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Translating a bright and noisy experience: videography for tourism research

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The aim of this paper is to introduce videography as a valuable approach for collecting data, supporting theory-building and disseminating results in tourism research. Visual research is a powerful approach that has been intensively used in the main field of consumer research but surprisingly less often in a tourism context. However, most tourist behaviours and experiences are 'bright and noisy' and cannot be fully translated by written productions. This is why we present videography as a research tool in its own right, opening new dimensions to qualitative research. This article aims to discuss the advantages and limitations of video and demonstrates why it is worthwhile to tourism studies. It also explains the steps involved in the production of a video and illustrated by a 20-minute video on tourist souvenirs.

Keywords: *videography, visual methods, tourist souvenirs*

1 INTRODUCTION

Video production has become a key marketing tool in 21st century marketing strategies. Whether it is used and shared on social networks, integrated in brand content strategies, or designed as a marketing communication campaign, videos are increasingly becoming a key component of marketing strategies. Moreover, contemporary consumers have become accustomed to visual images (for example, as a main communication tool on social networks). This is particularly true for tourism as most tourists are shooting a large number of pictures or films with their ubiquitous smartphones or cameras. Films are increasingly used in teaching online or offline as well: 'In education, the importance of visual material and electronics has rendered the blackboard an increasingly quaint relic of the past' (Belk/Kozinets 2005: 129). In other words, videos are becoming a central component of 21st century communication and, in that regard, they should also become an important part of researchers' toolboxes. According to Petr et al. (2015: 73), videography can be defined as 'the process of producing and communicating knowledge through the collection and

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analysis of visual material'. Lugosi (2018) presents visual ethnography as a disruptive practice in academic knowledge production that is likely to bring new dimensions to data collection that enrich and deepen research outputs.

However, the place and role of videography in tourism research have received very little attention. This is surprising since images play a key role in tourism promotion and consumption, creating expectations and impacting satisfaction, as well as feeding souvenirs and word-of-mouth. Various methodologies have been used to investigate images, primarily through photo analysis, but those can only partially account for the complexities of consumers' culture in a tourism context. Videos provide a much richer tool to translate and resituate this intricacy. This is why Haanpää et al. (2019) encourage tourism scholars to consider videography as a powerful research tool.

Since the early 2000s, consumer-behaviour literature has investigated the possibility of using videos both as data and as a research tool to study consumer culture. The Association for Consumer Research (ACR) even holds a film festival during its annual conference, which provides the opportunity to view videos on various consumption topics. Videos are a valuable tool for disseminating knowledge to other researchers and to a wider audience. However, beyond their informative nature, videos have been considered by scholars as a new research approach. Videos offer the possibility of analysing data differently but, most importantly, they provide an insight into some dimensions that are out of reach in traditional qualitative methodologies such as: multiple meanings, non-verbal communication, contextualization, etc. Therefore, they also support theory development. This article aims to understand how videos can and should be used, and what useful knowledge they may bring to tourism scholars, especially when focusing on the tourist experience. Videography is presented as a different research tool, providing a new and richer instrument to collect data and also to circulate research results.

The paper starts in Section 2 with a review of studies that have been devoted to videography as a research tool and by a brief survey of its use in consumer and tourism research. In Section 3, it outlines the major advantages of using videos, and presents the different steps that are needed to produce a video, from research design to the screening of the film. These steps are illustrated in Section 4 by a video on tourist souvenirs, conducted by two of this paper's authors. Of course, the purpose of the paper is not primarily to investigate tourist souvenirs but rather to use this example to illustrate how and to what extent videos can provide a powerful tool for tourism researchers. Finally in Section 5 we conclude and provide some limitations of using videos and indicate some areas of future research.

2 VIDEOGRAPHY AS A RESEARCH TOOL

Visual research has always been present in academia and has attracted much attention from various disciplines. It uses a wide range of sources, from photographs to posters, objects, built environments, landscapes, graffiti, virtual visual data, films, videos, etc. In their book entitled *Researching the Visual*, Emmison et al. (2012) overview a variety of techniques and research outcomes that can be gained from undertaking visual research, stressing the role and capacity of visual research when analysing the social and cultural dimensions of society. However, most of the focus so far has been on visual ethnography and photo elicitation.

As underlined by two videography pioneers, qualitative marketing research can gain from videographic work as 'an experiential dimension in which the viewer

vicariously learns what it is like for the consumer' (Belk/Kozinets 2005: 138). Videography should not be confused with visual ethnography which 'satisfies' itself with documenting and representing descriptive knowledge; videography helps to go one step further in theory generation as it brings a new and different vision of understanding our world (Rokka/Hietanen 2018).

Videography is a subjective process whose final outcome is a combination of researchers' theoretical and analytical skills exemplified by participants' testimonies. The debate regarding the subjectivity of videos echoes the one regarding the degree of alleged objectivity in qualitative approaches. On the one hand, Schembri/Boyle (2013) deal with videos as visual texts, since they argue that videos have a high objective component. On the other hand, many other researchers claim that the production of videos is necessarily a subjective process. For instance, Hietanen et al. (2014) strongly disagree with Schembri/Boyle, arguing that the video-making process is inherently subjective and that videos can, at best, create accurate representations but cannot be treated as valid and authentic approaches. They argue that 'videography as a representational device can never be a neutral account of participants' realities and is always a selective expression of the researcher's position' (Hietanen et al. 2014: 2020). They believe that the researcher – through the choice of interview questions and filming contexts, the process of filming and necessarily through the video-editing process – takes part in the research and orientates the final output.

Before considering to what extent the use of videos might best fit tourism research, we shall first overview how it has developed in the consumer-behaviour field.

