belongs, fits in, or is connected to the image. The second level of belongingness concerns the environment – the platform/repository – in which the photograph appears, and specifically which elements of the platform contribute to the user feeling part of the platform.

7.3.1 Sense of belonging and connection to the photograph

Chapter 4 addressed the first research question: which photographic themes are individuals interested in, and how do these themes relate to memory and identity work? It was apparent from the data that members of Facebook groups are more interested in the photographs with which they feel a connection. Members' connection to photographs was defined either through personal experiences and memories or through experiences and memories of those close to them. In order to express liking towards a digitised old photograph, individuals need to feel connected in some way to the content of the photograph and sense a feeling of belonging. This could be: a) time-specific, that is, they like a photo that depicts a time in which they or a loved one lived; b) space-specific, that is, a place can be seen in the photo: a city, a building, a landscape to which the viewer of the photo feels a direct or indirect personal connection; or c) activity-specific, showing an activity in which the person viewing the photograph engages – a sport, or a worker in a profession related to the field in which the viewer of the photograph is employed. Although “place” and “time” are interconnected, for analytical purposes, I separated place and time. This separation was often made in the way interviewees described their connection with particular photographs, concentrating on the description of an era or focusing on the place itself. In either case, the time element could not be separated from the place and the place could not be separated from the time. For example, when an interviewee referred to a certain street depicted in a photograph, this description reflected a certain period of time in the past. The description often expanded the time frame from past to present, offering a comparative element that examined the evolution of that specific place. Therefore the description of a building is related both to its structural form and to the environment that surrounds it, but it cannot be detached from the chronological period in which it existed, through which it is remembered now.

In Chapter 4 I listed the photographic subjects that interested the research participants and provided a list of these subjects. This chapter highlighted the necessity for individuals to identify in some way with a photograph in order for their interest to be aroused. Interest can be expressed on Facebook through ‘liking’ or commenting on a photograph, and these likes and comments become an indicator of a photograph’s popularity. Marino et al. (2022) examined the factors that make a photo popular on Facebook, defining popularity using the probability that a photograph will receive at least one comment from Facebook users. The study concluded that the decisive factor determining a photograph’s popularity is who posts the photo, not the photo itself.

Marino et al.’s (2022) study analysed Facebook user reactions to other people’s profile pictures, suggesting that the way to examine the popularity of the person’s Facebook profile is determined by the number of comments and likes the profile picture will get. In my research I did not deal with profile pictures but with the historical images shared by members of the Yesteryears of Nicosia and Memories of Limassol groups. As it turned out, contrary to the research of Marino et al., members’ reactions to the photographs posted in these Facebook groups were not influenced by who posted the image but by the content of the image itself. The popularity of a photograph in these Facebook groups (how many likes and comments a posted photograph receives) is determined by several factors: a) the subject of the photo, b) its rarity, and c) the information that accompanies it. The next sections will analyse these factors.

7.3.1.1 The subject of the photograph – not the person who posts but the content of the photograph

The first point, and the rebuttal of Marino et al.’s (2022) research, is that the content of the photo determines the popularity of the photo, not the person posting it. What emerges from the data analysed in Chapter 4 is that the most popular photographic subjects are the ones that are linked to personal narratives and the past experiences of the viewers themselves or their loved ones. The photographic preferences of the research participants relate to the past of a specific and familiar place, city, village or event, rather than to the past in general, unconnected with a familial situation or familiar place. Although on the face of it the popularity of an image on Facebook – the number of likes an image will receive – seems not to be determined by who posts it, the poster may influence the overall reaction of other members towards the posted image. In particular, if a photograph is posted by a person who emphasises their professional status or their posts are perceived by other members as

institutional rather than personal posts, the reaction of some of the members – the way they comment on the posted photograph – is clearly different from their reaction to posts by individuals not connected to an institution. More specifically, in these cases, the person who made the post is not seen by others as a member of the group but rather as a representative of an authority or institution. The focus and tone of some comments are no longer about the photo itself but about the institution's practices – represented by the person who works for it and posts in the group – and how an institution treats, manages and distributes photographs and other media it might own. These comments often concern technical issues, such as the use of the institution's watermark on photographs that are posted. The interesting finding here is that this critique of institutional practices does not take place on official Facebook pages managed by the institution directly but in groups maintained by individuals. I interpret the behaviour of some members towards other members who post on behalf of institutions as a reaction to a perceived alien invasion in their space, a reaction against authority (represented by a member) which is now 'humanised' and seemingly approachable, as it has a name (in other words, the member posts from their personal account and not from the Facebook page of the institution). I believe this should be considered in future studies, as it is especially important for the development of institutional repositories and their institutional practices.

7.3.1.2 *Rarity*

The second determinant of the popularity of a photograph is its rarity. From the comments of the research participants, I identified three different definitions of what they mean when they refer to the rarity of a photograph.

Some people called photographs rare that are indeed rare, for example very old photographs or images depicting subjects that were not usually photographed, so that there are very few photographic documents from the period or a specific event or subject.

Others used the word 'rarity' to refer to images that do not depict a common photographic subject. A common subject would be where many photos from the same event are posted (for example, the same children's party) and sometimes similar photos from the same type of event (for example, different children's parties). Repetition also applies to posting the same photo in the Facebook group more than once. This meaning of 'rarity' refers to the frequency with which photos appear in Facebook groups but also refers to the frequency with which photos appear in other sources. The photos of children's parties are not considered rare, and

are therefore not interesting to the group members, because most members have similar photos of their own parties. Often for these individuals a photo of a children's party repeats the information contained in their own party photos.

Others use 'rarity' when referring to photographs that are not rare but are rarely included in the sources that users are exposed to. A photo of a political figure that has been republished from many sources, such as in textbooks, books or documentaries, and which individuals have therefore seen many times, cannot be considered either rare or interesting if it is posted in the Facebook group, because the members have already had the opportunity to examine the information conveyed by that image. On the other hand, a photo of the same political person that group members have not been repeatedly exposed to becomes interesting to them when they see it for the first time. A typical example would be photographs depicting the Turkish Cypriot community; these are not found in Greek Cypriot sources of information, such as school textbooks, and thus the interviewees marked such photos as rare when they were posted in the Facebook group.

7.3.1.3 Information that accompanies the photographs

In addition to the subject of the photograph and its rarity, the popularity of a photograph among the research participants seems to be influenced by the information accompanying the photograph. The member who posts a photograph to the group can provide a written explanation of the image, offer historical information to explain it, or add text that targets the emotions of other members. The text that accompanies the photograph, and the comments that may be added by group members, intentionally or unintentionally parallel the motivations that drove individuals to join the group. As mentioned in Chapter 5, the motivations for joining the old photo groups often relate to professional or educational tasks, which I designated extrinsic motivation. But the decision to join these groups is also driven by intrinsic motivations, such as the desire for knowledge, curiosity, contemplation of one's origins and past, nostalgia, and pleasure. For example, the description of a photo could aim to disclose unknown aspects of the past or to evoke nostalgia. These characteristics of photographic description satisfy some of the desires that prompt members to engage with old photographs, ensuring the popularity of the posted images.

From the data in this study, it appears that the person who posts a photo to the group determines the validity but not the popularity of that photo. As mentioned in section 6.2.3, some members were associated with posting reliable information and others with posting

unreliable information in the group, so some members who view the posted photos and information in the groups are suspect or even biased against or in favour of some members who post. This means that some members (and therefore their posts) are considered by fellow members to be reliable and other members are not. This bias against some members may of course be based on factual evidence, but it may also cause members to uncritically accept or reject information posted in the group based on this bias.

7.3.2 Sense of belonging and the repository: the right to participate

The last point I identified during the interviews that seems to influence the popularity of a digitised photo is the environment in which the image is published. Building on point 7.3.1.1, which argues, based on the research data, that the person who posts a photo to a Facebook group does not affect the popularity of the image, I will add in this section that the environment in which an image is posted affects viewers' reactions to the image. In section 6.1.3 I included screenshots of the same photograph posted in different locations on Facebook: the first in an individual-maintained Facebook group and the second on the Facebook page of an official organisation. In the first case, members embraced the image with likes and comments, while in the case of the institutional page, members have limited themselves to likes and re-shares, which I perceive as impersonal reactions, unlike comments, which are personalised.

Through this example, and interviewee experiences of using institutional repositories inside and outside of Facebook, I have come to recognise the important role of the sense of belonging in how users experience these repositories. In this case, the sense of belonging refers to the ease with which a person who sees a photograph in a certain environment can connect with that environment and feel part of it, letting it feel familiar and as though they are among like-minded people. In the case of photographic subjects, familiarity has a personal meaning: viewers find some aspect of themselves reflected in the image because of a memory or a post-memory that connects them to the subject of the photograph. In the case of a repository, however, belonging has both a literal and a social meaning. The person realises that they can contribute to and receive information about the photos that interest them and, in effect, belong to a group of people who happen to have the same interest.

In conclusion, all the points mentioned above that seem to affect the popularity of a photograph tend to work in combination rather than in isolation. That is, a rare photo posted in a non-institutional Facebook group, accompanied by information that appeals to emotions, nostalgia or collective memory, is almost certain to attract many comments and likes. If one of the

variables is changed, for example if a rare photo is posted in an institutional Facebook group, even if it is accompanied by information that appeals to the emotions, nostalgia or memories of the members, it is unlikely to elicit many likes and comments, because the environment in which it was posted does not exude familiarity and thus does not inspire users to participate. However, it might prompt people to share the institutional post in the more familiar space of non-institutional Facebook groups, like the case study Facebook groups.

7.3.3 Ownership: Sense of belonging and image copyright

Interesting but polarising debates arose in the interviews about ownership of photographs – who owns the copyright of a posted image. Although copyright is not a debatable topic, because it is defined by law or copyright policy, it is still a source of disagreement and confusion for group members.

