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Framing the Riviera: Touristic Performances and Photography in Contemporary Cascais, Portugal

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1 Introduction

This chapter explores the dialectics between the gaze of tourists and their touristic performances in contemporary Cascais. Grounded on ethnographic fieldwork, it delivers an account of the socio-historical development of this Portuguese town as a touristic space, focusing on the ties that bind situated touristic experiences and photography. On this case study, we entered the field seeking an answer to the following research question: what is the link between tourists' performances in Cascais and photography's role in (re)forming this town's real and imagined touristic landscapes?

As a touristic space, Cascais is an important site to pinpoint the development of tourism in Portugal—particularly, seaside tourism. In turn,

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this social phenomenon has deeply shaped the imaginary of this town and its physical and human landscapes. And so, situated touristic performances were analysed considering how tourists are using and consuming photography as part of their embodied experiences in Cascais, thus seeking to shed light on the touristification process of this town's shoreline in a broader socio-historical context.

Following an inductive approach, the tourists' experience in Cascais was studied through their gazes in order to understand how these social actors link their situated touristic performances with the photographs that they've consumed and/or made as a part of visiting this town. And since photographs mirror its author's gaze (Edwards, 2022), we sought to comprehend the vision of the visitors who've made them as a part of understanding the embodied touristic performances they acted out in Cascais, and during which these were made. As such, participant observation and semi-structured interviews backed by photo-elicitation were conducted throughout the fieldwork. Plus, a field journal was maintained to register the ethnographer's—Eduardo Silva—impressions and perception regarding the milieu and also the touristic performances that he has experienced from within, from the gaze of the self while being a tourist.

Having employed an ethnographic approach sensible to the multi-scalar impact of tourism imaginaries (Salazar, 2012), we posit that tourists' imaginaries are rooted on their embodied situated experiences and thus, are (re)formed during the touristic performances through which they experience the site from, through and in-between photographs. Seeking to enrich the sociological study of touristic performances in urbanised coastal areas, we argue that photography promotes particular ways of seeing and of framing touristic spaces and, in turn, it also reveals novel and alternative models of imagining and celebrating the towns and cities of our everyday life.

Our chapter comprises the following sections: Ordering, Imaginaries and the Gaze in the Touristic Experience highlights the theoretical-empirical discussion of the main concepts deployed in the analysis that we've conducted; On the Touristification of a Coastal Town provides a socio-historical account on the development of tourism in Cascais; Methodology and Methods showcases the methodological framework mobilised in the making of the case study herein presented; Cascais as

a Touristic Space examines the institutional placement of this town as a tourist destination vis-à-vis the perception and impressions of those who've visited it in relation to photography.

2 Ordering, Imaginaries and the Gaze in the Touristic Experience

To approach the macro scale of tourism, we mobilised the concept of the tourism ordering (Franklin, 2004, 2008) to study the touristification of places through the (re)planning and promotion of its physical and human landscapes and of people as tourists. Concurrently, to grasp the “literal meaning” (Chalfen, 2011, p. 33) underlining tourists' visual perception and consumption of touristic spaces on the micro scale, we employed the concept of the tourist gaze (Urry & Larsen, 2011). And to understand the articulation of the touristic ordering of the ‘us’ as well as of the places in which we live in or that we want to visit and of the gaze that gradually (re)shapes an image of these as touristic spaces—the meso dimensions of tourism—we used the concept of the touristic imaginary (Amirou, 2007; Salazar, op. cit.).

Given the fluidity of the touristic imaginary and of “tourism as a doing” (Urry & Larsen, op. cit., p. 191), an embodied, situated touristic experience might solidify or shatter certain dimensions of an image once held by social actors of a place as a touristic space as it can be reinforced, validated, questioned and/or refuted throughout the trip. And considering, for instance, how the production of urban images is a conflictual process (e.g. the diversity of city images produced in the artistic field and by urban artists in particular and its disputed nature (Ferro, 2016)), the idea of “*the imagination as a social practice*” (Appadurai, 2005[1996], p. 31) becomes ever more valid.