2.1 The use of videography in marketing and consumer research

The use of videos in consumer research first appeared in ethnographic studies, where filming and documenting the topics investigated (a tribe, a ritualistic event, etc.) became common practice. Historically, ethnographic studies have involved fieldwork, participant observation and *in situ* interviews, and videos have proved to be a powerful instrument to both illustrate and communicate research findings. This tool has been an eyewitness, allowing ethnographers to share their knowledge, immortalize a moment in time and illustrate contexts, particularly if those were geographically distant. In anthropology or sociology, film sessions have become an integral part of academic conferences for a long time. For instance, Nanook Eskimos were investigated by Flaherty in 1920 and, in 1942, Balinese native culture was studied by Mead and Bateson (Schembri/Boyle 2013).

Over the years, the marketing literature has gradually used videos for studying and investigating consumption phenomena as a cultural process. Shrum et al. (2007) argue that videos are greatly superior to photographs since they allow researchers to capture social processes. According to Schembri/Boyle (2013: 1251), 'different groups in society will make sense of the world in different ways and these varying meaning structures direct the way people behave'. Rose (2001) refers to it as a cultural landmark, a paradigm change implying that visual techniques should be developed in order to capture the construction of social life and depict the complexity of the consumption phenomenon.

The first film festival of the Association for Consumer Research (ACR) was held in 2001. It institutionalized a new way to present research findings, in addition to the traditional format of written manuscripts. This event announced the birth of videography as a relevant research tool for the academic field of marketing and consumer behaviour. Ten years after, other associations and academic fields introduced this

mode of presentation in conferences or in journals (add-ons or special issues). In the various journals pertaining to the study of consumer behaviour, videos have been used in various contexts. To name a few, Decrop et al. (2002) analysed the meanings attached by football fans to their paraphernalia; Martin et al. (2006) used videos to study the meaning of Harley-Davidson communities; Cova/Pace (2006) investigated the Nutella Brand community; Nike women's advertising was investigated by Grow (2006); and brand self-identity narratives were analysed in James Bond movies by Cooper et al. (2010). In 2018, Rokka, Hietanen and Brownlie guest-edited a special issue of the *Journal of Marketing Management* devoted to 'Screening marketing: videography and the expanding horizons of filmic research', which includes nine contributions that engage with distinct aspects of videography either with a methodological perspective or with a focal video element, 'signalling different pathways for using the moving image in academic argumentation' (ibid.: 425).

Increasingly, the field of consumer research has identified film-making as a key research approach that aims to combine physical evidence and testimonies with theoretical constructions. This is not the case with tourism research.

2.2 The use of videography in tourism research

In the sphere of visual techniques, tourism research has extensively used photograph-based research in a variety of contexts and for different purposes (for a review, see Park/Kim 2018). Despite a few studies focusing on videographies as consumer-generated videos to record and remember tourists' travel experiences (see for example Shaffer 2001; Tussyadiah/Fesenmaier 2009), the tourism literature offers very limited evidence of the use of videography as a research tool used by scholars in order to document existing knowledge or generate new theoretical insights. To date, not much evidence can be found of academic work using videos to explore the facets of tourism consumption. As yet, tourism conferences do not have a slot dedicated to videos (such as at the ACR) and tourism journals have not devoted any special issues to videography (like that of the *Journal of Marketing Management* in 2018). According to Dinhopl/Gretzel (2016: 396), 'the tourism literature focuses almost exclusively on photographic practices and does not acknowledge video as a distinct type of medium, technology and practice'. This lack of use is surprising, since many videographies conducted in mainstream consumer research pertain to leisure and tourism contexts.

Nonetheless, some tourism researchers have pointed to the need and use of videos. In 2003, Feighey highlighted the increasing production of videos by tourists and encouraged researchers to use it as a methodological tool. In 2012, Pocock et al. investigated the possibility of using video-diary methodology to analyse tourists' experiences and concluded that 'despite the highly visual nature of the tourist experience, very little travel and tourism research incorporates visual methodology and scholars are encouraged to explore innovative visual technologies' (ibid.: 112). Their study combined videos made by participants requested to film and narrate their footage while describing their notion of 'home' after returning from long-term travel. Decrop and his colleagues have produced a number of videographies presented in several conferences (for example, the ACR, the European Marketing Academy (EMAC), the Travel and Tourism Research Association (TTRA), and Advances in Tourism Marketing (ATMC)). This includes the investigation of the Père Lachaise cemetery in Paris as a tourist venue (Decrop/Toussaint 2012), a film about the meanings and functions of tourist souvenirs (Decrop/Masset 2015), and an ethnography of the Tomorrowland music festival in Belgium (Masset/Decrop 2017). Dinhopl/

Gretzel (2016) provide a conceptualization of tourist videography as a separate media form to photography that is useful for future theoretical development in the field of visual media and technology in tourism. However, they limit their scope to the videos recorded by tourists during their holidays/travels and do not consider videography as a research tool in itself. In contrast, Haanpää et al. (2019) have filmed ethical consumers in the animal-based tourism context (sled dogs in Finland) and produced a ten-minute descriptive non-narrated video to document their paper published in *Tourism Geographies*. They suggest that relationships between human beings and animals are co-constructed as multi-species assemblages through such tourist activities.

Of all fields of study, tourism is part of those where the visual and audio components are central. Paraphrasing Belk/Kozinets (2005), we could say that tourism is essentially 'bright and noisy'. Beyond the predominance of visuals in tourism consumption, both imaginary and recalled, several characteristics of tourism make it a privileged field for videos. We explain more reasons for tourism researchers to engage in videography (notably, Petr et al. 2015) in the next section.