Above I discussed the importance of ‘belonging’ as it relates to users’ experience of digital photo repositories. It is important for individuals to feel a sense of belonging to the story depicted in the image, and it is equally important to belong to the environment in which that image is discussed. However, the fact that they feel at home in the Facebook environment, and with the experience of interacting with digitised old photographs in this platform, can sometimes cause a misleading sense of belonging. This misleading sense concerns the image itself, not the memories or stories connected with the image. The familiar topics of photographs, with their shared memories and post-memories, and the friendly and participatory environment of Facebook groups allow members to feel they belong to this community, but these feeling of belonging could also cause confusion about the ownership of the photographs. After asking interviewees about the confusion in Facebook groups about who owns a photograph, I concluded that many of the people who appropriate the rights to photographs feel that since they own the story that the photograph contains, and since they also own the environment in which the photograph is displayed, they automatically own the image. This results in them republishing the image without obtaining permission from the rightful owners or even publishing the image with their name added, either as a watermark or in a caption to indicate that they own the photograph. In other cases where individuals are involved in the process of digitising an analogue photograph, these individuals consider the digitised copy of the image to be their creation, so they own the copyright of the now-digitised photograph.

McKay's (2010) research comments on the disdain of Filipino citizens for copyright law, since they see copyright law as a hangover from the former colonial regime. Even though Cyprus also has a colonial past, which might lead to a similar reaction to copyright laws, I have not researched this subject, so I cannot determine whether this is the case. Instead, the interviews revealed that Facebook group members often have incomplete or erroneous information about, or are in complete ignorance of, photography copyright law. An effective measure to combat the appropriation of copyright of photos posted in Facebook groups would be for group administrators to educate members about the issue by informing them about the relevant legislation.

7.3.4 Political image and the role of reflective nostalgia

Another debate which often arose in the interviews, and also in the discussions in the Facebook groups, is whether a photographic collection is or should be political. This discussion raises the question of what a political image looks like. Even though I did not aim to cover this topic, it arose spontaneously during some of the interviews, and several interviewees brought up rich and interesting insights about their perceptions of political images.

What are the characteristics of a political photograph? What photos must be included in a repository's collection in order for that collection to be considered comprehensive by users? Can a collection be considered comprehensive without including political images? These questions emerged after I analysed the amassed data. Some research participants expressed interest in seeing images that might be described by others as political, such as a photo of a party leader, provided that the image is accompanied by a description free of personal political views. Others, including myself, consider that all images can be political, since they include elements that reflect and reveal socio-economic status. In either case – seeing an image as political only because it depicts a politician or seeing all images as political – an image on its own may not be considered political, but it may be transformed into a political image by the comments and description that accompany it. In other words, it is how an image is perceived by the viewer, the meaning of the image that each viewer chooses to make, that classifies a photograph as political or non-political. What I understand from what the participants said is that many of them are aware and critical of the added or missing layers in the photographic collection (wherever it comes from, institutional or non-institutional). This observation refers back to the literature review, specifically to Schwartz and Cook's (2002) study on the added layers of meaning in archives and whether these layers are perceived as

such by users. For example, many group members seem to be aware of the dangers of misrepresenting or extolling certain ethnic or economic groups in both formal channels, such as archives and history books, and informal channels, such as Facebook groups.

The recounting of personal memories and feelings that evoke nostalgia is a desirable element in the group, whereas the recounting of historical events and criticism of political situations can lead to confrontation between members and is avoided and often condemned in Facebook groups. As previously mentioned, group administrators intervene by deleting comments that could lead to historical inaccuracies or political debates between group members. I conclude that administrators delete inaccurate or conflicting comments because very personal memories and nostalgic feelings cannot be disputed by third parties (such as administrators or other members), as they are the personal perceptions of a person remembering their own past. Personal memories and nostalgic feelings can be reinforced or enriched by similar memories from other members; and while political acts and historical events can be questioned, they can also be proved or clarified using historical documents, studies and evidence, a process which, in order to be objective, must be free of or at least distanced from sentimentality. Boym's (2001) concepts of reflective and restorative nostalgia (see section 2.6.3 of the literature review) fit perfectly into this discussion. Reflective nostalgia is what prevails in the Facebook groups. Interviewees almost always seek to learn about the past, understand history and receive new information through the photographs and the memories of fellow members, rather trying to idealise the past and seeking lost glory, which are the characteristics of restorative nostalgia. An example of reflective nostalgia is the excitement and surprise some members experience when they are able for the first time to access the past through pictures of Turkish Cypriots, or of villages where both communities lived. This reflective form of nostalgia, which was observed in these case study Facebook groups and which offers a glimpse of what it is currently known about the past, is a counterweight to the official representation of the past, which is influenced by the political situation in Cyprus and which often creates these visual gaps in history, hiding certain images and privileging others. In conclusion, the image itself is not 'political'; 'political' is people's response to the image, and reflective nostalgia is a critical approach to looking at the past, to learning about and from the past.

7.4 Facebook groups and communicative memory

Memory work is a central analytical feature of this research, because it examines how memory practices are embedded in the everyday interactions of Facebook users with digitised old photographs. As this research shows, there is no widespread use of institutional digital photographic repositories by the general population, let alone an active memory practice of the users within digital institutional settings. The experience of the participants in this research suggest that institutional collections can be credited with preserving objects from the past, but they cannot be credited with creating conditions for a process of co-remembrance, at least in their digital space.

Instead, I would argue that Facebook groups function as platforms that accommodate old photographs and create conditions that encourage the process of memory and co-remembrance. In particular, in Facebook groups one can find what Assmann (1995) calls communicative memory (see section 2.6.1). The characteristics reported by the research participants regarding their interactions within Facebook groups, as well as the characteristics I identified in my exploratory study, fit the definition of communicative memory. Specifically, I believe the two points Assmann mentions, the high degree of non-specialisation and the reciprocity of roles, are characteristics of the Facebook groups I studied and are also necessary to encourage the active participation of members in these groups. Among the members there are probably some who are specialists in the topics shown in the photos, but these members do not behave as specialists; they participate in the group on equal terms with the other members, who treat them as people with similar shared experiences and memories.

Assmann's second point – reciprocity of roles – reflects the equality of opportunity enjoyed by all members, who can post, comment and react on equal terms. The administrators have more power than ordinary group members, since they can delete a comment or a photo based on their own judgement and principles. But the fact that they appear in the group with a Facebook profile that includes their name creates closeness rather than distance from other group members. I think this closeness is lost in institutional accounts, which look like impersonal profiles. In the case of individual-maintained groups and their administrators, members do not feel they are addressing an institution but a person who shares the same interest in these photos, who remembers and longs for the past as much as the rest of the members. The only difference between them is that the administrator supports the proper

functioning of the group. I believe these two features, the high degree of non-specialization and the reciprocity of the roles, enhance immediacy in the recounting of history and remembering because of the simple, everyday and understandable language used by the members, which may include jokes, gossip and reflections from the recent past. In contrast, these elements of everyday conversation seem to be absent from the institutionally maintained Facebook pages and groups. I believe this may be because their use of more formal, academic language in presenting their past and memories is likely to cause the audience to feel awkward. On viewing a formal post published by an institutional profile, the audience probably feel they are not allowed, or that it would be inappropriate, to comment on the post or to enrich it with a relevant personal memory or a funny incident.

I believe the active participation of individuals in Facebook groups is achieved through the externalised process of recalling their memories and post-memories. In the case study Facebook groups, this externalised process of co-remembering, and participation in group discussions, was reinforced by the lack of specialisation and reciprocity of roles among group members and the use of simple language in group discussions. These conditions help each user feel part of this participatory co-remembrance. This is where I think institutional repositories fall short, as they are unable to accommodate participatory co-remembrance.

7.5 Limitations of the study and recommendations for further research

The previous sections detailed what can be concluded from my study; this section focuses on what cannot be concluded from this study. I will discuss the limitations that are directly relevant to my research objectives and evaluate the impact these limitations had on achieving the aims of this research.

Overall, the methodological choices and the data collected were sufficient to answer my research questions. However, certain unanticipated obstacles arose during the research process, and specific methodological choices and research design choices were made that in some cases limited my understanding of aspects of the topic under study.

The generalisability of the results is limited by the research sample, which focused on a specific group of people – the members of two Facebook groups, who are predominantly Cypriots. For this reason, the results cannot confirm that people's motivations for and experiences of using digital institutional photographic repositories and engaging with digitised photographs apply beyond the research sample.

One of the major limitations of the study, both in terms of the research design and the way I contacted potential participants, is the fact that the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities were not equally represented. When I refer to research design choices, I mean the choice of language in the invitation to participate in the study as well as the questionnaires posted in the Facebook groups, which were in Greek and English. I believe that a translation into Turkish would have been more welcoming to individuals from the Turkish Cypriot community. Although I do not know, because I deliberately did not ask the interviewees whether they came from one of the religious minorities in Cyprus (Latinos, Armenians and Maronites), I do not believe that the invitation to participate in the study excluded these groups. Future studies could ensure representation of all communities in Cyprus and extract results on inclusivity and representation in Facebook groups hosting both Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots, focusing on how such groups shape shared histories and narratives or reflect on intercommunal conflicts. Expanding the research sample to include Turkish Cypriot members could provide data that would allow greater understanding of the experience of different communities in terms of the representation of history and the shaping of memory in social media. Studying Turkish Cypriots' and Greek Cypriots' perceptions of Facebook groups was not an aim of this study, but it became obvious during the interviews that bicomunal discourse was an important issue. Future studies could expand the theoretical sample to include members of other Cypriot communities. However, I do not believe that data from such studies would change the results relating to the key issue of my research, which is understanding the use of digital institutional repositories among users of Facebook. Nevertheless, the inclusion of different ethnic groups and the use of focus group methodology to bring these groups of people together would probably provide more information on the issue of identity. In my research the topic of identity arose in different ways: the identity of being a resident of a city or a member of a certain social class, for example, or the sense of 'Cypriotness' that can characterise someone who was born or grew up in Cyprus.

