#barcelonaparty: how is Barcelona's party portrayed on Instagram?

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INTRODUCTION

Barcelona is popularly known for its Modernist architecture and famous football club, Barça. However, after the Olympic Games of 1992, the city has been marketed using other representative elements from it. Since that event, mass tourism has been established in the Catalan capital fiercely: documentaries like *Bye Bye Barcelona* (2014) by Eduardo Chibás Fernandez are proof of that. In this visual production, for instance, local residents most affected by this phenomenon, speak out about the continual tourist avalanches into the city by even saying that it has become a theme park ("*Bye Bye Barcelona*" 00:02:19-21), that it is not a place to live anymore.

The Catalan capital had been the third most photographed city in 2014 (Lennihan), and the third highest in terms of city hashtags on Instagram in 2018 (Grau). According to these facts, it is not out of tune to state that Barcelona is popular on social networks. What is more, taking into account that 90% of Instagram's users are under 35 years old (Laestadius 577) it might not be wrong to think that a lot of these posts were uploaded by young visitors.

Mass youth tourism (Knox 143) is another sub-phenomenon of mass tourism that the Mediterranean faces. On top of that, clubbing is one of the most popular leisure activities for young tourists (Knox). The culture of sharing (Poell and van Dijck 3) influences their holidays, given that generally, these visitors want to expose what they are doing through social media. One such example is Instagram, that has positioned as one of the most useful platforms to do so given the visual turn (Faulkner et al. 2). As well as "television advertising representations at the tourism destination can communicate particular meaning about its peoples and values which may conflict with the projected images presented in the tourists' country of origin" (Desmarais 207), the content uploaded on social networks has the same power of influence on potential visitors, so much so that sometimes viewers take as real what they are watching (Susan Sontag). Therefore, certain expectations are created through the shared content in television or the internet: TV programmes such as *Jersey Shore* or *Zon, Zuipen, Ziekenhuis*, among others; TV commercials (Desmarais); and even Instagram posts, influence how "places are assigned very specific roles" (Haldrup 62).

LITERARY REVIEW

"Conceptualizing city image change: the 're-imaging' of Barcelona" (2005) by Andrew Smith, a doctor in events and urban tourism, gives information on the topic of branding in the Catalan capital and how this "deliberate (re)presentation and (re)configuration of a city's image" (Smith 399) has changed throughout the years. Barcelona has used synecdochical images to promote the city: one instance could be the promotion of its Modernist heritage which is being done through Antoni Gaudí's buildings despite the fact that there are other architects whose work use the same style.

According to Smith, it is a well-known fact that what did make Barcelona popular were the Olympic Games of 1992 (408). This event was used by the city hall to promote the Catalan capital as a

sporty, active and festive destination: "in addition to political objectives, the Olympic initiatives were designed deliberately to generate connotations useful for tourism" (Smith 411). Nevertheless, after this event, the city of Barcelona needed to work as hard as possible in order not to lose all the international attention achieved during the Olympics. The city hall had an ace up their sleeve, they would use "the reputation and signatures styles of global architects" (Smith 412) in order to profit out of their popularity by installing contemporary monuments in Barcelona. As a result, people do not only visit Barcelona to see the *Sagrada Familia* but also to visit Arata Isozaki's hotel or Frank Gehry's sculpture.

From a Modernist capital, to a sporty destination and monumental city, Barcelona's (re)branding does not stop there but goes beyond. *Viaje al turismo basura: el auge de las vacaciones de borrachera en España* (2016) by Joan Lluís Ferrer, an Ibizan journalist, surpasses what Smith explains and describes one of the side effects of mass tourism, a phenomenon that has been denominated by David Bell as "alcotourism", "the assorted ways of travelling to drink, travelling while drinking [or] drinking to travel" (291). Ferrer categorises in four levels, the first one being the lowest and the fourth the highest, the impact of drunken tourism in some cities from Catalonia and the Balearic Islands. This classification is based on how close to the neighbourhoods are the clubs and the accommodation where the visitors stay, how many local people live there as well the type of shops in these municipalities. Barcelona (55-96) occupies the second place of this particular ranking given that tourists usually stay in Airbnbs located in residential communities and hotels in the city center; in addition, the clubs are not that far from these residential areas interfering with the sleep and daily lives of locals. Moreover, as Ferrer points out in his book there are neighbourhoods that are being dislodged because of how unpleasant it is living there now that tourists and profiteering have taken over the city. To illustrate this, I quote from Ferrer's book where María Sánchez, a local resident from Barcelona, explains the situation:

"In la plaza Reial, in the heart of the Gothic quarter, there are only 12 neighbours left, the rest are tourist flats. When these residents want to demonstrate on the streets against the situation, they have no power because they are so low in number". (my trans.; 62)

In Barcelona local residents are able to continue with their ordinary lives given that basic needs stores are located near to these residential areas. This is not the case of Sant Antoni in Ibiza or Magaluf in Mallorca where "the lifelong stores close and fast-food restaurants, ticket sales shop for discotheques and alcohol cellars open instead" (my trans.; 141).

The untenable situation that Barcelona is facing, might be understood as an effect of mass (Mediterranean) tourism (Obrador Pons et al. 7) and mass youth tourism according to Pau Obrador Pons, Mike Crang and Penny Travlou in *Cultures of Mass Tourism. Doing the Mediterranean in the Age of*

¹ "En la plaza Reial, en el corazón del barrio Gòtic, ya solo viven 12 vecinos, todo lo demás son pisos turísticos. Y cuando estos vecinos quieren salir a la calle para protestar por la situación, se encuentran con que ya no tiene fuerza, porque son pocos. Ya no hay gente que viva allí" (Ferrer 62).