3 REASONS TO ENGAGE IN VIDEOGRAPHY

3.1 Most tourist experiences are ineffable

The power of videos goes well beyond a written and straightforward text, and can become 'an experience that moves us as it invokes memories that are "undecidable or inextricable"' (Deleuze 1986: 274, in Hietanen et al. 2014). When studying tourism consumption, this is a particularly important element, since the tourist experience is laden with strong emotions and sensations that can prove difficult to articulate (Frochot et al. 2019). The tourist experience is, in many ways, ineffable. As early on as 1993, in a study on a community of white-water rafting in Colorado, Arnould/Price noted that customers' expectations were fairly vague: an activity that participants chose because they had always wanted to practise it, a desire for something different, or more simply because they wanted to 'have fun'. The authors also specified that because of the intense emotional content, it was difficult for participants to describe the experience: 'In extraordinary experiences, expectations are likely to be vague because consumers of extraordinary experience may desire intense emotional outcome, for example joy or immersion, but not know what consumption alternatives are likely to produce them … ; an extraordinary experience is spontaneous and unrehearsed' (Arnould/Price 1993: 25–26). In the early 1980s, leisure researchers identified that non-consumptive recreation activities (activities with no clear objectives such as walking or having a picnic) had vague expectations because they lacked specific and clearly defined goals (Vaske et al. 1982). Expectations would hinge around the intensity and 'goodness' of the experience itself, which is a difficult notion to elaborate verbally. In this regard, videos are worthwhile as they translate tourists' emotions and sensations much better and bring a more authentic vision of consumers' discourse.

3.2 Videos communicate non-verbal cues

In addition to articulating tourists' emotions and sensations, videos bring the depth of physical expressions and can therefore provide a new field to analyse their non-verbal communication. In videos, elements of embodiment are visually present: body

language, facial expressions and physical reactions all bring a richness that is lost in translation when using traditional interview-based written research:

> Videotaped interviews offer a powerful advantage over the more conventional audiotapes or field-noted interviews. Body language, often considered to be at least as important at communicating meaning as oral language is captured in video, but not in audio. Proxemics, kinesics, and other kinetic forms of body expression can also be captured. (Belk/Kozinets 2005: 129)

Facial expressions, arm and hand gestures and general body position constitute a rich set of cues to visual understanding. Those human reactions often need no interpretation. For the audience watching the video, many body-language reactions will be intuitively understood and obvious, because this is an understanding that human beings implicitly share (within the limits of differing cultural practices). This way, videos develop their informative and analytical power also from their non-linguistic nature (Deleuze 1986): 'non-verbal communication generates sounds of silence as expression resonates through the visual' (Scarles 2010: 14).

3.3 The multi-dimensional context of tourist experiences

By definition, tourism takes place in areas that are far away from visitors' homes. It is impossible to dissociate tourists' reactions from the sites they are visiting. Tourism projects consumers into environments where many dimensions differ: landscapes, atmospherics, people, local culture, noises, weather, etc. Therefore, researchers need to study the tourist's experience within these multi-dimensional surroundings if they want to fully and deeply understand it. In addition, if scholars across the world want to fully appreciate their colleagues' work, they also need to understand the context in which their study was conducted. With visual presentation, researchers are able to engage the audience with a multi-sensory set of materials that facilitate the achievement of a cognitive as well as a more emotional and 'resonant' (Sherry/Schouten 2002) understanding of the experience of something (Belk 1998). When comparing videography with other visual methodologies, Rokka/Hietanen (2018) stress that videographic research is relational, affective and performative, enabling researchers to obtain a more holistic view of the people and phenomena they are studying and to better elaborate theoretical propositions. So videos represent a powerful and effective means for setting tourism research into a specific context, for disseminating ideas and insights, and for helping in theorization.

3.4 Researchers' immersion during the filming process

Like the qualitative methodologies of interviewing and *in situ* focus groups, video recording brings the benefit of the researcher's immersion in the context studied. Choosing a filming location and identifying which elements to film encourage tourism researchers to look more broadly, but also in more detail, at the context within which they are filming. For videos, immersion is even deeper: the researcher will spend a specific length of time on the spot, soaking in the general atmosphere, observing and sensing; all those elements will bring the tourism researcher closer to the topic being investigated. The videoing process taking place during the consumption process allows the researcher to grasp wider elements than just the consumption itself: visitors might point to objects, landscapes, buildings styles, etc. The general

atmosphere will be made visible in the video and will add other dimensions to the content. Moreover, in order to gather more footage for the final video (b-rolls), the researcher will film general views of tourist sites (landscapes, buildings, menus, tourists just performing activities, etc.). Again, these actions will help researchers immerse themselves more deeply into the context being investigated: 'Just as the camera is a valuable tool, visual aspects and material objects within the culture are also valuable tools to elicit disclosure from members' (Schembri/Boyle 2013: 1252).

3.5 Looking for meaningfulness

Engaging in videography also has to do with researchers themselves. More and more, tourism researchers feel stuck and frustrated with standardized and restrictive canons of science. They want to incorporate a flavour of art and innovation into the research process. Videography is one of the current ways for researchers to express their desire to complement their writing commitments with something different and to bring back new motivations for doing their work.

In addition, when editing the video, researchers will aim at narrowing down the content to the most meaningful footage. So, in some ways, video-making is a downsizing approach that aims, from a rich content, to narrow down the analysis to the most significant, evocative and meaningful footage. Compared to interview analysis, the scope of results is circumscribed since it should fit within 20 to 30 minutes' worth of footage. This is considered an advantage videos can boast, since it encourages researchers to move to a more concise and direct approach to their results. It does not mean that theory-building cannot be achieved but it certainly encourages researchers to move away from lengthy and wordy articles towards producing results that are more easily and rapidly grasped by their audience. This downsizing approach is quite valuable in a fast and hectic 21st century society.

But researchers must be aware that self-criticism is much needed. The success of videography studies most of all depends on the inter-personal skills of the researcher. These skills should lead to building trust, maintaining good relations, respecting norms of reciprocity, and being sensitive to ethical issues (Marshall/Rossman 1995). A good qualitative researcher, and thereby a good videographer, is someone who is at ease in the setting, who actively and thoughtfully listens, and who has an empathic understanding of and a respect for the perspectives of others.