Overall, my research design allowed me to easily reach and recruit research participants of all ages, with the exception of young adults aged 18–24. Although I would ideally like to research this demographic group as well, the platform I chose – Facebook – could not facilitate this. I realised this limitation only after I started collecting data and conducting interviews. Although group administrators shared graphics with me giving the demographic information of their Facebook groups (Figure 11, Figure 12), and these graphics indicated the

presence of young adults in the groups, I was not able to identify or recruit young adults into my research. This limitation reflects the general socio-demographic background of Facebook users, which according to Ortellado et al. (2021) is characterised by higher engagement by older adults than younger users, regardless of the type of content engaged with. Further research is therefore needed to understand the use of digital institutional repositories by young adults. Future work could build on research design similar to mine and recruit research participants from outside institutional repositories, but I suggest using a different social media platform, one that is currently popular among young adults.

A research design that included international Facebook groups instead of focusing exclusively on groups associated with a specific country would provide a greater variety of data to investigate my first and second research questions, people's connection with specific photographic topics. The research participants were de facto exposed to images related to Cyprus and were recruited to the research through a group that exclusively promotes photos of Cyprus, so during the interviews perhaps the interviewees assumed they should focus on explaining their relationship with images found in these specific Facebook groups (images related to Cyprus). Although during the interviews I asked questions that focused on interviewees' connections to place, history and memory, I wanted to know whether interviewees were interested in photographs that had no direct or indirect connection to their personal past. There is no indication that changing the research sample or the interview questions would alter the results of this research, which show that individuals prefer photographs that depict topics familiar to them. I am aware that my data might be considered biased, because the Facebook groups that were selected for the case studies were by definition connected to a specific city, so the sense of localism and ethnic identity was possibly more pronounced than in Facebook groups that share images from different countries. This means that the results cannot be generalised. Future studies could repeat the research by using the same interview questions but recruiting interviewees from Facebook groups dedicated to historical images in general and not of a specific state or city. The data from a non-site-specific Facebook group could be then compared with country-specific groups to provide greater insight into the matter. This comparison could also confirm whether in different types of Facebook groups the intrinsic motivations of members and their preference for engagement with photographs depicting specific topics have a connection with memory and are linked to the direct or indirect past of the members.

Finally, through my last research question, I tried to capture the characteristics of photographic repositories as perceived by the participants in my research. I did not aim to come up with practical changes to improve existing repositories, but I believe the research design and the data collected will be useful for further studies. The Facebook group members' feedback about the image repositories could potentially be used by future studies or institutional projects to create a people-centred repository based on elements that people find most relevant.

7.6 Concluding remarks and implications for institutional practice

My intention with this research was to contribute to the understanding of the actual motivations and experiences of Facebook users who interact with digitised old photographs, and I believe I was able to achieve this. As collecting institutions are increasingly active on the Internet, either through social media or through their own websites and databases, I think institutions would find it helpful to conduct ongoing qualitative research into their users. Such research would help to a) identify problems with existing features; b) add new features in response to the needs of users; and c) attract people who do not yet use the repositories. I believe an essential element of the digital strategy of collecting institutions should be the User Experience (UX) Design research. This type of research would help repositories to understand their users and guide them towards achieving systematic and sustainable use of the repositories rather than just event-based use.

My research identifies several factors that influence how people who interact with digitised old photos online choose between different sources of digitised photos. What emerges from this research is that the personalised relationship between image provider and image viewer creates a comfortable environment for discussing photos, in particular the stories and memories associated with them. 'Personalised relationship' means the same sense of belonging is engendered in people viewing a certain image of the past. Since institutions are maintained by people, their practices should reflect this, emphasising that they also share similar motivations with their users.

I believe a sense of belonging is key to attracting and maintaining people's interest in digital repositories, so it should be taken into consideration during the planning of institutional repositories.

Another reason people use Facebook groups rather than institutional repositories to engage with digitised old photographs seems to be the effortless access to images. This research could help guide institutions towards optimising their repositories to satisfy the needs of potential users. The element that research participants appreciate the most in Facebook groups is participation in the formation of the photographic collection. Facebook allows multiple users to contribute to the content, enriching both the visual and oral history cache of the collection by offering a multi-voiced narrative of the past. The best possible solution would be for institutions to incorporate Facebook's participatory features with the features that repositories possess but Facebook lacks, such as reliability of documentation, quality of image and ease of navigation. If institutions could do this, and also increase collaboration with individual-maintained photographic collections, they would take great strides along the path to creating functional, reliable and participatory photographic repositories that are relevant to as many people as possible.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Auto-ethnographical note: becoming a participant in your own research

I had to answer the questions that by that time I was asking others. I had been asked to post an image, and as I mentioned to the administrators during a group chat, that was a fair but challenging task. I went back to old family albums, searching for an image that had something to offer, at the very least a detail that might be of wider interest than my immediate family.

Concerns about posting an image online:

The people shown in the image (my mother, aunt, grandfather and grandmother) had no problem with me posting it online and gave me all the details I asked for: date, place, feeling, photographer. Nevertheless, it felt weird to post it; it was the first time I had ever published something like that on the Internet. I did not feel any need to share a family picture with strangers and the endless online world.

I Love Old Photographs. Posting and discussion. Pre 1989.

Private group · 35.6K members

About Discussion Announcements Topics Members

Myrtò Theocharidou
August 30, 2019 · 🌐

Does not seem like a post-war image. However, it is. A family from Morphou, Cyprus two years after they were forced to leave their home in the Northern part of Cyprus to move to the South and 'free' part of the island due to the Turkish invasion (1974).

Here, posing in front of one of the few remaining of their pre-war life, the Black Mercedes.

My grandfather Ioannis Tsingis, grandmother Myrianti Tsingi, aunt Andri and mother Chrystalla.

1976, Pedoulas, Cyprus.

It is a while since I am following the feed of this group and all this fascinating material that is shared.

As part of my PhD research, I am investigating how people are interacting with digitized photographs, and this group is a great example!

It will be beneficial for my research if you take 3-5 minutes to answer the following questionnaire. (Link below)

<https://forms.gle/Jctz6BbXuSeCeZyu7>

If you are reading this post, it means that the admins of this group accepted it, and for that, I am truly grateful.

Thank you in advance, I really appreciate your contribution,
Myrto Theocharidou

POEM PhD Fellow

Cyprus University of Technology



👍👎 26

30 comments

Χρήση διαδικτυακών πολιτιστικών φωτογραφικών αρχείων | Uses of online cultural photographic archives

Ονομάζομαι Μυρτώ Θεοχαρίδου και είμαι διδακτορική φοιτήτρια στο Τεχνολογικό Πανεπιστήμιο Κύπρου. Το παρόν ερωτηματολόγιο αποτελεί μέρος της διδακτορικής έρευνάς μου, η οποία εστιάζει στη χρήση των διαδικτυακών πολιτιστικών φωτογραφικών αρχείων. Η ομάδα Λεμεσού Μνήμες εξετάζεται ως ένα άτυπο αρχείο συλλογής φωτογραφικού υλικού. Σκοπός του ερωτηματολογίου είναι η κατανόηση της χρήσης της ομάδας Λεμεσού Μνήμες στο Facebook, ερευνώντας γιατί τα μέλη της ομάδας μοιράζονται φωτογραφίες (share), τι αποκομίζουν από την ιδιότητά τους ως μέλη και, εξετάζοντας παράλληλα τη δράση τους έξω από αυτή την ομάδα, εάν επισκέπτονται άλλες πλατφόρμες (κυρίως επίσημες πλατφόρμες, πολιτιστικών ιδρυμάτων) που προσφέρουν ψηφιοποιημένες φωτογραφίες για προβολή ή συλλογή φωτογραφικού υλικού. Επιπλέον, το ερωτηματολόγιο εξετάζει εάν τα μέλη ενδιαφέρονται ή όχι για ψηφιοποιημένες φωτογραφίες μιας συγκεκριμένης περιόδου ή γεωγραφικού σημείου.

My name is Myrto Theocharidou, and I am a doctoral student at the Cyprus University of Technology. This questionnaire is part of my PhD research, which focuses on the uses of online cultural photographic archives. Mnimes Lemesou group is examined as an informal collection of photographic material. The objective of the questionnaire is to understand how the members of the group use Mnimes Lemesou, why they share photographs in this group, how they benefit from their membership and if in addition to this group, they follow other platforms (especially official platforms) which offer digitized photographs to view or collect material. Moreover, the questionnaire examines whether or not members are interested in digitized photographs of a certain period or geographical place.

* Required

1. Παρακαλώ επίλεξε γλώσσα - Please select language *

Mark only one oval.

- Ελληνικά *Skip to question 39.*
- English *Skip to question 2.*

Member's activity

2. How do you define your activity in the Lemesou Mnimes group? *

Mark only one oval.

- Very active-I am posting / I posted new material
- Active - Comment on others' posts/discussing *Skip to question 18.*
- Little active - React on others post (like/dislike button) *Skip to question 18.*
- Observative - Checking the new material in the group without reacting or commenting *Skip to question 18.*
- Inactive - Not following the group's new material *Skip to question 18.*

Very active members

3. How often do you post in Lemesou Mnimes? *

Mark only one oval.

- Very often
- Often
- Rarely
- I only posted once
- Other: _____

4. Do you upload photographs in Lemesou Mnimes? *

Mark only one oval.

- Yes *Skip to question 6.*
- No

Members who don't post photographs

5. What kind of material do you upload? (You can choose more than one) *

Check all that apply.

- Text
- Links
- Questions
- Other: _____

Skip to question 18.

Photographs and other material

6. What kind of other materials do you upload? (You can choose more than one) *

Check all that apply.

- Text
- Links
- Questions
- I only upload photographs
- Other: _____

7. Are the photographs you upload retrieved from a family or personal archive? *

Mark only one oval.

- Always
- Sometimes *Skip to question 11.*
- Never *Skip to question 14.*

Photographs are ALWAYS from a personal/family collection

8. Why do you share photographs from your personal/family collection in this Facebook group? (You can choose more than one) *

Check all that apply.

- I believe it is interesting for the other members of the group as well
- To receive through comments more information about the photograph from other members of the group, who might know more about it
- I want to contribute to the content/ collection of the Facebook group
- I upload it on behalf of someone else who does not have the technical skills
- To tag people that are included in the image
- It's fun. I like the conversation under the photographic posts
- Other: _____

9. Do you share or use these images elsewhere? (You can choose more than one) *

Check all that apply.