² "Los locales de siempre cierran y en su lugar abren tiendas de comida rápida, de venta de entradas a discotecas y bodegas de alcohol" (Ferrer 141).

Banal Mobilities (2009). The latter phenomenon is connected to clubbing, having sex and drinking alcohol, and the Mediterranean is a good place to do so given that "the norms and conventional of behaviour at home very clearly no longer apply" (Knox 147) there. This is a place under the rule of northern-Europe, a pleasure periphery region where people can enjoy freedom, the four s's, sun, sea, sand and sex (Obrador Pons et al. 2), as well as "sensuality and enjoyment [of the coast]" (Obrador Pons et al. 13).

RESEARCH QUESTION

Ferrer's book brings up the question of whether Barcelona could be understood as a party capital or not. The Catalan capital certainly does not attract as many people as Ibiza, Magaluf or Mykonos but through the Ibizan journalist's work, Barcelona can be identified as a secondary party destination.

Another question is whether the city hall of the city is running any marketing campaigns promoting it as a party capital. To investigate this, I reviewed which activities were being developed by the official site of Barcelona's tourism information desk and which initiatives were advertised on two different tour operators webpages, Civitatis and Viator. All of them set tabs on the city's nightlife: the official website lists the range of clubs, bars, restaurants, and cocktail lounges that Barcelona has; the others promote parties every night of the week and weekend in different iconic clubs of the city (Viator), as well as organised parties on a catamaran (Civitatis). As opposed to the tour operators' websites, the official online Barcelona's tourist information desk provides the visitor with a large amount of activities related to the LGTBIQ+ community.

As demonstrated earlier, there is a difference between the official interests of a government and the unofficial commercial enterprises. On the other hand, the appearance of social media has taken away the power from certain institutions whose aim was catching the eye of very particular visitors through specific marketing campaigns: "the eruption of social networks has caused the failure of the marketing campaigns given that these networks amplify the messages of every kind and everywhere" (my trans.; 90). Due to this fact and the former example, the values that a country wants to reflect on their tourist industry may not be the same ones being posted on non-official websites or social networks.

Tourism and social media have largely worked together and a number of papers contain research on this relationship (Yogesh and Yesha; Moro and Rita); however, the power on the tourist industry of the consumers of social networks has not been studied academically at all (Christodoulines). Taking into account this gap in academic knowledge, my personal connection with Barcelona and the phenomenon of alcotourism (Bell), as well as the visual turn (Faulkner et al. 2), the importance of social networks in today's life and tourism industry, the acknowledgement of Barcelona as a party destination and the youth mass drunken tourism in the Catalan Mediterranean, bring me to this thesis in which I will

³ "La irrupción de las redes sociales ha hecho que las campañas de *marketing* ya no sirvan, porque estas redes amplifican los mensajes de todo tipo y en todas partes" (Ferrer 90).

analyze how Barcelona is being sold through Instagram, a visual-based social media platform, by individual users and corporate accounts. All the photographs that will be analyzed in this thesis were compiled in March 2019 and apparently the only thing that connects them is the hashtag #barcelonaparty.

According to this information, the research question of this thesis is the following one: "How is Barcelona being portrayed as a party city through the first hundred pictures on Instagram's March 2019 timeline using the hashtag #barcelonaparty?". The sub-questions resulting from this are as follows:

- Which are the motifs in this Instagram posts?
- What is the potential meaning of these recurrent elements?
- What kind of relationship is established between the viewer and the subjects depicted on the posts?
- What are the implications of displaying the elements of a picture in a particular way and not another?

As for how this thesis has been built, two types of sources have been used: on one hand, the primary sources, the first 100 Instagram posts found in the timeline of the platform in March 2019 with the hashtag #barcelonaparty matching the image of Barcelona being a party capital; and on the other hand, secondary sources, books, journals and articles found through the university's library website, google scholar, Jstor and Dialnet. Moreover, within the thesis there are a couple of journalistic articles found on the internet and published by well-known means of communication.

METHODOLOGY

The chosen methodology to approach posts on Instagram is the one developed by Gunther Kress and Ton van Leeuwen, two linguists, in 1996. The name of this method is (visual) social semiotics and its main objective is to analyze "how the structures of the images [contribute] to the representation of concepts" (Jewitt and Oyama 147).

Semiotics is understood as "the science of signs" (Jewitt and Oyama 140) through which people communicate. This branch of knowledge analyses how communication works, as well as how this action is done and received. However, rejecting semiotics science label, which suggests it as a source of information that gives absolute results, social semiotics supports the idea that people are able to make "their own new interpretations and interconnections" (Jewitt and Oyama 134).

By choosing social semiotics as a method to approach Instagram posts, this thesis will obtain accuracy on the description of the images. Not only what can be seen at first sight on a picture is studied but given its interdisciplinary nature, the method requires other fields' theories in order to go beyond the surface of the visual sources. Taking Barthian terms, the Instagram posts are not going to be analyzed approaching only their denotative meaning but their connotations as well.