3.6 Dissemination among students and tourism practitioners

Beyond the knowledge brought about by the audio-visual content itself, videography can be used for didactical purposes. Not only does the format of the video comply with new generations of students accustomed to video material, but, through its structure, it can also be paused and commented upon in a classroom context. In many ways, it can be used by academics to illustrate the theories they are addressing in their lectures, so it is important that the video should intuitively draw links between conceptual/theoretical learning and consumers and actors' testimonies.

Another dimension that can be very useful in videos is its dissemination among practitioners. Tourism professionals often have limited time available in which to train or inform themselves, and even less in which to investigate academic literature to answer their needs. Moreover, they may have misconceptions on tourists' perceptions of their own tourism products and destinations, so it is essential that research results be easily accessible. In this sense, the video can be a very useful tool to produce and

disseminate results to those actors. The filmed testimonies (versus a complex text-based argumentation from researchers) can increase the relevance of findings and propositions and further persuade practitioners about tourists' real needs and perceptions (and accessorily researchers' usefulness for the industry).

3.7 Technological advances

A final reason for tourism researchers to engage in videography refers to the technological advances in video hardware and software. With digital cameras and non-linear editing programs, producing and editing video has become cheap and user-friendly. Thanks to the ubiquity of cameras and mobile phones, it is now possible to more or less unobtrusively record without disturbing the people around, especially in tourism settings.

4 STEPS IN PRODUCING A VIDEO

After overviewing the use of videography in marketing/consumer and tourism research and considering its benefits, we now turn to the process of developing a video. Of course, we lack the space to detail all the technical and methodological issues related to it. However, the reader will have the chance to gain an insight into the videography process from A (designing the research project) to Z (broadcasting the project), as outlined by Figure 1. Each step of the process will be illustrated by the case of a film on tourist souvenirs (Decrop/Masset 2015).

4.1 Step 1: Designing the research

As in any qualitative research project, the first step is to carefully design the research project in order to best address the research question(s) or problem(s) at hand. This includes a number of important decisions that are outlined below and illustrated in Box 1. The first important decision of the research design is about *site or case selection*. A site can include a wide range of settings, populations and phenomena. Site selection can involve the decision to focus on a specific setting or place (for example, the Tomorrowland festival held every July in Boom, Belgium), on a particular population (for example, football fans) or on a phenomenon (for example, shareable tourism). Marshall/Rossman (1995) describe the ideal site as one for which: (1) entry is possible; (2) there is a high probability of variety of processes, people, interactions, and structures of interest; (3) the researcher is likely to be able to build trusting relations with the participants; and (4) data quality and credibility of the study are reasonably assured.

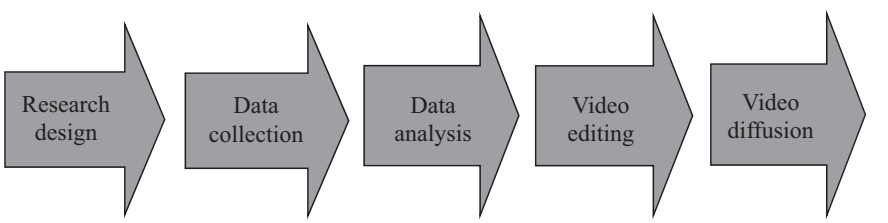

Figure 1 Steps in producing a research video

Box 1 Video: Around the World of Tourist Souvenirs (Decrop/Masset 2015)

The goal of our research was to better understand the meanings associated with the purchase and the consumption of tourist souvenirs. Specifically, we wanted to answer to the following questions: Which meanings are associated with tourist objects? What roles/functions do tourist objects fulfil?

To address these, we collected data during a one-week package tour in Portugal which presented four main advantages: (1) a high number of tourists able to participate in the study during one week; (2) a large variety of sites visited (that is, natural, cultural, urban, etc.); (3) more opportunities to buy, collect or pick up tourist souvenirs; and (4) the in-depth continued relationships we could develop with informants. Moreover, this type of vacation involved a certain proximity and group spirit that helped us to gain access to informants. The tour-operating director of the travel agency organizing the package tour provided researchers with access to the package tour.

We recruited our informants according to purposive sampling, that is, we selected 'information-rich cases for study in depth'. During the package tour, we observed 42 Belgian French-speaking tourists and interviewed 20 of them in depth. For ethical reasons, we explicitly informed all tourists on the package tour of our role at the beginning of the trip. They were free to refuse to be observed, interviewed or filmed, but all gave their consent. During the package tour, we took a more participative stand because we participated in people's vacation lives, interacted with them, etc. However, when observing tourists at the tourist sites and shops, we adopted a more distanced position and passive role because we did not want to interfere in people's behaviours, actions or thoughts.

In addition to the main data collection during the package tour in Portugal, we conducted 19 interviews with other Belgian tourists at their home as well as non-participant observations at various tourist sites that included New York, Chicago, Brussels, Rouen, Toronto, Turkey, Egypt, etc.

Identifying the level of analytical interest is also important. Both the social subject and the social object deserve attention (Miles/Huberman 1984). The major alternatives are listed in Table 1. Note that the decision is not exclusive: considering the social subject, for example, a particular study could focus on both the individual and the family.

Table 1 Level of analytical interest in qualitative research

Social subject	Social object
Individuals	Specific acts and behaviours (what people do or say)
Roles	Events (marked-off happenings)
Relationships	Activities (regularly occurring sets of behaviour)
Groups (family, social class, culture …)	Strategies (activities aimed towards some goal)
Settings (places or locales within sites)	Meanings, perspectives (how people construe events)
Sites as a whole	States (general conditions)
	Processes (ongoing flows, changes over time)

Source: Adapted from Miles/Huberman (1984).