- In other Facebook groups
- On my Facebook wall
- On my account of other social media
- On social media accounts/groups maintained by cultural institutions
- On social media accounts/groups maintained by individuals
- View/share them privately with family and friends
- I give them to official archives or museums for research purposes
- No, I only share them in Lemesou Mnimes
- Other: _____

10. Please feel free to write more about your answers. Add any related comments and examples here

Skip to question 18.

Photographs are SOMETIMES from a personal/family collection

11. Why do you want to share photographs from your personal/family albums in the Facebook group (You can choose more than one) *

Check all that apply.

- I believe it is interesting for other members as well
- To receive more information about the content of the image from the other members of the group, who might know more about it.
- I think it is related to the content of the group, and I want to contribute to the content/ collection of the group
- I upload it on behalf of someone else who does not have the technical skills
- To tag people that are included in the image
- It's fun. I like the conversation under the photographic posts
- Other: _____

12. Do you share or use these images elsewhere? (You can choose more than one) *

Check all that apply.

- In other Facebook groups
- On my Facebook wall
- On my account of other social media
- On social media accounts/groups maintain by cultural institutions
- On social media accounts/groups maintain by individuals
- View/share them privately with family and friends
- I give them to official archives or museums for research purposes
- No, I only share them in Lemesou Mnimes
- Other: _____

13. Please feel free to write more about your choices. Add any comments, examples or related stories here

Alternative sources for old photographs

14. From which (other) sources do you collect old photographs? (You can choose more than one) *

Check all that apply.

- Search engines (e.g. Google)
- Image depositories (e.g. Flickr)
- Social Media of cultural institutions
- Social Media of individuals
- Website/databases of a cultural institution (museum, archive, library)
- Offline source (books, archives, libraries, museums, etc.)
- Other: _____

15. Please name few of the sources that you use to collect photographic material *

16. Why you (re)share these photographs in the Facebook group (You can choose more than one) *

Check all that apply.

- I believe it is interesting for other members as well
- To receive more information about the content of the image from the other members of the group, who might know more about it.
- I think it is related to the content of the group, and I want to contribute to the content/ collection of the group
- It's fun. I like the conversation under the photographic posts
- Other: _____

17. Do you share or use these images elsewhere? (You can choose more than one) **Check all that apply.*

- In other Facebook groups
- On my Facebook wall
- On my account of other social media platforms
- On social media accounts/groups maintain by cultural institutions
- On social media accounts/groups maintain by individuals
- View/share them privately with family and friends
- Download them on my device
- Print them
- No, only in Lemesou Mnimes
- Other: _____

For Lemesou Mnimes group**18. What do you think is required for a photograph in order to be posted in the group and represent "Mnimes Lemesou"? (You can choose more than one) ****Check all that apply.*

- Shows a landmark in Limassol regardless of the period
- Shows a landmark in Limassol of a certain period
- Represent people from Limassol regardless of the period
- Represent people from Limassol of a certain period
- Other: _____

19. What does Lemesou Mnimes group offer you? (You can choose more than one) **Check all that apply.*

- Historical Knowledge
- Entertainment
- Material to collect
- Space to discuss
- Space to meet people
- Space to recall your past
- Space to learn about the past
- Nothing
- Other: _____

Specific photographic preferences

This section of the questionnaire concerns your personal preferences in Photography, regardless of the Lemesou Mnimes. (e.g. What kind of photos do you like to view)

20. Which chronological period(s) in photography interests you? (You can choose more than one) *

Check all that apply.

- Contemporary photographs (up to 10 years old)
- Period of my childhood
- Period of my early adulthood
- A period before my birth (familiar to me through narratives or history)
- Time is not important
- Other: _____

21. I am interested in photographs... (You can choose more than one) *

Check all that apply.

- I am interested in photographs related to Limassol
- I am interested in photographs related to Cyprus
- I am interested in photographs directly related to me regardless of the location (photograph in which I or my family or people I know are shown in the image)
- I am interested in photographs indirectly related to me, regardless of the location (spontaneous relation, for example, shows unknown children playing a game which I also used to play as a child)
- I am interested in any kind of old photographs
- Other: _____

The importance of primary source

22. Is it important for you, to know the primary source of a photograph (who is the photographer/ owner, where was found, etc)? *

Mark only one oval.

- Yes *Skip to question 23.*
- No *Skip to question 24.*

Why primary source is important?

23. Why is it important for you to know the primary source of a photograph? (You can choose more than one) *

Check all that apply.

- It will be easier to find more material if I know the primary source
- I need this information for documentation
- I might want to contact the owner
- Is a copyright issue, credits must be given
- Other: _____

Skip to question 25.

Why primary source is not important?

24. Why is it not important for you to know the primary source of a photograph? *

Mark only one oval.

- I am only interested in the content of the image and not on the owner of the photograph
- I am not going to reuse the image, so I do not need any permission from the owner
- Everything that is on Facebook is copyright free, there is no need to mention the primary source
- I change my mind. Primary source is important to me. *Skip to question 23.*
- Other: _____

OUTSIDE OF THE GROUP- Other sources for digitized photographs

25. From which other sources do you view or collect old photographs? (You can choose more than one) *

Check all that apply.

- Search engines (e.g. google)
- Image depositories (e.g. flick)
- Social Media of cultural institutions
- Social media of individuals
- Website/databases of a cultural institution
- Offline source (books, archives, libraries, museums, etc.)
- Only from Lemesou Mnimes
- Other: _____

26. Please name few of your sources *

27. Do you visit **OFFLINE** libraries, museums or archives to view or collect old photographs? *

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No Skip to question 29.

Offline sources examples

28. Please mention some of the **OFFLINE** libraries, museums or archives where you view or collect old photographs *

Online libraries, museums, archives

29. Do you visit website/databases of a cultural institution (**ONLINE** libraries, museums or archives) to view or collect old photographs? *

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No Skip to question 31.

Online sources examples

30. Please mention some the website/databases of a cultural institution (**ONLINE** libraries, museums or archives) *

Digital communities

31. Are you a member/follower/subscriber of any other digital community which is dealing with old photographs? (You can choose more than one) *

Check all that apply.

- Official databases/websites/social media pages maintained by museums, libraries, archives
- Informal databases/websites/social media pages maintained by individuals
- No, I am only a member of Lemesou Mnimes

32. If you are you a member/follower/subscriber of any other digital community which is dealing with old photographs, please name a few *

Member's profile

33. You were born *

Mark only one oval.

- After 2000
- In the 90s
- In the 80s
- In the 70s
- In the 60s
- In the 50s
- In the 40s
- In the 30s
- Other: _____

34. Sex *

Mark only one oval.

- Female
- Male
- Prefer not to say
- Other: _____

35. Do you deal with photographic material professionally? *

Mark only one oval.

- Yes
- No *Skip to question 37.*

36. Please specify how photographic material is related to your profession *

Further contribution to the research

37. Have I forgotten to ask anything that you think is important for this research? Feel free to comment here:

38. Thank you for answering all the questions! If you wish to contribute even more to this research by taking part in a future interview, you can write your email address or your Facebook name here. (Please keep in mind that all contact details that you might provide are confidential and will be only used for this research) *

Skip to "Ευχαριστώ πολύ | Thank you very much."

Δραστηριότητα στην ομάδα

39. Πώς θα χαρακτήριζες τη δραστηριότητά σου στο Λεμεσού Μνήμες; *

Mark only one oval.

- Πολύ ενεργή-Δημοσιεύω / Δημοσιεύσα έστω και μια φορά καινούριο υλικό
- Ενεργή-Σχολιάζω τις αναρτήσεις άλλων μελών της ομάδας και συμμετέχω στις συζητήσεις κάτω από τις αναρτήσεις *Skip to question 55.*
- Λίγο ενεργή-Αντιδρώ στις αναρτήσεις άλλων μελών (επιλέγω like/dislike) *Skip to question 55.*
- Παρατηρητική-Ελέγχω τις νέες αναρτήσεις της ομάδας χωρίς να σχολιάζω ή να αντιδρώ *Skip to question 55.*
- Ανενεργή-Δεν ακολουθώ τις νέες αναρτήσεις της ομάδας *Skip to question 55.*

Πολύ ενεργά μέλη

40. Πόσο συχνά δημοσιεύεις υλικό στο Λεμεσού Μνήμες; *

Mark only one oval.

- Πολύ συχνά
- Συχνά
- Σπάνια
- Δημοσίευσα μόνο μια φορά
- Other: _____

41. Ανεβάζεις φωτογραφίες στο Λεμεσού Μνήμες; *

Mark only one oval.

- Ναι Skip to question 43.
- Όχι Skip to question 42.

Μέλη που δεν αναρτούν φωτογραφίες

42. Τι είδους υλικό αναρτάς; (Μια ή και περισσότερες απαντήσεις) *

Check all that apply.

- Κείμενα
- Ηλεκτρονικούς συνδέσμους (Links)
- Ερωτήσεις
- Other: _____

Skip to question 55.

Φωτογραφίες και άλλο υλικό

43. Τι άλλο υλικό αναρτάς; (Μια ή και περισσότερες απαντήσεις) *

Check all that apply.