As the photographs disseminated by tourism boards “stage scenes” (Scarles, 2004, p. 47) that potential tourists can imaginatively perform by projecting themselves onto these to act according to pre-designated roles, by using the photographic camera to document life in the ‘now’ (Edwards, op. cit.), the photographs tourists make when travelling will help them remember their trips later on. When we are on holidays, “*the*

[photographic] *apparatus sees on our behalf*” (Freund, 1989, p. 193)¹; nonetheless, we are the authors of the photographs that we make, as they are a product of our embodied, situated touristic performances. As such, the photographs tourists make might reproduce the imagery that they have consumed about a particular place before their trips as well as depart from it to reframe touristic spaces as such (Urry & Larsen, op. cit).

We highlight the usefulness of a theoretical framework attentive to the complex and dynamic nature of situated touristic performances to tackle the role of photography as an integral part of tourists’ experience in touristic spaces, but also across the social phenomenon that is tourism in its wholeness. Before getting to how these dimensions were framed by those who’ve visited Cascais, we will first approach the socio-historical development of the touristification process of this town.

3 On the Touristification of a Coastal Town

Cascais is a Portuguese coastal town located roughly 23 kms west of the capital city of Lisbon and 12 kms south of Sintra, an inland town recognized as a Cultural Landscape by UNESCO since the year 1995. Cascais is part of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, the largest out of the two metropolitan areas of the country of Portugal (Fig. 1), the other—smaller—one being Porto Metropolitan Area.

While geographically close to Lisbon, the municipality of Cascais has its own network of infrastructures (e.g., train station, commercial airfield, university) and a robust one at that when compared to larger Portuguese coastal cities and to most of the country’s inland cities. Furthermore, Cascais is the capital town of the municipality of Cascais, the third most populated municipality in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area according to the latest census data (Área Metropolitana de Lisboa, 2023), which is considered to be one of the “multiple cities” (Ferrão, 2004, as cited in Seixas, 2021, p. 26)² of that metropolitan territory. As a result of this, Cascais

¹ Translated from the original by the authors.

² Translated from the original by the authors.