Kress and van Leeuwen take Michael Halliday's classification of three different semiotic approaches (Jewitt and Oyama 140): representational, interactive and compositional meaning. Each of

these points studies visual support differently although they are applied altogether. The former, as it can be deduced by its name, takes note of what is portrayed on a picture. As long as some elements become motifs given its repetitive presence on photographs, a conceptual grouping is the better way to access this first layer of meaning since "classification structures bring different people, places or things together ... to show that they have something in common, that they belong to the same class" (Jewitt and Oyama 144). On the other hand, the duty of the interactive meaning is to study the interplay between the viewer and what is being represented in an image in order to interpret it given that the pictures "interact with viewers and suggest the attitude viewers should take towards what is being represented" (Jewitt and Oyama 145). In contrast to the former, interactive meaning studies specific elements given by the method itself: contact, which determines whether the subjects depicted are looking directly or not to the viewer (Jewitt and Oyama 145); distance, that defines whether someone or something in the picture is close or far from the viewer (Jewitt and Oyama 146); and the point of view, that determines from where the objects or subjects depicted were photographed (Jewitt and Oyama 135). It is finally the compositional meaning the one analyzing more in-depth how the represented objects or subjects are organized and appear on a photograph. As well as the interactive meaning, this last step of the methodology examines particular elements of a composition: informative value, which scrutinises where the people or things depicted are placed and what is the potential meaning of that position; framing, that reveals whether the elements depicted are "separate identities, or [they are] represented as belonging together" (Jewitt and Oyama 149); salience, which helps to define if something is more eye-catching that other elements on a picture (Jewitt and Oyama 150); and modality, that determines whether what is being seen is verisimilar or not (Jewitt and Oyama 151). Taking all these into account, the 71 selected posts will be studied conceptually (representative meaning) and formally (interactive and compositional meaning).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This part of the thesis will provide the information to interpret the data, the photographs uploaded to Instagram with the hashtag #barcelonaparty, that will be analysed later. As the topic relates with social networks theory, photography and gender studies, sources from these fields are going to be used.

Susan Sontag's *On Photography* (1977) and "Vision and Photography" (2011) by John Urry and Jonas Larsen provide the basic theory on images. The former equates pictures with reality and capitalism: for Sontag, photography is "an interpretation of [reality]" (154) even though she states that reality has become a reflection of what can be seen in pictures (161). On the other hand, through living in a consumerist capitalist society, taking pictures has become a way of consuming places and items to alienate people (Sontag 178-79). Photography is a "powerful instrument for depersonalizing our relation to the world" (Sontag 167) given that what is depicted has been manipulated by stillness (Sontag 172) and specific ideologies (Sontag 178), as well as by who takes the picture (Sontag 169). On the same page as

Sontag, Urry and Larsen explain the existence of two types of photography, the commercial (172) and the amateur (178). Both of them backfeeds from the other by providing and creating new gazes, the tourist gaze for instance, whose captions are romanticised (Urry and Larsen 174) and idealized (Sontag 167-68). Laura Mulvey in "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" (1973) explains another way of looking, the male gaze: it "projects its phantasy on to the female figure which is styled accordingly" (837). For Mulvey the male gaze is related to voyeurism, the action of seeing without being seen (Mulvey 835).

Having introduced the topic of the ideal woman according to the male gaze, the text by Jennie Small "The Emergence of the body in the Holiday Accounts of Women and Girls" (2007) sheds light on this subject. She explains that holidays are both a time to let go and a time when gender roles are fiercely applied: "tourism can be a site of contestation and resistance to existing stereotypes of gender" (73). Small centers her research on white, heterosexual, middle-class Australian womens' bodies and she concludes that women in general compete against "the tourist body ... slim, tanned, young, Caucasian, female and bikinied" (87). Men are not excluded from these social constraints as Fabrice Desmarais explains in "Advertisements as Tourism Space: 'Learning' Masculinity and Femininity from New Zealand Television" (2007). He analyses commercials from a particular country featuring sportsmen and sportswomen: whilst the former are "portrayed as a powerful machine(s) ... [that casts an] excessive masculinity" (211), the latter are represented as very feminine, nearly childish woman whose "attractiveness and sexuality dominate the characterizations, which also endorses their relative powerlessness compared with their male counterparts" (212). These stereotypes are being assumed as the norm, that is why some women follow diets, and men go to the gym for instance, in order not to feel ostracised. It is through the Lacanian theory of the mirror phase (Mulvey 836) that Mulvey's text helps to explain these actions which aim to follow gender clichés: in this stage, people's ego is constructed through recognition, when children see themselves in a mirror they create and unfold their ego by differentiating a perfect self and a real self. In the more contemporary case of advertisements or Instagram posts, images are the mirror through which people look for a role model to look up to.

Ana María Munar in "Paradoxical Digital Worlds" (2013) and Toby Miller in "Tourism and Media Studies 3.0" (2013) study social media in tourism and how the digital environment has changed since its creation. The first internet is called Web 1.0 where people were entirely passive given the impossibility of interacting with others through the digital world (Miller 230). The hegemony of enterprises finished when social media appeared provided by Web 2.0. This second stage of the internet gave the power of creating content to the users of these platforms, therefore they were not passive anymore. Everyone was able to sign in on these social networks and to get in contact and share ideas with people worldwide (Miller 234). "Despite the emancipatory potential, social media are not neutral communication platforms ... these technologies incorporate new rules and frameworks limiting what can be represented and discussed" (Munar 43), this is the current Web 3.0. In this last stage of the internet by now, market concerns are being taken into account as well as peer-to-peer communication (Miller 238).