- Κείμενα
- Ηλεκτρονικούς Συνδέσμους (Links)
- Ερωτήσεις
- Αναρτώ μόνο φωτογραφίες
- Other: _____

44. Οι φωτογραφίες που αναρτάς ανήκουν στο προσωπικό / οικογενειακό αρχείο σου; **Mark only one oval.*

- Πάντα
- Μερικές φορές *Skip to question 48.*
- Ποτέ *Skip to question 51.*

Οι φωτογραφίες που αναρτώ είναι ΠΑΝΤΑ από προσωπικό / οικογενειακό αρχείο**45. Γιατί επιλέγεις να μοιράζεσαι φωτογραφίες από προσωπικό ή οικογενειακό αρχείο σε αυτή την ομάδα του Facebook? (Μια ή και περισσότερες απαντήσεις) ****Check all that apply.*

- Πιστεύω ότι έχουν ενδιαφέρον και για τα άλλα μέλη της ομάδας
- Για να λάβω περισσότερες πληροφορίες για το περιεχόμενο της φωτογραφίας από άλλα μέλη της ομάδας, τα οποία μπορεί να γνωρίζουν περισσότερα σχετικά με αυτή
- Θέλω να συνεισφέρω στο περιεχόμενο / συλλογή του Λεμεσού Μνήμες
- Μου ανέθεσε άλλο άτομο τη δημοσίευση των φωτογραφιών καθώς δεν έχει τις τεχνικές δεξιότητες
- Για να εντοπίσω και να κάνω tag τα άτομα που απεικονίζονται στη φωτογραφία
- Το κάνω για ψυχαγωγία, απολαμβάνω τις συζητήσεις κάτω από κάθε φωτογραφία
- Other: _____

46. Μοιράζεσαι ή χρησιμοποιείς αυτές τις φωτογραφίες κάπου αλλού; (Μια ή και περισσότερες απαντήσεις) **Check all that apply.*

- Σε άλλη ομάδα του Facebook
- Στον τοίχο μου στο Facebook
- Σε άλλα μέσα κοινωνικής δικτύωσης (στον προσωπικό λογαριασμό μου)
- Σε άλλα μέσα κοινωνικής δικτύωσης (στο λογαριασμό/ομάδα κάποιου άλλου φυσικού προσώπου)
- Σε άλλα μέσα κοινωνικής δικτύωσης (στο λογαριασμό/ομάδα κάποιου πολιτιστικού οργανισμού)
- Τις μοιράζομαι ιδιωτικά με φίλους ή την οικογένεια
- Τις παραχωρώ σε αρχεία ή μουσεία για ερευνητικούς σκοπούς
- Όχι, μόνο στο Λεμεσού Μνήμες
- Other: _____

47. Εδώ μπορείς να αναφέρεις παραδείγματα για περαιτέρω επεξήγηση των απαντήσεών σου

Skip to question 55.

Οι φωτογραφίες που αναρτώ είναι ΜΕΡΙΚΕΣ ΦΟΡΕΣ από προσωπικό / οικογενειακό αρχείο

48. Γιατί επιλέγεις να μοιράζεσαι φωτογραφίες από προσωπικό ή οικογενειακό αρχείο σε αυτή την ομάδα του Facebook? *

Check all that apply.

- Πιστεύω ότι έχουν ενδιαφέρον και για τα άλλα μέλη της ομάδας
- Για να λάβω περισσότερες πληροφορίες για το περιεχόμενο τη φωτογραφίας από άλλα μέλη της ομάδας, οι οποίοι μπορεί να γνωρίζουν περισσότερα σχετικά με αυτή
- Θέλω να συνεισφέρω στο περιεχόμενο / συλλογή του Λεμεσού Μνήμες
- Μου ανέθεσε άλλο άτομο την δημοσίευση των φωτογραφιών καθώς δεν έχει τις τεχνικές δεξιότητες
- Για να εντοπίσω και να κάνω tag τα άτομα που περιλαμβάνονται στην εικόνα
- Το κάνω για ψυχαγωγία, απολαμβάνω τις συζητήσεις κάτω από κάθε φωτογραφία
- Other: _____

49. Μοιράζεσαι ή χρησιμοποιείς αυτές τις φωτογραφίες κάπου αλλού; (Μια ή και περισσότερες απαντήσεις) *

Check all that apply.

- Σε άλλη ομάδα του Facebook
- Στο τοίχο μου στο Facebook
- Σε άλλα μέσα κοινωνικής δικτύωσης (στον προσωπικό λογαριασμό μου)
- Σε άλλα μέσα κοινωνικής δικτύωσης (στο λογαριασμό/ομάδα κάποιου άλλου φυσικού προσώπου)
- Σε άλλα μέσα κοινωνικής δικτύωσης (στο λογαριασμό/ομάδα κάποιου πολιτιστικού οργανισμού)
- Τις μοιράζομαι ιδιωτικά με φίλους ή την οικογένεια
- Όχι, μόνο στο Λεμεσού Μνήμες
- Τις παραχωρώ σε αρχεία ή μουσεία για ερευνητικούς σκοπούς
- Other: _____

50. Εδώ μπορείς να αναφέρεις παραδείγματα και ιστορίες για την περαιτέρω εξήγηση των απαντήσεών σου

Εναλλακτικές πηγές παλαιών φωτογραφιών

51. Από ποιες (άλλες) πηγές βλέπεις ή συλλέγεις παλιές φωτογραφίες; (Μια ή και περισσότερες απαντήσεις) *

Check all that apply.

- Μηχανές αναζήτησης (π.χ. google)
- Τράπεζα εικόνων (π.χ. flickr)
- Λογαριασμό μέσω κοινωνικής δικτύωσης πολιτιστικών ιδρυμάτων
- Λογαριασμό μέσω κοινωνικής δικτύωσης φυσικών προσώπων
- Ιστοσελίδα / βάσεις δεδομένων πολιτιστικών ιδρυμάτων (μουσεία, αρχεία, βιβλιοθήκες)
- Πηγή εκτός διαδικτύου (βιβλία, αρχεία, βιβλιοθήκες, μουσεία κ.λπ.)
- Other: _____

52. Παρακαλώ ανέφερε μερικές από τις πηγές που επιλέγεις για τη συλλογή του φωτογραφικού υλικού *

53. Γιατί επιλέγεις να (ξανά)δημοσιεύεις αυτές τις φωτογραφίες στο Λεμεσού Μνήμες? (Μια ή και περισσότερες απαντήσεις) *

Check all that apply.

- Πιστεύω ότι έχουν ενδιαφέρον και για τα άλλα μέλη της ομάδας
- Για να λάβω περισσότερες πληροφορίες για το περιεχόμενο τη φωτογραφίας από άλλα μέλη της ομάδας, οι οποίοι μπορεί να γνωρίζουν περισσότερα σχετικά με αυτή
- Πιστεύω ότι είναι σχετικό με το περιεχόμενο της ομάδας. Θέλω να συνεισφέρω στο περιεχόμενο / συλλογή του Λεμεσού Μνήμες
- Το κάνω για ψυχαγωγία, απολαμβάνω τις συζητήσεις κάτω από κάθε φωτογραφία
- Other: _____

54. Μοιράζεσαι ή χρησιμοποιείς αυτές τις φωτογραφίες κάπου αλλού; (Μια ή και περισσότερες απαντήσεις) *

Check all that apply.

- Σε άλλη ομάδα του Facebook
- Στο τοίχο μου στο Facebook
- Σε άλλα μέσα κοινωνικής δικτύωσης (στον προσωπικό λογαριασμό μου)
- Σε άλλα μέσα κοινωνικής δικτύωσης (στο λογαριασμό/ομάδα κάποιου άλλου φυσικού προσώπου)
- Σε άλλα μέσα κοινωνικής δικτύωσης (στο λογαριασμό/ομάδα κάποιου πολιτιστικού οργανισμού)
- Τις μοιράζομαι ιδιωτικά με φίλους ή την οικογένεια
- Τις αποθηκεύω στη συσκευή μου
- Τις τυπώνω
- Όχι, μόνο στο Λεμεσού Μνήμες
- Other: _____

Για την ομάδα Λεμεσού Μνήμες

55. Ποιο νομίζετε ότι πρέπει να είναι το θέμα μιας φωτογραφίας προκειμένου να αναρτηθεί στην ομάδα και να πρεσβεύει το Λεμεσού Μνήμες; (Μια ή και περισσότερες απαντήσεις) *

Check all that apply.

- Να απεικονίζει ένα ορόσημο στη Λεμεσό ανεξάρτητα από την χρονική περίοδο
- Να απεικονίζει ένα ορόσημο της Λεμεσού σε μια συγκεκριμένη περίοδο
- Να απεικονίζει ανθρώπους από τη Λεμεσό ανεξάρτητα από τη χρονική περίοδο
- Να απεικονίζει ανθρώπους από τη Λεμεσό μιας συγκεκριμένης χρονικής περιόδου
- Other: _____

56. Τι σου προσφέρει το Λεμεσού Μνήμες; (Μια ή και περισσότερες απαντήσεις) *

Check all that apply.

- Ιστορικές γνώσεις
- Ψυχαγωγία
- Υλικό για συλλογή
- Χώρο για συζητήσεις
- Χώρο για να γνωρίσεις/συναντήσεις ανθρώπους
- Χώρο για να ανακαλέσεις τις μνήμες σου
- Χώρο για να μάθεις για το παρελθόν
- Τίποτα
- Other: _____

Γενικές φωτογραφικές προτιμήσεις

Αυτό το κομμάτι του ερωτηματολογίου αφορά τις προσωπικές σου προτιμήσεις στη Φωτογραφία ανεξάρτητα με το Λεμεσού Μνήμες. (π.χ. Τι είδους φωτογραφίες σου αρέσει να βλέπεις)

57. Ποια χρονολογική περίοδος σε ενδιαφέρει στη Φωτογραφία; (Μια ή και περισσότερες απαντήσεις) *

Check all that apply.

- Σύγχρονες φωτογραφίες (των τελευταίων 10 ετών)
- Φωτογραφίες από την περίοδο της παιδικής μου ηλικίας
- Φωτογραφίες από την περίοδο της πρώιμης ενηλικίωσής μου
- Φωτογραφίες πριν από τη γέννησή μου (οικίες σε μένα μέσω αφηγήσεων ή της ιστορίας)
- Δεν με απασχολεί η χρονική περίοδος
- Other: _____

58. Με ενδιαφέρουν περισσότερο φωτογραφίες που... (Μια ή και περισσότερες απαντήσεις) *

Check all that apply.