After the site has been selected and the appropriate level of analysis has been determined, waves of subsequent *sampling decisions* are made. In qualitative research, sampling has another connotation as the traditional quantitative tenets of size and statistical representativity. First, sampling is not only about people but may additionally pertain to activities, locations and time periods. Second, sampling is not a question of the number of people in the sample but rather of richness and variety in information. The qualitative researcher strives to record events and behaviours that are relevant to the concept or theory being studied. Hence the notion of theoretical sampling (Glaser/Strauss 1967). This constant search for information-rich new cases makes random sampling irrelevant. Other methods such as purposive sampling (searching people with a specific profile) or snowball sampling (each participant is asked to suggest other people who might participate in the study) are used instead (Patton 1980).

Issues related to *the researcher's role* are another important consideration in the research design, especially because with videography, the researcher becomes the research instrument and enters into the informant's life. This raises a number of questions, including deploying the self and negotiating entry. The investigator's level of immersion in the site entails four decisions (Marshall/Rossman 1995):

(1) The degree of 'participantness': does the researcher participate in the informant's daily life? (From full participant, typical of naturalistic observation, to complete observer, only possible with concealed cameras as described below.)
(2) The degree of 'revealedness': is the participant aware of the study going on? (From full disclosure to complete secrecy.)
(3) The intensiveness (amount of time spent in the setting) and extensiveness (duration over time) of the research.
(4) The focus of the study: is the research problem specific or diffuse?

Negotiating entry is another major challenge for videographers. People are often reluctant to participate in filmed qualitative inquiry because it is perceived as time-consuming and intrusive. Moreover, topics to be discussed are sometimes very sensitive. These potential stumbling blocks show the need for carefully planning the entry when designing the research. This means that the researcher shows the usefulness of the project, assures confidentiality, prepares counter-arguments, offers a small gift, etc. However, one should unquestionably respect people's right not to participate or to be filmed in a study.

Focusing data is a last aspect of the research design. The term is borrowed from Lofland/Lofland (1995). This involves three important activities by the researcher: (1) envision topics that are possibly relevant to the problem; (2) elaborate questions to ask about those topics; and (3) think of questions and themes that will arouse the informant's interest.

4.2 Step 2: Collecting data

There are actually many possibilities for collecting and recording audio-visual data. We will briefly present six alternatives, namely:

(1) Videotaping group or individual interviews
(2) Engaging in naturalistic observation
(3) Autovideography
(4) Collaborative videographic research

(5) Concealed cameras
(6) Interactive video and computer-mediated methods

4.2.1 Group or individual interviews

As suggested by Rubin/Rubin (1995), qualitative interviewing is the art of hearing data. This requires 'intense listening, a respect and curiosity about what people say and a systematic effort to really hear and understand what people tell you' (ibid.: 17). Recording and analysing these interviews on video files may deepen such an understanding as in-depth interviewing goes beyond asking questions and listening to people, it entails sharing social experiences. There are more specialized types of in-depth interviews. Marshall/Rossman (1995) make a distinction between ethnographic, phenomenological, elite, and focus group interviewing. All those interview forms can be encompassed within two broader categories: 'Cultural interviews focus on the norms, values, understandings, and taken-for-granted rules of behavior of a group or society. Topical interviews are more narrowly focused on a particular event or process, and are concerned with what happened, when, and why' (Rubin/Rubin 1995: 28). In both cases, audio and visual elements may shed additional light on the textual content or indicate specific questions that do not directly appear in the transcripts. Videos may help with catching a large number of non-verbal elements (tone, gestures, proxemics, etc.), describing the setting and the environment, the relationships among informants, interpreting particular words or sentences, the personal feelings about what has been done, said and not said during the interview, and critical remarks about the quality of data or the participation of each interviewee.

4.2.2 Naturalistic or unobtrusive observation

These types of observations aim to record a vision of members in the least intrusive way: 'In recording naturalistic observations, the videographer is more interested in capturing what people do rather than what they say about what they do' (Belk/Kozinets 2005: 130). For instance, Belk videotaped tourists taking pictures and filming while at a tourist venue. Kozinets (1999) produced a similar video approach on Burning Man Festival attendees and Monnier/Gulas (2004) produced a video called 'American Odyssey' capturing Caravan club members across various American states. The film on tourist souvenirs by Decrop/Masset (2015) is also a good example of naturalistic observation (see Box 2). When the video is filmed *in situ*, it allows researchers and viewers to witness tourists at the very heart of their consumption, and to hear, in its simplest and most spontaneous manner, how tourists express themselves. The complex notions that are essential in academia then come to light in a vivid, simple and direct expression.

Box 2 Video: Around the World of Tourist Souvenirs (Decrop/Masset 2015)

> As previously emphasized, we observed 42 tourists during their vacation in Portugal. Specifically, we used naturalistic observation as we observed tourists during their vacation's life (for example, at tourist sites, shops, etc.) and we tried to be unobtrusive because we did not want to interfere in people's behaviours, actions, or thoughts. An observation grid was developed indicating a number of aspects that needed to be observed while remaining flexible and open to the emergence of other issues.

Moreover, we carried out 39 videotaped interviews. These were conducted face-to-face, with couples or groups of friends (three people maximum), at tourist sites, hotels, or their homes. We used a semi-structured interview guide with a number of pre-planned questions, while also keeping room for flexibility and emerging issues.

The researchers also took extensive footage of tourist sites, shops, landscapes, etc. (in Portugal and in other destinations such as New York, Rouen, etc.), in order to provide material for the video. As for outdoor footage, copyright did not need to be secured as researchers were filming in a public area.

Regarding ethical issues, all our informants gave their consent to be observed, interviewed or filmed. When we observed a crowd in its totality or took outdoor footage, we did not tell each person that we were observing/filming him/her. However, we were completely undisguised and we did not conceal our camera.