This dichotomy is similar to the one made by Urry and Larsen with photography given that in the Web 3.0 there are two sources of information, the commercial and the personal. Nevertheless, both of them are manipulative: "tourist photographs can violate existing place-myths and contribute to new ones while commercial photographs mirror photographs by tourists rather than the other way round" (Urry and Larsen 187).

ANALYSIS

In this part of the thesis, 71 Instagram posts out of the first 100 found searching the hashtag #barcelonaparty will be analyzed. The reason for discounting 29 of the photographs was irrelevance: pictures of birthday parties with Barça's cakes, school celebrations and friends reunions, as well as videos were dismissed. Despite their worthlessness in this thesis, they are relevant as long as synecdochical elements from the city such as the Barça shield, Gaudí's buildings or contemporary monuments were depicted in these posts following the stages on the (re)branding of Barcelona that Andrew Smith points out in his text.

Due to the fact that Instagram does not follow a chronological order anymore (Noguera), the chosen posts were uploaded in 2019 and 2018 as well as some posts joined the platform in 2017. Now the algorithm organises the content of the platform not even presenting in the feed the posts with more likes but pictures appear in someone's principal page of Instagram based on which accounts the user follows and their interests. On the other hand, there are no images from April until June 2019 given that the posts being studied were taken in March 2019.

This thesis organization appropriates from the (visual) social semiotics method its structure divided into three components: representational, interactive and compositional meaning. The classification on the former part of the analysis deals with the upcoming concepts: anthropocentrism, alcohol consumption, pictures outdoors and indoors, memory and photography, personal and corporate users, men' and women's bodies, LGTBIQ+, monuments, and individual and group images. After that, the given elements from interactive meaning, distance, contact and point of view; as well as the ones from the compositional meaning, information value, framing, salience and modality will be analysed. It is then in the conclusion where the information gathered throughout all the thesis will be displayed.

1. REPRESENTATIONAL MEANING

In this first part of the analysis following the social semiotics method, the 71 pictures were classified into different groups in order to highlight which are the motifs in this Instagram posts as well as ascertain its potential meaning. In other words, the first and second sub-questions, which are the motifs in this Instagram posts? and what is the potential meaning of these recurrent elements? will be answered in this first part of the analysis.

1.1 Anthropocentrism

The presence of people in the images classifies them as anthropocentric shots (Mulvey 836). 70 of the 71 final selection of images portray young and good looking men and women in parties, the only capture that does not depict a human-being shows headphones and a DJ set.

This taste for the humankind can be related to narcissism and the mirror phase (Mulvey 836). Recognition is an important element of someone's ego given that while watching others an identification is established between who is being seen and who sees by the latter. It is in that moment when the voyeurs compares themselves with what or who is being represented in the image, their ego unfolds and, whilst one part of it feels that there is a difference between them, the other wishes to be as or to have what is being shown in the visual object. Narcissism is one of the effects of this taste for the humankind that has been increased by social networks given that, for instance, "Instagram is mostly used for self promoting" (Hu et al. 597), a fact substantiated by 70 of the 71 selected posts. Although it might sound paradoxical, narcissistic pictures can be "powerful instrument[s] for depersonalizing our relation to the world" (Sontag 167) since they usually transmit stillness (Sontag 171) and positivity (Sontag 167-78) although reality is not quite like this. According to Susan Sontag, taking pictures and consuming them are actions related to the current capitalist system (178). On the same page, Urry and Larsen state that "photographs are desire-producing power-knowledge machines implicated in post-Fordist consumer capitalism" (173). This eagerness of being or having what is depicted can be related to the Lacanian mirror phase given that the only aim of people purely concerns themselves, to look nice and to obtain more likes, especially since social media platforms bomb users with these visual messages so in turn users are influenced accordingly.

1.2 Alcohol consumption

13 of the 71 images being analyzed in this thesis depict people with what seem to be alcoholic beverages. This element is not surprising since "most forms of contemporary tourism are inextricably linked to the consumption of alcohol, sometimes in prodigious amounts" (Moore 301). Drunkenness make people act against the social standards like peeing or vomiting in the streets, as the documentary *Bye Bye Barcelona* explains. Nakedness is another of the side-effects of intoxication, Vicens Forner, a professional photographer from La Barceloneta, showed the world



Image 1

how he has been living with mass drunken tourism in the Catalan capital (Image 1) when he uploaded this photo to his Facebook page. Despite this negative effect of alcohol on people, some scholars like David Bell assert that it plays a social role given the inhibition it provides (296). Moreover, drinking is a touristic lure, if this were not true, the so called party destinations would not exist.

The possible troubles that alcohol might cause are not represented: the romantization that the tourist gaze provides (Urry and Larsen 174), and the positivity depicted always in photographs (Sontag 167-68) mean the unpleasant scenes rarely get uploaded to social networks. That is possibly why none of the Instagram posts chosen show people blatantly under the effects of alcohol or drugs.

Of further interest, out of the 13 posts using alcoholic beverages as a prop, only women are shown. Only once is a man depicted with a drink (Image 2) and he is not even in the foreground of the photograph. This enormous difference might be interpreted as a click bait: intoxicated people do not control entirely what they do, they become clumsy and off guard. These effects plus the patriarchal idea of women as the weak sex (Desmarais 212), make them the best prey.