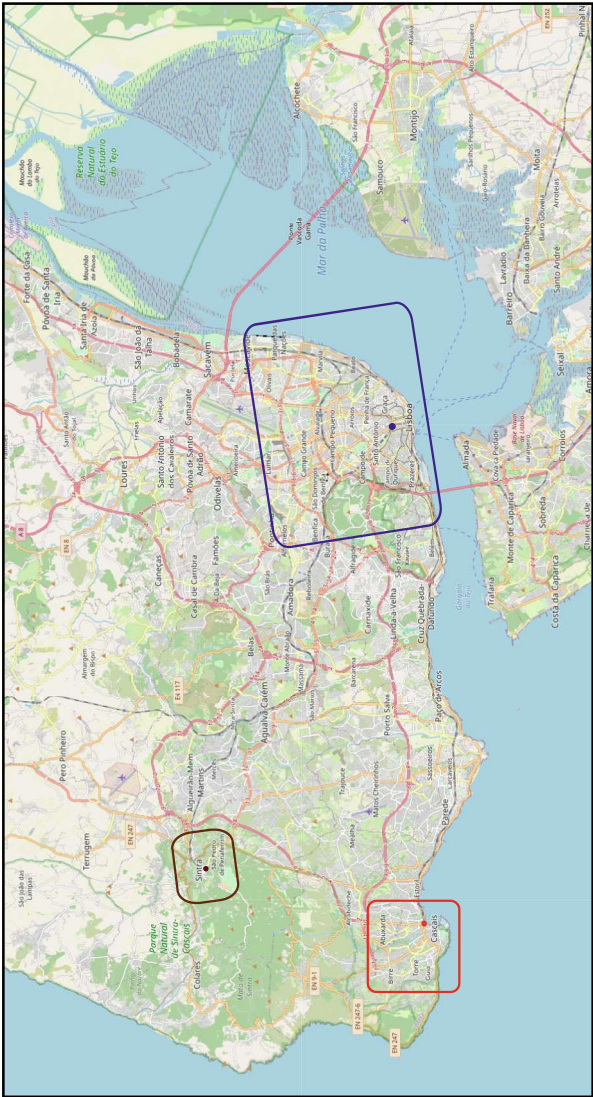


Fig. 1 Map of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area in which the town of Sintra is circled in brown and the city of Lisbon is circled in blue. | Source: Carta Administrativa Oficial de Portugal—CAOP2023 of the Direção-Geral do Território, licensed under CC BY 4.0 (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0>)

is permeated by significant daily commute dynamics in and around the town, which flow through its network of highways and railways, and also by international fluxes due to its marina and its nearby commercial airfield. But regardless of its current status as an urban littoral hub, to this day Cascais remains classified as a town due to institutional place-making logics. As phrased by former mayor of Cascais António Capucho, “the (de)promotion [of the town of Cascais] to city gives an image of a densely urbanised agglomerate, satellite and dormitory of the capital [Lisbon], with very different features of the town of Cascais and that we want to continue to maintain” (Público, 2010).³ In order to understand this statement, we need to delve further into the history of Cascais to pinpoint when and how it became a significant touristic hub, a status that the town still holds today as we will discuss in the following pages.

In the late nineteenth century, when the seaside had already become a place of bodily healing that evoked “visions of the sublime” (Corbin, 1994[1988], p. 61), the Citadel of Cascais became a centrepiece in the touristic ordering of the town: in the year 1870, the Portuguese royal family converted its governor’s house into a palace. And from that moment onwards, the Portuguese royalty would come to Cascais in the fall to bathe in the sea after spending the summer in Sintra, this being regarded as “the initiating moment of Portuguese tourism” (Costa, 2007, p. 5).⁴ Since then, Cascais has been thought of as the “town of the [Portuguese] *Court*” (Silva, 1988, p. 57),⁵ and today we can still find some streets surrounding its bay (e.g., D. Carlos I Avenue, D. Luís Promenade, Maria Pia Promenade) and also a beach (Praia da Rainha [Queen’s Beach, in English]) named after the social actors that have contributed to form this touristic imaginary.

Looking back to the mid-nineteenth century, the historian João Miguel Henriques (2014) claims that before Cascais became a well-known seaside resort, its growth as a human settlement was mainly

³ Translated from the original by the authors.

⁴ Translated from the original by the authors.

⁵ Translated from the original by the authors.

shaped by agriculture, stone masonry and fishing. Having been devastated by the earthquake that struck Portugal on the 1st of November of 1755, the same author (*Ibid.*) goes on to say that this event was transformative for Cascais as the roads linking this town to Sintra and to Oeiras—the latter of which extended itself into Lisbon—which were respectively concluded in the years 1868 and 1864 acquired a paramount importance. As these roads allowed visitors to come to Cascais for rest and relaxation, in turn this influx allowed the town to overcome the crisis that had set in the aftermath of the aforementioned earthquake that had devastated it a century earlier (*Ibid.*). And at the time, following the Portuguese royal family were the town's "first founders" with a resounding name, like the dukes of Palmela or the Duke of Ávila, who have built sumptuous houses on the best panorama points over the bay" (Briz, 2007, p. 263).⁶ However, this was not an isolated event as during the nineteenth century, the physical and human landscapes of coastal areas all over Europe were being shaped by members of the European royalty and the affluent elites of the time (*Ibid.*).

In just a few decades, practices associated with seaside leisure gained ground in Cascais, even if by the late nineteenth century one could still go to its beaches to witness "fishermen's boats and nets that, in a very Portuguese like fashion, were getting along with the white tents of the bathers" (Silva, *op. cit.*, p. 57).⁷ Concurrently, Cascais became a place to gamble on "social investiture" (Ortigão, 1876, p. 82),⁸ a cosmopolitan seaside resort where people that accumulated diverse capitals (e.g., social, cultural, economic) mingled.