For this data-collection process, we used the following equipment: a camera, a video camera, a voice recorder to double the video footage of the interviews, a tripod, a computer with a strong processing system and memory, and an external hard drive to have a copy of all the material collected.

4.2.3 Autovideography

In this approach, the objective is to understand consumers' points of view by letting them independently film their consumption process. Participants are given a camcorder to film themselves in specific situations but with few instructions. In this process, researchers expect to obtain more spontaneous footage. State-of-the-art technology (GoPro cameras and smartphones) has certainly facilitated these approaches. This process can also be undertaken with no instructions: in self-ethnography, researchers ask consumers to provide them with spontaneous home-made footage of a specific event (Christmas dinner, weddings, holidays, etc.) and then develop their analysis from this material. For example, Pocock et al. (2012) used videos made by participants requested to film and narrate their filming while describing their notion of 'home' after returning from long-term travel. Consumer-generated videos have become a core touristic practice and are very useful in tourism in order to document tourist experiences (Sontag 1977; Urry 1990). The risk of a subjective interpretation of the visual material does exist and it is vital to be careful not to over-interpret the gathered material. Auto-videography is commonly an interesting approach to ensure the meaning of pictures and films is correctly expressed and thereby interpreted. However, this approach has the same limitation as mentioned by Markwell (1997) for photography, that is, the photographs and videos tourists choose to record reinforce the idea of a perfect holiday and therefore some mundane and unattractive elements get omitted from these choices.

4.2.4 Collaborative approach

This approach implies that the researcher(s) and the participant(s) collaborate together to negotiate an outcome that will reproduce an 'authentic' representation of the context investigated (Pink 2007). Collaboration does exist between the subject investigated and the researcher in a co-construction process, much like what might take place during an interview. Researchers might also aim to further validate the object under investigation by encouraging consumers to comment on the film, providing an interesting reflexive analysis (Schembri/Boyle 2013). In a study investigating and filming scuba divers, Merchant (2011) showed how the video helped to dig

further into the multiple senses of individuals, especially when encouraging participants to comment on the footage of their own dive. Such a collaborative approach is particularly relevant to tourism since it can be difficult to interview tourists at the heart of their experience: they are either not available or unable to express themselves while the experience is unfolding (for example, interviewing a consumer while skiing is not feasible). Because of this limitation, filming tourists' activities and then encouraging them to comment their own footage can bring richer information since consumers comment on their own behaviours and practices in their own words.

In a similar approach to photo-elicitation, video-elicitation might be worth developing, allowing researchers to collect more objective data reflecting individual differences: 'Rather than recording reality on video tape or camera film, the most one can expect is to represent those aspects of experience that are visible. Moreover, these visible elements of experience will be given different meanings as different people use their own subjective knowledge to interpret them' (Pink 2007: 234).

4.2.5 Concealed cameras

Concealed cameras may be used in a number of public spaces or private settings to record non-participant observations. For example, concealed cameras are used for managing security in public places or for observing crowd phenomena in urban places. In retail settings, security cameras offer the opportunity to capture interactions between consumers or information about the way people shop inside commercial spaces (in addition to enhancing safety and managing security issues of course). Some recordings allow the capturing of data at a meta-level for analysis, that is, the social scale of naturally occurring interactions. For instance, Martin et al. (2006) observed interactions between individuals at the inner-group level as well as at the inter-group level in the context of a brand festival. Necessarily, the use of concealed cameras calls for a number of ethical issues, including the protection of anonymity and of privacy.

4.2.6 Computer-mediated and online methods

In the current digital environment, data collection (interviewing and focus groups) is also possible at distance via a webcam and through a large number of applications such as Skype, Messenger or Whatsapp. It is interactive, immediate and less obtrusive than having a cameraperson or an entire camera crew facing the participants (Belk/Kozinets 2005). In the same way, an ever-growing amount of secondary audio-visual data may be gathered from the internet. This may include data from blogs and forums, pictures from Instagram, videos from YouTube, consumer reviews on Trip Advisor, etc. Finally, a number of online communities of consumption (for example, couchsurfing.com), of gaming (for example, MMORPGs) and virtual (for example, Second Life) platforms may be observed and filmed in a netnographic perspective (Kozinets 2010). As emphasized by Mann/Stewart (2000: 217) already:

> Internet communication need not be limited to text. As the capacity of the internet itself and the connections to it increase, voice and video communications will become possible, eliminating the obstacle of the keyboard. From a research point of view, it could be argued that this will simply get us back to where we are now.

4.3 Step 3: Analysing data

Data analysis in video-making is, in many ways, similar to qualitative data analysis:

> Similarly to the treatment of written text, visual text is compared, contrasted, and sorted into categories, until a particular aspect of the culture is identified. Segmenting and shifting the text around (with video editing software) into relevant and meaningful units that hold a connection with the whole cultural experience is the goal of this analytical process. (Shrembri/Boyle 2013: 1252)

In other words, video analysis deals with the material collected as grounded research: researchers categorize the evidence collected by developing a sorting system that emanates directly from the material. It is useful to transcribe the text, but most importantly, researchers need to undertake, separately, an analysis of the videos' contents and then cross-validate their findings. The basic principles of interpretive analysis (for example, grounded theory) should be followed, as illustrated in Box 3. The first thing to do is to determine his/her objective in terms of the desired depth of analysis. We isolate three alternatives on a continuum from descriptive to inferential thinking: the straight description (reports), analytic description (case studies) or local theory (grounded theory). Second, data should be organized and displayed according to a number of analytical tools and procedures since amounts of collected data (that is, pictures and moving images) are often huge. Codes, memos and diagrams may help best with this, from holistic analysis to frame-by-frame procedure. Finally, interpretation and validation (data and method triangulation are particularly helpful) are needed for creating standards for 'good' qualitative research.