- σχετίζονται με τη Λεμεσό
- σχετίζονται με την Κύπρο
- σχετίζονται άμεσα με εμένα, ανεξαρτήτως τοποθεσίας (π.χ. φωτογραφία στην οποία απεικονίζομαι εγώ ή η οικογένειά μου ή άτομα που γνωρίζω)
- σχετίζονται έμμεσα με μένα, ανεξάρτητα από την τοποθεσία (συνειρμική σχέση, π.χ. φωτογραφία που απεικονίζει άγνωστα σε εμένα παιδιά να παίζουν ένα παιχνίδι το οποίο έπαιζα και εγώ ως παιδί)
- Ενδιαφέρομαι για κάθε είδους παλιές φωτογραφίες
- Other: _____

Πρωτογενής πηγή

59. Είναι σημαντικό για εσένα να αναφέρεται η πρωτογενής πηγή στις φωτογραφίες; (σε ποιόν ανήκει, από πού συλλέχθηκε)? *

Mark only one oval.

- Ναι
- Όχι *Skip to question 61.*

Είναι σημαντικό να γνωρίζω την πρωτογενή πηγή

60. Γιατί είναι σημαντικό να γνωρίζετε την πρωτογενή πηγή μιας φωτογραφίας; (Μια ή και περισσότερες απαντήσεις) *

Check all that apply.

- Θα είναι ευκολότερο να βρω περισσότερο υλικό αν γνωρίζω την πηγή
- Χρειάζομαι αυτές τις πληροφορίες για σκοπούς τεκμηρίωσης
- Θα ήθελα να επικοινωνήσω με τον ιδιοκτήτη/δημιουργό της φωτογραφίας
- Είναι θέμα πνευματικών δικαιωμάτων (copyright), πρέπει να αναφέρεται η πρωτογενής πηγή
- Other: _____

Skip to question 62.

Δεν είναι σημαντικό να γνωρίζω την πρωτογενή πηγή

61. Γιατί δεν είναι σημαντικό για εσένα η πρωτογενής πηγή φωτογραφίας; *

Mark only one oval.

- Ενδιαφέρομαι μόνο για το περιεχόμενο της εικόνας και όχι για τον ιδιοκτήτη της εικόνας
- Δεν πρόκειται να επαναχρησιμοποιήσω την εικόνα, οπότε δεν χρειάζομαι καμία άδεια από τον ιδιοκτήτη
- Ό,τι είναι στο Facebook εξαιρείται από τον νόμο των πνευματικών δικαιωμάτων, δεν υπάρχει λόγος να αναφέρεται η πρωτογενής πηγή
- Ίσως τελικά να είναι σημαντικό να γνωρίζω την πρωτογενή πηγή *Skip to question 60.*
- Other: _____

Εκτός της ομάδας- Άλλες πηγές ψηφιοποιημένων φωτογραφιών

62. Από ποιες (άλλες) πηγές βλέπεις ή συλλέγεις παλιές φωτογραφίες; (Μια ή και περισσότερες απαντήσεις) *

Check all that apply.

- Μηχανές αναζήτησης (π.χ. google)
- Τράπεζα εικόνων (π.χ. flickr)
- Λογαριασμό/ομάδα στα μέσα κοινωνικής δικτύωσης πολιτιστικών ιδρυμάτων
- Λογαριασμό/ομάδα στα μέσα κοινωνικής δικτύωσης φυσικών προσώπων
- Ιστοσελίδα / βάσεις δεδομένων κάποιου πολιτιστικού ιδρύματος (μουσείου, αρχείου, βιβλιοθήκης)
- Πηγή εκτός διαδικτύου (βιβλία, αρχεία, βιβλιοθήκες, μουσεία κ.λ.π.)
- Other: _____

63. Παρακαλώ ονόμασε μερικές από τις πηγές που χρησιμοποιείς: *

64. Επισκέπτεσαι βιβλιοθήκες, μουσεία ή αρχεία για να δεις ή να συλλέξεις παλιές φωτογραφίες; *

Mark only one oval.

Ναι

Όχι

Skip to question 66.

Ποιες βιβλιοθήκες, μουσεία ή αρχεία επιλέγεις για να δεις ή να συλλέξεις παλιές φωτογραφίες;

65. Δώσε μερικά παραδείγματα *

Εκτός της ομάδας- Άλλες ηλεκτρονικές πηγές ψηφιοποιημένων φωτογραφιών

66. Επισκέπτεσαι ιστοσελίδες / βάσεις δεδομένων πολιτιστικών ιδρυμάτων (ΗΛΕΚΤΡΟΝΙΚΕΣ βιβλιοθήκες, μουσεία ή αρχεία) για να δεις ή να συλλέξεις παλιές φωτογραφίες; *

Mark only one oval.

Ναι

Όχι

Skip to question 68.

Επισκέπτεσαι ιστοσελίδες / βάσεις δεδομένων πολιτιστικών ιδρυμάτων (ΗΛΕΚΤΡΟΝΙΚΕΣ βιβλιοθήκες, μουσεία ή αρχεία) για να δεις ή να συλλέξεις παλιές φωτογραφίες;

67. Δώσε μερικά παραδείγματα *

Ψηφιακές κοινότητες

68. Είσαι μέλος / follower / συνδρομητής οποιασδήποτε άλλης ψηφιακής κοινότητας που ασχολείται με παλιές φωτογραφίες; (Μια ή και περισσότερες απαντήσεις) *

Check all that apply.

- Επίσημες βάσεις δεδομένων / ιστοσελίδες / σελίδες κοινωνικών μέσων που διατηρούνται από μουσεία, βιβλιοθήκες, αρχεία
- Ανεπίσημες βάσεις δεδομένων / ιστοσελίδες / σελίδες κοινωνικών μέσων που διατηρούνται από φυσικά πρόσωπα
- Όχι, είμαι μόνο μέλος της Λεμεσού Μνήμης

69. Εάν είσαι μέλος κάποιων άλλων ψηφιακών κοινοτήτων, παρακαλώ αναφέρε μερικές. *

Προφίλ μέλους

70. Γεννήθηκα... *

Mark only one oval.

- Μετά το 2000
- Τη δεκαετία του '90
- Τη δεκαετία του '80
- Τη δεκαετία του '70
- Τη δεκαετία του '60
- Τη δεκαετία του '50
- Τη δεκαετία του '40
- Τη δεκαετία του '30
- Other: _____

71. Φύλο *

Mark only one oval.

- Θήλυ
- Άρρεν
- Προτιμώ να μην απαντήσω
- Other: _____

72. Επεξεργάζεσαι φωτογραφικό υλικό για επαγγελματικούς σκοπούς; *

Mark only one oval.

Ναι

Όχι

Skip to question 74.

Σχετίζομαι επαγγελματικά με τη Φωτογραφία

73. Προσδιόρισε τον τρόπο με τον οποίο το φωτογραφικό υλικό σχετίζεται με το επάγγελμά σου *

Συμμετοχή σε μελλοντική συνέντευξη

74. Μήπως έχω ξεχάσει να ρωτήσω κάτι που θεωρείς ότι είναι σημαντικό για την έρευνα; Γράψε τα σχόλιά σου εδώ:

75. Σε ευχαριστώ για το χρόνο σου! Εάν επιθυμείς να συμβάλεις ακόμη περισσότερο σε αυτή την έρευνα συμμετέχοντας σε μια μελλοντική συνέντευξη/συζήτηση, μπορείς να γράψεις τη διεύθυνση του ηλεκτρονικού ταχυδρομείου σου ή το όνομά σου όπως αναγράφεται στο Facebook. (Λάβε υπόψη ότι όλα τα στοιχεία επικοινωνίας είναι εμπιστευτικά και θα χρησιμοποιηθούν μόνο για τους σκοπούς αυτής της έρευνα) *

Ευχαριστώ πολύ | Thank you very much

Appendix III: Semi-structured interviews: topics and guidance on open-ended questions

<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Activity and participation in Facebook groups
What pushed you to become a member of this group and how you would describe your activity and participation in the group?
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Primary photographic sources
<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Are the photographs you posted in the group retrieved from a family or personal archive?<ol style="list-style-type: none">a. If yes, why do you share photographs from your personal/family collection in this Facebook group? Do you also share them elsewhere?2. From which other sources do you collect old photographs?3. If yes, why? What happened when you (re)share photographs that already exist on the Internet, in the Facebook group? (Does Facebook give a different dynamic to these photographs?)
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Copyrights
Tell me what you think about acknowledgement of the primary source of photographs (who is the photographer/ owner, where was it found, etc.)? <ol style="list-style-type: none">a. Is it important for you to know the primary source of a photograph? Why?b. Do photographs posted on Facebook groups mention the primary source? If not, does it bother you? Why?
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Digitisation
Tell me what you think about the digitisation of old photographs.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Personal connections and preferences with old photographs (memory and identity)
<ol style="list-style-type: none">a. Which chronological period in photography interests you and why?b. Are you interested in photographs of a specific country/geographic location and why?

- c. Do you deal with photographic material professionally? If yes, please specify how photographic material is related to your profession.
- d. Do you have a specific photographic example that aroused your interest? Would you like to describe it or share the photograph with me?

- Institutional archives

- a. Do you visit the websites/databases of cultural institutions (online libraries, museums or archives) to view or collect old, digitised photographs? Please mention some of the websites/databases of a cultural institution (online libraries, museums, or archives)
- b. What was your experience with these databases?

- Digital photographic communities

- a. What do you enjoy most about being part of this Facebook group?
- b. Can you comment on the administrators' rules? How do the administrators' rules influence the material that is shared or the discussions that occur in the group?
- c. What was your experience with the discussions under the posted photographs?
- d. What was your experience with other digital communities that deal with old, digitised photographs?
- e. What do you consider to be a limitation/benefit of Facebook groups that are distributing digitised photographs? If any, please give some examples.
- f. What do you consider to be a limitation/benefit of digital institutional photographic archives? If any, please give some examples.

- Concluding comments

Do you have anything to add, any topic that remained untouched during our discussion or any point that you wish to elaborate?



This infrastructure is part of a project that has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement N°784859

Declaration for research participants

The proposed research “Uses of Digital Photographic Archives Maintained by Memory Forming Institutions for people memory and identity work” aims to understand the current use of digital photographic archives and to propose improvements for achieving a more efficient, meaningful and sustainable plan for digital cultural archives. This project is funded by the EU Horizon 2020 Programme. You are asked to contribute by participating with the interview.