Image 2

The patriarchal allusion mentioned before is not the only one portrayed by Image 2 given that the power of men over women is literally depicted in this photograph: on one hand, the male bartender is in an upper position over his female customers; and on the other hand, he is the active subject of the composition because he is pouring liquor from a bottle directly into the woman's mouth, who is passively waiting for the man to fulfill the action.

The fact that in 13 out of the 71 selected pictures women are depicted with alcoholic beverages convey not only what has previously been mentioned but also Barcelona's secularism. As a non-muslim territory, men and women can drink without being judged, this fact gives the city an image of freedom and safety given that "the weak sex" can drink, and if they can, everyone else is able to as well.

1.3 Pictures outdoors and indoors

Outdoors and indoors pictures interleave in the Instagram timeline when searching the hashtag #barcelonaparty. 21 out of the 71 final selection of images have been taken in the open air, meanwhile the rest of them, 50, were taken inside buildings. This duality allows people to view Barcelona as a place where the party is everywhere, on the streets or in clubs.

The differentiation between outdoors depictions (Image 3) and pictures taken inside clubs (Image 4) is given by the light even though there are nocturnal photographs. Meanwhile the open-air pictures are brighter and set at the beach, swimming pools, terraces and streets; indoors photography make use of neon lights, darkness and flashes as motifs. Moreover, the more shadowy the more related to night, and the brighter the more related to day, therefore, Barcelona is being shown as a party city irrespective of the time of the day.



Image 3

There are grounds for believing that women are being relegated to the interior in the selected posts given that they appear in 42 indoors pictures, opposed to the 13 photographs in which they are depicted outside. As well as Desmarais explains about the role of sportswomen in New Zealand's television commercials, women are placed "inside their fictitious house, relegating [them] to the private space" (212). Therefore, and relating this topic with the point 1.2, the Catalan



Image 4

capital is being represented as a place with double morality since women are apparently able to drink without being judged but they are still portrayed traditionally, in the inside.

1.4 Memory and photography

Among the 71 selected posts from Instagram with the hashtag #barcelonaparty, there are 3 in which other hashtags like #throwback or #remembering, and texts like "I miss you" accompany the posts referring to the feeling of melancholy. Susan Sontag writes about the fact that photographs are a proof of what has been done (161), they are visual souvenirs. Related to this idea of acquiring the time and space in a picture with the aim of showing it later, Urry and Larsen write about how increasingly "photography gives shape to travel so that journeys consist of one 'good view' or family 'moment' to capture, to a series of others" (178). Moreover, given that the users have decided to post this on a platform on the internet, it is necessary to point out that what people are creating through Instagram is a digital album of pictures. This element is not tangible anymore but foxglove and immediate:

digital photography makes photographic images instantaneous, mobile and instantly consume-able on screens. By contrast with the 'that has been' temporality of analogue photographs, digital camera screens show ongoing events right here, with the spaces of picturing, posing and consuming converged. (Urry and Larsen 181)

It is important to stress that these 3 pictures were taken in the afternoon, as it can be seen in Image 5. The light of the shots is typical of sunset, the time of doing meditation, the moment to get in contact with the inner part of oneself. According to this fact, it is possible to relate the transitioning point of day with the stage of adaptation that people suffer after going back home from their holidays.



Image 5

1.5 Personal and corporate users

Regardless of whether a picture has been taken for commercial or aesthetic purposes, "photographs are not objective or innocent but produced within asymmetrical power relations ... '[they] expose whose interests they serve" (Urry and Larsen 156). This duality continues in the 3.0 stage in Instagram where there are two types of accounts: those managed by individuals; and those used by companies, the so called corporate profiles. The former uses the platform to "[share] pictures with friends" (Laestadius 573) and to do self-promotion (Hu et al. 597) without, at least at first, commercial aspirations; the latter uses social networks as an instrument to promote their business (Pan and Crotts 74). The main difference between these two users is that the owners of personal accounts upload pictures of themselves on Instagram, and corporate users post photographs of other people at their property.

One of the ways to attract clients is by exposing them to information which is easily understandable (Urry and Larsen 174), an activity that generally use stereotypes (Desmarais 209). Due to the fact that women are used as "indispensable element of spectacle in normal narrative film(s)" (Mulvey 837), this is no different in promoting a club. Among the 41 commercial posts out of the selected 71 pictures with the hashtag #barcelonaparty, 32 show women. In a phallocentric society, the male gaze rules, and therefore "the pleasure in looking has been split



Image 6

between active/male and passive/female" (Mulvey 837); in other words, the man sees and the woman is being looked-at (Mulvey 837). For their part, from a young age, women are aware of being everybody's objects of glance: according to Small, "at the age 20, the women saw themselves as the objects of the gaze of others" (84).

Image 6 exemplifies the union of the male gaze and Web 3.0. On the other hand, the human-being depicted is a white woman wearing a swimsuit and looking at the camera with a seductive look; on the other hand, there is a message in English standing out of the picture. What can be read is a job offer. Image 6 is then a perfect example of the good terms that commercial interests and the internet are on.

1.5 Men' and women's bodies

Image 7 shows the typical bodies photographed in the 71 posts. Only white happy people through the lenses of the male gaze and the tourist gaze are shown, invisibilizing other ethnicities, body-shapes, genders and feelings. Therefore, Barcelona's party is being represented, at least through these pictures, as a conventional destination.