What is noticeable is the ability videos have to point to some details that would usually go unnoticed when analysing qualitative interviews. Videos, due to their visual format, provide those results with several dimensions embedded in them. The video also sets the subject in its context, providing ample cues about the surroundings and the general atmosphere of the consumption situation. In other words, by using videos, a long discourse can be summarized into a few key pieces of footage that will inherently express (and demonstrate) research findings.

Box 3 Video: Around the World of Tourist Souvenirs (Decrop/Masset 2015)

We analysed and interpreted the data collected (that is, interview transcripts and visual material) through the grounded theory approach. Specifically, we compared and contrasted the material and classified it into different categories (types of souvenirs, functions, etc.) and sub-categories. At the end, we set up a detailed table indicating, for each category and sub-category, which excerpts of video interviews or written quotes, footage, or pictures were the most relevant.

Finally, the process was decomposed into a precise script which contains the storytelling of our video, allowing us to project ourselves in the images and to take the viewer's perspective. It included the introduction of our film (that is, the goal of the research and main questions, the main theoretical concepts, some figures, and a brief description of our methodology), the results in two parts (that is, the four types of symbolic souvenirs and the five functions these souvenirs may fulfil in terms of consumer identity construction), and a short conclusion.

4.4 Step 4: Editing the video

Producing a video is not to be paralleled with producing a written paper as its major objective is to tell a story documented by audio-visual collages in order to shape audience reactions. Of course, such an editing process breaks from positivist pretensions of objectivity: there is no such a thing as a neutral/objective image! To some extent, when editing, the videographer is most often closer to being an artist and storyteller than being a scientist. Editing should mainly focus on findings and implications; a literature review and a method section are not always part of the final video but they can be developed in the companion written abstract when submitting to a conference or a journal. To develop the idea of emergent theorizing further, some videographers have drawn attention to the role of editing as a relational and political act (see Rokka/Hietanen 2018; Vannini 2015). Following this line of thought, Seregina (2018) points to the role of the audience in interpreting videographic research. Discussing the role of the audience in videography is not a novel idea. For example, Belk/Kozinets (2005) note that videography not only enables one to reach wider audiences, but also to stimulate enthusiasm, emotions and interest, helping audiences to empathize with the phenomenon in hand. Yet, as Rokka/Hietanen (2018) show, videography has the potential to engage audiences in powerful affective and reflexive encounters with the videographic screenings and researchers. From this perspective, audiences play a central role in theorizing as they become active co-creators of the video and its meaning (Seregina 2018). As Seregina explains, videography is a never-ending learning process for the audience and the researchers alike, as meanings exist ephemerally during the performance, and thus continuously develop and change. In this regard, videographic research becomes political, as it works to evoke reflexive thinking and action (Hietanen/Rokka 2018).

A number of videographic styles may be considered when editing the video. These include quick cuts, comedy, tragedy, 'voice of god' narration, emic narration, didactic instruction, and consumer research style (for more details, see Belk/Kozinets 2005). From a more practical perspective, Table 2 lists the major editing activities in a sequential order, while Box 4 illustrates how these activities have been implemented in the case of Decrop and Masset's research on tourist souvenirs.

Table 2 Sequence of the major editing activities

- Log and capture the audio-visual files you want to select for your film.
- Sort and sequence your material into a timeline. Select and edit scenes from the raw material (contextual elements, observational information and interview chunks). For all those steps, a storyboard or script may help a lot!
- Adding voiceovers. (Re-)write and record the narrative voice and adjust the length of the selected scenes.
- Add background music.
- Transition effects, for example, insert fades between two sequences or insert a few quotes from the literature to support your findings.
- Titles, intertitles, subtitles (when needed, for example, for translating some informants' verbatims) and credits.
- Fine tuning (adjust both scenes and sound).
- Exporting finished video.

In the researchers' views, videos should not be too long. A 20- to 30-minute-long video is probably a suitable format, if one keeps in mind that the video will be used for disseminating purposes and that viewers' attention span is limited.

Box 4 Video: Around the World of Tourist Souvenirs (Decrop/Masset 2015)

For the editing process, we used the 'iMovie' video-editing software. Once the basic commands of the software had been mastered by the two researchers, editing the video was actually quite easy, even though it was time-consuming.

Specifically, from the summarizing table and script, we selected and edited scenes in a timeline. In parallel, we prepared the English subtitles for all the testimonies and the English translations of interview quotes. We also wrote the text of the narrative voice and recorded it. Then, we added these elements into our film. To reinforce the storytelling power of our film, we also decided to use some material from the internet (YouTube videos or images) as illustrations and to add some background music. These secondary data were obviously mentioned in our sources at the end of film. Before the fine-tuning, we added some transition effects (for example, quotes from the literature, fades) and titles. Finally, we exported the final version of our film (which lasts 21 minutes) before broadcasting it.

4.5 Step 5: Broadcasting the video

In the same way authors need to publish their written papers, videographers need to broadcast their films. Of course, videography adds a number of features to this last step of the research process, when compared to papers published in journals or presented during conferences. These advantages relate to enhancing the control over the output, the addition of music or the possibility of producing a dramatic impact. One of the major advantages of video presentation is to give the audience not only a cognitive but a more emotional and 'resonant' knowledge of the experience (Belk 1998). Videography also generally increases interactive possibilities as well as the possibility of reaching broader audiences. Among the possible audiences, of course we would mention researchers who may be reached through add-ons to written papers published in journals (for example, Haanpää et al.'s 2019 paper on 'The disruptive other' in *Tourism Geographies*), special issues of journals (for example, the special issue of the *Journal of Marketing Management* on 'Screening marketing' in 2018) or a presentation in scientific conferences such as the ACR Film Festival, the EMAC, Consumer Culture Theory (CCT), the TTRA, ATMC, or the World Conference on Qualitative Research (see Box 5). Most of the time, submissions will be evaluated according to four major criteria: (1) their topical relation to some aspects of the research outlet; (2) the extension and/or modification of theory and/or theory-informed description; (3) their theatrical or dramatic qualities (that is, entertainment value); and (4) their production/technical values (Kozinets/Belk 2006). Films may also be very useful to support teaching students and to communicate research findings with companies and institutions, or to disseminate knowledge to the larger public. Final distribution considerations should include the video format (local access: DVD, USB key, CD-ROM, videotape and/or distributed access: internet streaming, TV broadcast) and of course the audience's expectations from the film. Belk suggests that (moving) images generally appear to be more real than mere words, which creates

both power and danger as videos may be engaged more passively and acceptingly than other types of presentation.