Through this process, personal data will be collected. All information, collected for the purposes of this research, will be kept confidential and will only be used for the purpose of this research by the people that are part of the research team. Disclosure, storage and evaluation of this data is carried out according to existing legal provisions without disclosure of your name (as the data you provide will be coded). If you for any reason would like to pull out of the study, meaning the collected data needs to be destroyed, this is only possible within a period of 2 weeks after the interview. This is due to organisational matters. With the completion of the research, we are obligated to delete the list of codes that link your name to your personal data.

This way, the collected data cannot be attributed to any of the participants directly.

The participation in this project is of a voluntary nature. Please note that you can withdraw your consent to participate at any time without stating the reasons for withdrawal, without the incurrance of disadvantages.

Responsible for the analysis and storage of the data is Myrto Theocharidou, Cyprus University of Technology, Cyprus.

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Consent form

I am aware of the nature, significance and scope of the planned research. For this, I was given a copy of the 'Declaration for research participants. I am aware that I can ask any questions at the end of the project and regarding any potential risks. I have fully understood the provided information on the research project.

I hereby consent to participate in the investigation. I am aware that I can withdraw my consent at any time without giving reasons, without the incurrance of any disadvantages for me. I know that the data obtained in the proposed interviews with me are further processed and will be used for scientific purposes. I comply with the processing and publication of the data, when in a form that excludes any association with me as a person unless I ask the researcher to include my name in the publication. For the processing of the provided data, I can also revoke my consent at any time without giving reasons. I am aware that I can no longer withdraw my consent after completion of the study, which means they obtained anonymised data from the study can no longer be destroyed until all the data of the research will be deleted-5 years after the completion of the research.

Interview and storing the data

The interview will be recorded with an audio recorded, and then the audio file will be transferred to an encrypted computer. To secure your anonymity, the audio file and its transcription will be named with the date and a pseudonym of the interviewee (e.g. 4- 4-19A). The list with the name correspondence will not be available digitally; a hard copy will be stored in my personal locker. All the original data (audio files, screenshots, surveys) will be kept secured and without further copies except for one digital version stored on the encrypted hard disc. The transcription of the interview will be stored at the POEM-Share-point platform of the Universität Hamburg (UHAM), which is hosted by UHAM's Computing Center, which guarantees secure storage and data recovery (backup versions are kept for 6 months). These datasets will also be archived on Zenodo, a secure online server, which will be made public at the end of the project in October 2021.

The data retrieved from the web surveys (if applies) will also be stored on a cloud depending on which software will be used for the surveys.

Photographs and social media screenshots

During the interview, the content of the Facebook group [], which you are a member, will be discussed. You might be asked to share photographs (a) you own and were shared/not shared on social media, (b) images you don't own and were found on official online archives/posted on social media.

While confidentiality is guaranteed for the information provided during the interview, the researcher cannot guarantee the confidentiality of photographs due to the fact that some individuals (ex. Family members, yourself or friends) might appear in these photographs. You have the following options that do not influence in any way your participation in this project (please circle what applies):

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1. I'm willing to show the researcher some of the photographs which I have posted on social media platforms.

YES
NO

2. If yes, I'm willing to provide the researcher with a digital copy of the selected photographs discussed (if they are not already publicly available on social media).

YES
NO

3. I will like to receive the outcome of the research

YES
NO

You can always change your mind about these decisions during the interview.

Name and Surname of the Participant

Signature of participant

Date and place

Researcher Signature

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Appendix V: Consent Form (Greek Version)



This infrastructure is part of a project that has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement N°764859

Δήλωση συμμετοχής στην έρευνα

Η προτεινόμενη έρευνα «Uses of Digital Photographic Archives Maintained by Memory Forming Institutions for people memory and identity work» στοχεύει στην κατανόηση της τρέχουσας χρήσης των ψηφιακών φωτογραφικών αρχείων με απώτερο σκοπό την βελτίωση ενός πιο αποτελεσματικού, ουσιαστικού και βιώσιμου σχεδίου για τα ψηφιακά πολιτιστικά αρχεία. Το έργο αυτό χρηματοδοτείται από το πρόγραμμα «Ορίζοντας 2020» της ΕΕ. Σας ζητείται να συμμετάσχετε στην έρευνα μέσω συνέντευξης/ομαδικής συνέντευξης. Μέσω αυτής της διαδικασίας θα συλλέγονται και προσωπικά δεδομένα. Όλες οι πληροφορίες που συλλέγονται για τους σκοπούς αυτής της έρευνας θα παραμείνουν εμπιστευτικές και θα χρησιμοποιηθούν μόνο για τους σκοπούς αυτής της έρευνας. Η αποθήκευση και η αξιολόγηση αυτών των δεδομένων διεξάγεται σύμφωνα με τις ισχύουσες νομικές διατάξεις χωρίς να αποκαλύπτεται το όνομά σας (δεδομένου ότι τα δεδομένα που παρέχετε θα κωδικοποιηθούν). Αν για οποιονδήποτε λόγο επιθυμείτε να βγείτε από τη μελέτη, δηλαδή τα δεδομένα που συλλέχθηκαν να καταστραφούν, αυτό είναι δυνατό μόνο εντός 2 εβδομάδων μετά την ημέρα της συνέντευξης. Αυτό οφείλεται σε θέματα οργάνωσης της έρευνας. Με την ολοκλήρωση της έρευνας, υποχρεούμαι να διαγράψω τη λίστα των κωδικών που συνδέουν το όνομά σας με τα προσωπικά σας δεδομένα. Με αυτόν τον τρόπο, τα συλλεχθέντα δεδομένα δεν μπορούν να αποδοθούν άμεσα σε κανέναν από τους συμμετέχοντες. Η συμμετοχή σε αυτό το έργο είναι εθελοντικής φύσης. Σημειώστε ότι μπορείτε να αποσύρετε τη συγκατάθεσή σας για συμμετοχή ανά πάσα στιγμή, χωρίς να δηλώσετε τους λόγους απόσυρσης.

Υπεύθυνος για την ανάλυση και αποθήκευση των δεδομένων είναι η Μυρτώ Θεοχαρίδου, Τεχνολογικό Πανεπιστήμιο Κύπρου.

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Γραπτή Συγκατάθεση

Γνωρίζω τη φύση, τη σημασία και το εύρος της έρευνας. Για το σκοπό αυτό, μου δόθηκε αντίγραφο της «δήλωση συμμετοχής στην έρευνα». Γνωρίζω ότι μπορώ να θέσω τυχόν ερωτήσεις στο τέλος του έργου. Έχω κατανοήσει πλήρως τις παρεχόμενες πληροφορίες σχετικά με το ερευνητικό έργο. Συμφωνώ να συμμετάσχω στην έρευνα. Γνωρίζω ότι μπορώ να αποσύρω τη συγκατάθεσή μου ανά πάσα στιγμή χωρίς να αιτιολογήσω την αποχώρισή μου. Γνωρίζω ότι τα δεδομένα που ελήφθησαν στις συνεντεύξεις, αναλύονται και θα χρησιμοποιηθούν για ερευνητικούς σκοπούς. Ενημερώθηκα σχετικά με την επεξεργασία και τη δημοσίευση των δεδομένων, σε μορφή που αποκλείει κάθε σχέση μαζί μου ως άτομο, εκτός εάν ζητήσω από τον ερευνητή να συμπεριλάβει το όνομά μου στη δημοσίευση. Για την επεξεργασία των παρεχόμενων δεδομένων, μπορώ επίσης να ανακαλέσω τη συγκατάθεσή μου ανά πάσα στιγμή χωρίς να αιτιολογήσω αυτή μου την ενέργεια. Γνωρίζω ότι δεν μπορώ πλέον να αποσύρω τη συγκατάθεσή μου μετά την ολοκλήρωση της μελέτης, πράγμα που σημαίνει ότι τα ανώνυμα δεδομένα δεν μπορούν πλέον να καταστραφούν παρά μόνο μέχρι την διαγραφή όλων των στοιχείων της έρευνας-5 χρόνια μετά την ολοκλήρωση της έρευνας .

Συνέντευξη και αποθήκευση των δεδομένων

Η συνέντευξη θα καταγραφεί με μαγνητόφωνο και στη συνέχεια το ηχητικό αρχείο θα μεταφερθεί σε κρυπτογραφημένο υπολογιστή. Για να διασφαλίσετε την ανωνυμία σας, το ηχητικό αρχείο θα ονοματίζεται με την ημερομηνία συνεντεύξεις και το ψευδώνυμο του ερωτηθέντος (π.χ. 4- 4-19A). Η λίστα με τα ονόματα και τις κωδικοποιήσεις δεν θα είναι διαθέσιμη ψηφιακά, ένα αντίγραφο θα φυλάσσεται στο προσωπικό μου ντουλάπι. Όλα τα ανεπεξέργαστα δεδομένα (ηχητικά αρχεία, screenshots) θα κρατηθούν ασφαλή και χωρίς περαιτέρω αντίγραφα εκτός από μία ψηφιακή έκδοση που είναι αποθηκευμένη στον κρυπτογραφημένο σκληρό δίσκο. Το απομαγνητοφωνημένο κείμενο της συνέντευξης θα αποθηκευτεί στην πλατφόρμα ROEM-Share-Point του Πανεπιστημίου Αμβούργου (UHAM), η οποία φιλοξενείται από το Κέντρο Πληροφορικής του UHAM, το οποίο εγγυάται την ασφαλή αποθήκευση και ανάκτηση δεδομένων (οι εφεδρικές εκδόσεις διατηρούνται για 6 μήνες). Αυτά τα σύνολα δεδομένων θα αρχειοθετηθούν επίσης στο Zenodo, μια ασφαλής ηλεκτρονική πλατφόρμα, στην οποία θα δημοσιοποιηθούν στο τέλος της έρευνας, τον Οκτώβριο του 2021.