The sporty spirit that the Olympic Games left in the city in 1992 is sensed



Image 7

in the fit bodies depicted in Image 7. Masculine and feminine stereotypes can be identified in this picture: on one hand, the man shows his "virility, toughness and power" (Desmarais 210) through his theatrical muscled figure; on the other hand, the woman follows the holidays-body shape: "slim, tanned, young, Caucasian, ... and bikinied" (Small 87). In both cases, they show more skin than they probably do during the rest of the year given that during summer, "bare flesh is exposed to the view of strangers" (Richards quoted by Small 84). The swimming pool explains the body exhibition in Image 7 however, bikinied bodies, especially female ones, are depicted in clubs as well as a result of being understood as spectacle (Mulvey 837) meanwhile men in swimsuits are represented in a more logical way that explains their attire.

Moreover, on account of Image 7, the man and woman are touching each other, a gesture that establishes a bond between them. As well as on other occasions, gender roles are applied in this shot given that the man seems to be protecting the woman: his body is the only one turned to face the camera, opened to the public world; on the other hand, the woman's body is against it, hidden by the voluminous and muscled man's body.

1.6 LGTBIO+

Only 4 out of the 71 selected posts with the hashtag #barcelonaparty allude to the LGTBIQ+ community. The scenes are taken either at night, day, inside clubs or in the streets, characteristics that present Barcelona as a welcoming destination for this particular group. Despite this facts, pinkwashing has been utilized especially by corporate users in order to enhance their business image as well as for attracting customers.



Image 8

Image 8 is an example of this strained gav-friendliness apart from the male gaze. In the photograph two women are kissing, an extended cis-heterosexual and sexist fantasy possibly constructed from the broad representation of women as men's objects of pleasure (Mulvey 837). The viewer cannot know accurately the sexual orientation of both of the women depicted but they might be faking it for commercial purposes.

With all this information on the table, corporate users kill two birds with one stone: whilst they are making money out of the LGTBIQ+ community's fight, they are also attracting people to their club with an image that they may like (Urry and Larsen 174).

1.7 **Monuments**

As well as Image 7 reflects the living spirit of the Olympics in Barcelona, the photographs showing architectural elements of the city represent the cultural importance that the city still preserves. 6 out of the selected 71 pictures from Instagram were taken in iconic urban spaces from the Catalan capital: the Gothic quarter, the sculpture of Christopher Columbus and the Hotel W Barcelona.



Image 9

This latter building participates in what Smith calls the hard branding (412) of Barcelona. Image 9 does not depict Bofill's building completely but the viewers see a synecdochical photograph given that "a part of something is used to stand for the whole" (Smith 403). It is highly probable that these contemporary monuments in Barcelona need time to be appropriated by locals and visitors (Smith 404), therefore events such as parties take place there in order to promote the space.

The long-standing monument of Christopher Columbus in Image 10 infer to Barcelona's maritime past (Smith 407) as well as the history of barbarism attached to the Spanish Empire when the "New World" was occupied fiercely by the Spaniards. On the other hand, the representation of a woman doing cosplay in the photograph relates to Asia, therefore with her and the statue of Columbus, the Catalan capital is not only being understood as open to the Western world embodied by the statue but it also appears as open to the Eastern world which is represented by the figure of the woman.



Image 10

1.8 Individual and group images

photographs analysed, 32 show people posing alone, and 38 Out of the 71 groups of people⁴. As illustrated within 1.1 above, the presence of so many people in the photographs represent how crowded Barcelona is. The Image 11 for instance, depicts a congested club: the viewer cannot identify peoples' expressions but they can have a hint of the space where the party is taking place.



Image 11

⁴ The only picture that is not explained here is the post depicting a DJ set and headphones given the impossibility of being identified as individual or a group photograph.

The more pictures of groups the more Barcelona's party is understood as a collective event where the word "alone" only applies when someone wants to have a photograph taken alone (Hu et al. 597). However, there are more pictures of women in groups than of men, something that could be understood as a warning to the former not to go out alone.

2. INTERACTIVE MEANING

In this part of the thesis, another sub-question will be answered: what kind of relationship is established between the viewer and the subjects depicted on the posts? By contrast to the representative meaning, this second part of the analysis has three steady elements to review: distance, contact and point of view of the images.

2.1 Distance

Distance is the element of an image that determines whether someone or something is depicted closer or further from the viewer (Jewitt and Oyama 146). According to the (visual) social semiotic method, there are three camera lengths based on the scale in which someone or something is depicted on a picture: close-ups, medium shots and long shots. Medium shots are characterized by "cutting off the human figure somewhere between the waist and the knees" (Jewitt and Oyama 146) which infers a sense of closeness but not as much as close-ups given that they capture someone's "head and shoulders or less" (Jewitt and Oyama 146). The latter establishes a close relationship between the viewer and what is being depicted (Jewitt and Oyama 146). The less interactive of them all is the long shot, because it is related to the prudent distance to keep with strangers (Jewitt and Oyama 146).







Image 13



Image 14

Here are some examples: Image 12 is a close-up due to the fact that the man's shoulder and face are inframed and his expression is highly identifiable because of how close he is to the camera lens (Jewitt and Oyama 146). On the other hand, Image 13 is a medium shot: compared to the first one, the woman depicted is further away from the camera than the man depicted in Image 12. This distance connotes a certain familiarity between the person depicted and the viewer. Moreover, as opposed to the first picture, Image 13 enables the viewer to see not only her expression and body but the background which is relevant as well as the human-being depicted since it shows where she is located (Sontag 172). On the other hand, Image 14 is a long shot given that the background is gaining ground to the human body and therefore, to differentiate facial expressions is harder than in close-ups or medium shots. In Image 14, the distance does not enable the viewer to establish a clear relationship with the depicted

subject, on the contrary, "we see [her] in outline, impersonally, as [a type] rather than [as an individual]" (Jewitt and Oyama 146).