Box 5 Video: Around the World of Tourist Souvenirs (Decrop/Masset 2015)

Our video is available on the video-hosting platform 'Vimeo' (URL: https://vimeo.com/144092450; password: ATMC2015), which presents several advantages such as no file-size or duration limits up to the weekly or total storage limit, a free basic membership, and no ads before, during or after the videos. In addition, we have presented our film at several scientific conferences (ACR, AFM, ATMC, TTRA). It has also been very useful in supporting our teaching in courses such as consumer research or tourism marketing.

4.6 Ethical issues

Necessarily, filming human beings and private settings involves ethical and copyright issues. Before recording informants being interviewed, authors should explicitly request their informed consent (for example, through a signed agreement). In the same way, they should ask their permission to use their image in the video production afterwards. Individuals who could be identified in the foreground of the footage without having given their consent should have their faces obscured. In contrast, when filming in public spaces, copyright does not need to be secured (though rules depend on countries). Copyrighted material (music, films, pictures, postcards, etc.) that is used for the video should also be used with caution. These should be checked for use and diffusion rights. Whilst researchers might be concerned more specifically with ethical rights within their own countries, ethical rules apply regardless of the country of origin of the video, when videos are posted on international platforms. To avoid copyrights infringement, YouTube provides useful guidance on its website (https://www.youtube.com/yt/copyright/).

5 CONCLUSION

This article aimed to explore to what extent videos can be useful in tourism research as a new and richer instrument for presenting results with a strong story-telling power as well as a new research approach *per se* that can support theory-building. Benefiting from the history of video production in the main consumer-behaviour field, tourism researchers can cumulate useful knowledge on the advantages of using videography. This article also presents the five steps involved in the process of developing a video, which are illustrated through an example on tourist souvenirs. The authors hope that this article will contribute by increasing the use of videos in tourism research since the inherent characteristics of tourism experiences and settings legitimize even further the benefits of this visual technique. Beyond the rich and multi-dimensional content collected through filming, videos encourage researchers to 'go back to basics' and in the case investigated, videos bring a very interesting insight into what constitutes a daily experience for any tourists, expressed in its simplest and most intimate aspects.

5.1 Limitations of videography

Tourism researchers also need to be aware that engaging in videography may involve a number of drawbacks. First, perhaps the biggest limitation pertains to the effort and time that is needed to collect data and edit the film. The video analytical (coding, etc.) and production (editing, etc.) process is difficult and lengthy, when compared to other research approaches. Second, as a camera is obtrusive and pictures are 'sticky', the data-collection step might be more difficult with regard to finding places and events where the camera is allowed and informants who accept being filmed. Third, regarding video filming and editing skills, which few of us have, it is worth pointing out that contemporary software solutions are incredibly easy to use. However, filming skills are a key competence, often in short supply, which requires some training. This element is important since researchers do not want to disregard useful footage if their aesthetic or audio qualities have failed them. A last limitation involves the valuation of video research outputs in the scholar's curriculum. Unfortunately, although a growing number of conferences and journals now welcome video submissions, few institutions value visual productions at the same level as conventional paper outputs. For many, videography remains a complement to, and not a substitute for, traditional research methods: writing is still needed for making a successful academic career …

5.2 Future research

Based on the number of arguments developed above, we pledge tourism scholars to elaborate more video projects. Actually, videos could be used in other areas than just the consumer experience, for instance it might be a very interesting tool to investigate planning decisions and its effects, local inhabitants' perceptions of tourism developments, etc. Considering the multi-disciplinary dimension of tourism research, filmmaking can also provide a concrete tool through which various disciplines might communicate with each other even better.

Future research could also investigate the richness of non-verbal communication which includes cues about body language (kinesics), voice (paralanguage), distance (proxemics) and touch (haptic). Considering that the tourism experience is largely ineffable, non-verbal analysis of video content could bring a richer, more profound analysis of consumers' testimonies, especially when it comes to depicting their emotions. In 1967, Mehrabian/Ferris established that 7 per cent of the impact of communication comes from words, 31 per cent from voice tone and 55 per cent from non-verbal cues. The craze for emoticons in emails and phone-messaging is a typical illustration of this process. Scarles (2010: 83) also argues that 'silences tell us as much and at times more about how respondents are feeling. It is important then to provide space for gesture and expression through emotion and body language'. The scope and richness of videography as a research tool, and specifically in the tourism context, would benefit tremendously if non-verbal cues could also be analysed.

Finally, a new format of interactive videography could also be investigated. This could support user interaction and be even more immersive for the viewer. These videos could play like regular video files, but include clickable areas, or 'hotspots', that perform an action when you click on them. For example, when you click on a hotspot, the video could display information about the object you clicked on, jump to a different part of the video, or open another video file. A recent illustration is the webdocumentary *Tourist: L'expérience*, co-produced by the Belgian broadcaster RTBF (www.rtbf.be/tourist), which provides an immersive experience to learn better

about one's tourist profile and reflect upon one's expectations and behaviours in order to make them more sustainable.

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