Τα δεδομένα που ανακτώνται από online ερωτηματολόγια (εάν ισχύει) θα αποθηκεύονται επίσης σε cloud, ανάλογα με το λογισμικό που θα χρησιμοποιηθεί για τα ερωτηματολόγια.

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Μπορείτε πάντα να αλλάξετε γνώμη σχετικά με αυτές τις αποφάσεις κατά τη διάρκεια της συνέντευξης.

Όνοματεπώνυμο συμμετέχοντα/
συμμετέχουσας

Υπογραφή συμμετέχοντα/
συμμετέχουσας

Ημερομηνία και τόπος

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Appendix VI: Coding system, developed after data collection

Code System

- Personal Archiving
 - Save from discard
 - Personal interest
 - Curiosity
 - Working Environment
 - Through research
 - Legacy
 - Collections describes the life of the owner
 - Digitisation
 - Importance of digitisation
 - Digitise family photographs
 - Publishing an album
 - Digitisation with mobile phone
 - Digitisation for inter-family use
 - Preservation
 - Digitised archives
 - Need for insitutional digitisation
 - Open source
 - not only personal access but public access
 - Sources
 - youtube
 - british pathe
 - thessaloniki
 - only what I remember
 - leventi
 - ploumisto psomi
 - royal archives
 - ESOBGA
 - getty
 - British News Paper Archives
 - University of Cyprus
 - Cyprus Institute
 - Kitchener
 - Archeologists
 - Flickr
 - selling the photographs
 - corpis
 - ebay
 - american peace corps
 - Thomson
 - calendars
 - Landscapes of Cyprus
 - Pinterest
 - twitter
 - Films
 - Associated Press
 - Search directly for a specific topic
 - Stock photos
 - Bank of Cyprus
 - Severis
 - Camille Enlart
 - Private companies
 - internet
 - Not aware of alternative sources
 - instagram
 - When to use other sources
- old books
 - National Geographic
 - Physical Libraries
 - Kallinikeio Mouseio Athienou
 - academic papers
 - CCA
 - MOMA
 - Personal/professional's websites
 - Sources and language barriers
 - newspaper
 - Google images
 - cadastre
 - Other FB groups
 - Καποτε στη Λεμεσο
 - Çocukluğumuzun Lefkoşası (Nicosia of our Childhood)
 - photos of Cyprus
 - Frozen Cypriots
 - Tales of Cyprus
 - Forgotten Architectures
 - Η Λευκωσία του σήμερα και του αύριο
 - cyprus modernism
 - PIO
 - Apsida
 - For Cyprus history
 - British Museum
 - Europeana
 - Basic interface
 - Bad promotion
 - Good documentation
 - Limited resourses
 - Wikipedia, the first site to search
 - RIK
 - Websites
 - Re-use of facebook groups photos
 - Newspaper
 - Alternative Sources (other than family albums)
 - Nicosia
 - 1950
 - Pithkia
 - Elenio
 - Kanthos
 - Women Bazar
 - Northen Cyprus
 - Buyuk Han
 - 1963
 - Agia Paraskevi
 - Aluminium Tower
 - Public Works
 - Musicians
 - street vendors
 - Bazar within the old city
 - oxcart
 - Sanwitch
 - Harry Allen
 - 55-59
 - Agia Sophia
 - northen nicosia
 - Eleftheria square
 - 1974, 1960
 - Pre-Eoka Era

- ✓ Photographs
 - Power of photograph
 - family photos
 - Interesting/cute
 - DAYLY USE OBJECTS
 - photograph alone is not enough
 - Brings people together
 - Give historical information
 - Every photo has its own interest regardless time
 - Difficulties of the past
 - Irrelevant stories
 - Old photographs wall decoration
 - B&W and color photography
 - Identify class differences from the comments
 - as hobby
 - Description of the photograph, to initiate a discussion
 - Photography as priming for conversation
 - spirit of the time
 - not accessible to the public
 - Facebook photographic challenge
 - Remembering through photographs
 - Recognise the characteristics of an era
 - covers the gap of physical visit
 - photography as a source of information
 - political information through photographs
 - Past is not as far as thought
 - the older the better
 - Fake photographs and ethical considerations
 - Missing photographs
 - Uses of photographs
 - Time and Site-specific is related with personal experiences
 - Experience-specific
 - memory as a communicative ground
 - Domination of photographs over text
 - Non-verbal explanation
 - ✓ Revival of past era
 - "VR"
 - ✓ Personal photographs
 - Limited due to war
 - limited due to financial barriers
- ✓ Uses of Facebook
 - activity on FB
 - Routine
 - competition among FB groups
 - Public benefit
 - technology and living
 - is like newspaper
 - Lockdown
 - Learn new things
 - Leisure activity
 - the information comes to you
 - Accessibility of Facebook brings closer the collections

- Dictatorship ban of Facebook
- Use it correctly
- Reunion
- Low level content
- Unimportant texts
- Personal experiences
- Suggestion
- Not a linking point for other websites
- Cultural element
- Communication
- Active participation
- vulgarity
- Ephemeral interest
- Promotion of personal work
- Social Element
- Express personal opinions

- ✓ Personal Information
 - Retirement
 - old photographs collector
 - Facebook group owner
 - Writer
 - Love my country
 - Born city
 - ✓ Occupation
 - graphic design
 - Basketry making
 - Architecture
 - Archeology
 - Public work
 - History lover
 - ✓ Uses of Facebook Groups
 - curation
 - unfiltered information
 - learn
 - Joining the group
 - purpose of the group
 - fun
 - non mentioning the sources
 - Just commenting
 - Censorship
 - born interest in old photographs
 - Respect the other members
 - Equality between knowledgeable and non knowledgeable members
 - Group creation
 - documenting the discussion
 - Albums
 - Unrelated photographs
 - popularity if the group
 - Admin recruits members
 - Discussion refresh the memory
 - seeking for specific information/photographs
 - discard irrelevant photographs
 - upload text
 - ✓ The most important is discussion
 - Power of discussion
 - People with common interest
 - It is more as a discussion rather than an organised archive
 - Keep neutrality to personal political opinion
 - Participating in the discussion
 - Re-share
 - Not a space for historical analysis
 - Give and take
 - Help the members to retrieve information
 - favors discussion
 - finding relatives/people you may know

- photo editing
 - video
 - Public domain
 - Good/helpful archival system
 - User-friendly
 - Not user-friendly
 - folder with digitised photos
 - Right metadata
 - Low resolution
 - Navigation on FB group (search tool)
 - Watermarks
 - false documentation
 - digitisation tools
 - Copyrights
 - Everything is recorded
- Identity, Language
 - Nostalgia Fanatics
 - retro
 - learn about the history of the cities
 - Cyprus
 - Remembrance
 - Nativist
 - Old days were better
 - Forget
 - Right to know
 - religion
 - Who we are (race, cypriots)
 - Learning Vs Nostalgia (Age depending)
 - Romance
 - Cyprus and Family
 - politicized but not partisan
 - Living together
 - habits that we dont have today
 - Not only site-specific interest
 - Realising ignorance about the place you raise up
 - Find commonalities in the two communitie rather than difference
 - memory of common past
 - Bicommunal discourse
 - through school
 - what information can a personal photograph can give
 - how the photographer chose what to present
 - Learn about untold part of hirstory
 - Learn about the place I live
 - young generation
 - 20th century
 - History and politics
 - History manipulation
 - Shaping of the history
- Routes
 - School Assigment
 - Memory
 - Historical Memory
 - validity of memory
 - participatory memory
 - Historical evidence
 - Language
 - Turkish Cypriot community and history
 - Curiosity
 - curiosity
 - Identity
 - Learning from the past
 - Nostalgia
 - Nostalgia to believe back to the city
 - Chilhood nostalgia
 - Historical/communal Nostalgia
 - Personal Nostalgia
 - personal connections

Appendix VII: Research participants: nickname, age group, sex, professional field and activity status category

Nickname	Age group	Sex	Professional field	Activity status category
Rania	25–34	Female	Administrative and Commercial Managers	passive
Petros	25–34	Male	Architects, Planners, Surveyors and Designers	passive
Martha	25–34	Female	Creative and Performing Artists	inactive
Claire	25–34	Female	Physical and Earth Science Professionals	passive
Polly	25–34	Female	Science and Engineering Professionals	passive
Stavros	25–34	Male	Social and Religious Professionals	passive
Zena	25–34	Female	Social and Religious Professionals	passive
Makis	25–34	Male	Social and Religious Professionals	inactive
Charis	25–34	Male	Social and Religious Professionals	active
Rea	25–34	Female	Teaching Professionals	passive
Thalia	25–34	Female	Graphic and Multimedia Designers	active
Andreas	35–44	Male	Architects, Planners, Surveyors and Designers	very active

Anestis	35–44	Male	Science and Engineering Professionals	active
Kyriakos	35–44	Male	Social and Religious Professionals	passive
Phanos	35–44	Male	Information and Communications Technology Professionals	passive
Pitsa	45–54	Female	Architects, Planners, Surveyors and Designers	passive
Jenny	45–54	Female	Marketing and Development Managers	very active
Rona	45–54	Female	Teaching Professionals	very active
Elena	45–54	Female	Housekeeping	active
Panos	45–54	Male	Education Managers	very active
Aris	55–64	Male	Graphic and Multimedia Designers	very active
Orestis	55–64	Male	Creative and Performing Artists	very active
Costas	55–64	Male	Marketing and Development Managers	very active
George	65–74	Male	Authors, Journalists and Linguists	very active
Chris	65–74	Male	Authors, Journalists and Linguists	active
Burak	65–74	Male	Health Professionals	very active
Michalis	65–74	Male	Hospitality, Retail and Other Services Managers	very active

Stavri	65–74	Female	Marketing and Development Managers	very active
Yiannis	65–74	Male	Engineering Professionals	very active
Manthos	75–84	Male	Authors, Journalists and Linguists	very active
Nicolas	75–84	Male	Hospitality, Retail and other Services Managers	passive
Pantelis	75–84	Male	Education Managers	very active
Lakis	75–84	Male	Engineering Professionals	active