2.2 Contact

The potential meaning of contact is based on whether the one depicted is looking directly (Jewitt and Oyama 145) to the viewer or not. If the former is applied, a direct identification (Jewitt and Oyama 138) is established between them, in that sense, it is nearly impossible not to compare with what is represented and therefore the viewer enters into the dynamics of the mirror phase (Mulvey 836). If there is no contact, "we look quite differently at the people inside the picture frame. We 'observe' them in a detached way and impersonally as though they are specimens in a display case" (Jewitt and Oyama 146). However, the contact is not only given through the look but also by the gestures and facial expressions. On the other hand, according to van Leeuwen and Kress, there are two types of pictures: those offering "information' and 'goods and services'" (Jewitt and Oyama 146); and those ones demanding all these elements.

The three pictures used as examples in point 2.1 are demanding pictures because of their direct contact with the viewer. On account of gestures, Image 15 shows how not only the gaze but also the body and facial expression can repel or attract the viewer. The woman establishes visual contact directly to the viewer, her smiling is a sign of contentment, and her turned figure seems to be asking the viewer to accept the offer to dance with her, therefore it is a demanding picture.

Offering photographies resemble to Image 16 in which the lack of contact between the ones depicted and the viewer is based on the unawareness of the camera by the former. This lack of direct contact between both parts effectively make the viewers into *voyeurs* given that no one seems to see them (Mulvey 835-36).



Image 15



Image 16

2.3 Point of view

According to van Leeuwen and Kress there are two types of points of view, the verticals and the horizontals (135). The former establishes power relations between what or who is depicted and the viewer, meanwhile the latter determines whether there exists a connection between them or not. When the depicted subject looks down in order to meet the viewer's eyes, it means that the one in the picture has the authority over the viewer; if it is the other way around, when the one in the picture is looking up, then the power pertains to the viewer. Nevertheless, establishing equal-to-equal relationships between both of them is possible via the eye level, in which there are no high angles or low angles. On the other hand, it is

through front-facing or side angle figures that the horizontal angles are determined: whilst the former is more engaging, the latter is not.

Regarding vertical points of view, there are 8 low-angles; 24 high-angles and 39 eye levels. In respect of horizontal points of view, there are 9 sided shots and the rest of the 71 pictures selected are frontal. Image 17 was taken frontally and using high-angle. These two elements infer a high level of interaction between the people depicted and the viewer, who takes symbolic power (Jewitt and Oyama 135) over, at least, the woman who occupies the center of the image. In relation to



Image 17

these characteristics, Image 17 is an exaggerated example of male gazing: on one hand, the high-level gives power over her to the viewer; and on the other hand, the frontality of her body is welcoming the viewer to establish a bond with her. In contrast to this, paradoxically, the 8 pictures that give power to the subject as opposed to the viewer, depict only women. In other words, women are being portrayed as both subjects who see and objects that exude "to-be-looked-at-ness" (Mulvey 837).

3. COMPOSITIONAL MEANING

The last purpose of the (visual) social semiotics method is to indicate and suggest a potential meaning of a picture based on its information value, framing, salience and modality. Therefore, this third part of the analysis answers the following sub-question: what are the implications of displaying the elements of a picture in a particular way and not another?

3.1 Information value

"The role of any particular element in the whole will depend on whether it is placed on the left or on the right, in the centre or the margin, or in the upper or the lower part of the picture space" (Jewitt and Oyama 147), this is what the information value contributes according to van Leeuwen and Kress. They explain that when something appears on the right side of a photograph it implies newness, something with which the viewer may not be familiarized with, and therefore should turn their gaze to (Jewitt and Oyama 148); on the other hand, left is the position that relates to the already known (Jewitt and Oyama 148). When something is placed on the top of a composition it is related to the ideal (Jewitt and Oyama 148), whilst the elements placed on the lower parts of a photograph convey reality (Jewitt and Oyama 148). Likewise, centrality is what the linguists define as "what holds the 'marginal' elements together" (Jewitt and Oyama 149). For example, the woman depicted in Image 17 (2.3) is the vertical axis of the composition, the point from which the rest of the elements emanate and swirl around (Jewitt and Oyama 149).

In addition to what has been mentioned about Image 17 above (in the last paragraph and point 2.3), the action of soaking someone with alcohol might be understood as an idealization and bizarre act given the upper area it occupies in the composition (Jewitt and Oyama 148). The reality aspect might be related then to the ship in which the group of people depicted is celebrating, since it occupies the lower part of

the image (Jewitt and Oyama 148). On the other hand, the novelty comes from the right part of the composition where the arm that seems to activate the champagne showering can be partly seen. It is then in the left section of the photograph where the viewer can see men looking at the woman who occupies the central part of the picture. In this case as the left is "presented as something the viewer ... already knows" (Jewitt and Oyama 148), the male gaze is being understood as a conventionality. Furthermore, this particular gazing is given as well by the high angle of the picture which gives symbolic power over the depicted female to the viewer (2.3).

3.2 Framing

Framing determines whether the elements on a photograph are united or disassociated by "framelines ... empty space(s) between [them] ... [or] through contrasts of colour or form, or any other visual feature" (Jewitt and Oyama 150). Image 18 has two different elements: the picture itself and the words imprinted on the photograph. In this case, there is a discontinuity between the represented elements given that there are two different codes, the visual and the written (Jewitt and Oyama 150). This is what happens in other photographs analyzed before such as in Image 6 (1.5) and Image 10 (1.8).



Image 18

3.3 Salience

This third element inside the compositional meaning of (visual) social semiotics, focuses on how the scale, pose or chromatism guides the viewer's gaze towards the more showy element(s) of a picture (Jewitt and Oyama 150). In Image 18 for instance, the warm colours used on the woman's figure stands out against the blue background. Or for example Image 19, where due to the darkness of the surroundings makes the woman depicted emerge from the setting.



Image 19

3.4 Modality

It is finally the modality of a photograph that determines whether it "show[s] things exactly as they might also be seen in reality with the naked eye" (Jewitt and Oyama 151) or not. On account of Sontag's statement on reality in pictures, she explains that they are fragments of it that have passed

through the filter of someone's gaze and ideology (154), and therefore no reality can be depicted through photography.

This has been exacerbated by the digitalization of pictures (Urry and Larsen) and the emergence of social networks such as Instagram. Both of them have facilitated the editing of pictures through filters (Hu et al. 596) for instance, as it can be seen in Image 20, in which the woman depicted selected a filter superimposing dog ears and nose on her face.



Image 20

CONCLUSION

Having examined and explained the potential meaning of the motifs on the 71 selected posts from Instagram uploaded to the platform with the hashtag #barcelonaparty, and having interpreted their interactive and compositional meanings, it is time to conclude the thesis by answering the main research question, "How is Barcelona being portrayed as a party city through the first hundred pictures on Instagram's March 2019 timeline using the hashtag #barcelonaparty?".

The large number of people depicted in the posts gives Barcelona an air of an overcrowded place (1.1), in addition, it is being portrayed as a city where people go collectively to parties (1.9). To this extent, having a considerable number of people is good news. According to what can be seen in the 71 final chosen pictures, the portrayed subjects seem to have been cut to the same pattern: white and young men and women who are tanned and fit and who follow their corresponding gender stereotype (1.6). All in all, Barcelona is being represented as a conventional place where people look the same.

The Catalan capital can be seen as modern and entrepreneurial given the use of social networks for promoting not only the individual but businesses (1.5). The digital environment of the Web 3.0 can be disturbing given how women and the LGTBIQ+ community are represented. In the case of these pictures from Instagram with the hashtag #barcelonaparty, women are the erotic elements that catch the eye of these platforms' users, so much so that even two possibly non-lesbian women appear kissing for man's pleasure (1.7, 1.4). Despite these photograph, women are depicted as free in the sense that they can apparently party and drink alcohol without being judged even though the depictions which demonstrate this are, in most of the cases, using the male gaze (1.2, 1.9) as the main perspective.

Alcoholic beverages and music are the main elements of a party in Barcelona (1.2). The city is portrayed as a place where parties take place whenever and wherever, during the daylight and night, out on terraces or the streets and inside clubs, there is always something going on for every taste in Barcelona (1.3). All these spaces are open to LGTBIQ+ people given that by the pictures it seems like the Catalan capital is a safe place for them (1.7).

It is maybe because of all of this that Barcelona has been the third most photographed city in 2014 (Lennihan), and the third highest in terms of hashtags on Instagram in 2018 (Grau), it is a destination to remember (1.4) not only because of the parties that the city hosts but its surroundings (1.8). Besides, the majority of the 71 pictures were medium-shots, a type of distance that enables the viewer to enjoy the views on the background and to see sharply the expression and bodies of the people being portrayed (2.1). Although not all of the photographs were depicting people establishing direct contact with the viewer, the information provided by offering and demanding pictures make viewers to join the action happening in the shot by the former, and to see what Barcelona offers by the latter (2.2). Moreover, the use of the eye level as a point of view, which it is the most used among the posts, allows the viewers to establish an equal-to-equal relationship between what and who is portrayed in the posts and themselves, making them feel close to the festive Barcelona.

The (visual) social semiotics method has enabled the thesis to go more in-depth with the pictures by analyzing how they guide viewers gaze using contrasts of different kinds in the compositions (3.3), as well as modality which has been of use to identify whether a picture is real or fantasy (3.4). Furthermore, compositional meaning highlights the manipulations that viewers face when looking at the images by putting different codes or framelines within the same photograph (3.2), and by placing the elements strategically on a picture (3.1).

What cannot have been accomplished in this thesis is the analysis of the comments and hashtags on the same posts analysed. In order to have sorted out this shortcoming, another methodology would have been required given that the (visual) social semiotics method by van Leeuwen and Kress can only be applied to visual objects, not textual. In this sense, to analyse the written part of the 71 posts examined in this thesis would be a good area to do future research on. Equally, the representation on Instagram of Barcelona as a party city can be studied gathering information from other social networks, furthermore, doing research on this particular social phenomenon can be done about other cities as well; among other possibilities such as comparing promotional discourses of certain cities on official and unofficial websites, or to do analysis on masculinities since in this thesis the issue of gender has been focused more on a particular way of femininity and the male gaze over females.

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