By the turn of the twentieth century, Cascais came to be known along with the nearby localities of Estoril and Monte Estoril as the Portuguese Riviera (Henriques, *op. cit.*), akin to other seaside resorts found across Europe (e.g., Brighton (U.K.), Bad Doberan (Germany) and Biarritz (France)). And much like all the European seaside resorts that were accessible by train at the time, so has the inauguration of the railway connecting Cascais to Lisbon in the year 1895 allowed Lisbon dwellers

⁶ Translated from the original by the authors.

⁷ Translated from the original by the authors.

⁸ Translated from the original by the authors.

to leisurely commute to this coastal town (Matos, 2000), significantly cutting down travel times to and from the capital city of Portugal.

Fast-forwarding to the mid-1980s, the historian José d'Encarnação (1986) stated that the pleasant climate of the municipality of Cascais, the beauty of its natural landscape and its proximity to Lisbon were the three supporting pillars of its touristic development. And in pointing out that the “permanent or seasonal *fixation*” (Ibid., p. 64)⁹ in this territory predates the practice of tourism, he claimed that this was its fourth supporting pillar and the one which could become the most relevant in the future given the affordability of travel and the abundance of information regarding several possible destinations. It turns out that his foretelling was accurate: by the time we wrote this chapter, the homepage of the Visit Cascais website¹⁰ featured a photograph of Cascais placed below the claim ‘The best place to live a day, a week or a lifetime! Cascais’, whereas the claim previously shared by this destination marketing organisation was ‘The Charm of the Atlantic Coast’.¹¹ This promotional (re)branding signals a turn towards the active promotion of residential tourism as a pivotal axis of touristic experiences in Cascais, aligned with the current national touristic strategy outlined by Turismo de Portugal¹² of fulfilling the emergent asset of “LIVING—Living in Portugal” (2017, p. 49).¹³

As “[e]very city must ‘play itself’” (d'Eramo, 2021[2017], p. 85) to remain under the touristic limelight, Cascais is repositioning itself as a seaside tourist destination according to national trends of catering to digital nomads (Visit Cascais, 2021; Visit Portugal, n.d.) and to rising global trends of digitising the urban space (Seixas, op. cit.). Considering how tourists’ motivations are (re)shaping people and places and, in turn, (in)forming tourists’ gazes and their touristic imaginaries about spaces,

⁹ Translated from the original by the authors.

¹⁰ Visit Cascais is the destination marketing organization responsible for the international touristic promotion of the municipality of Cascais, and its website is available on: <https://www.visitcascais.com>.

¹¹ When we wrote this chapter, a use of this claim could still be found on the following website: <https://visitcascais.myshopify.com/en>.

¹² Turismo de Portugal is the Portuguese national tourism authority responsible for the promotion of Portugal as a tourist destination.

¹³ Translated from the original by the authors.

we'll discuss how tourism in Cascais was approached as an object of study. Furthermore, we will discuss how our methodological framework shaped the data collection process and the analysis of how photography intertwines with situated touristic performances in this coastal town.

4 Methodology and Methods

To address our research question, we mobilised a qualitative approach rooted on the constructivist grounded theory proposal (Charmaz, 2006). This combines a constructivist worldview (Creswell, 2014) that centres the perspective and meanings carried by social actors—including those of the ethnographer—regarding the object of study in the body of the research with the logics of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 2006[1967]) to generate theory grounded on the diversity of the data gathered on the field.

Seeing that we can better understand the logics of tourism when we get tourists to discuss their situated experiences at several stages of their trips (Andrews, 2017), ethnography was employed to grasp the dialectic between situated touristic performances and photography. Fieldwork was conducted intermittently in and around the shoreline of Cascais from the peak of summer of the year 2022 to the late fall of the year 2023. We aimed to grasp the everyday touristic life of this coastal town at different times of the day, in different seasons of the year, and under different seasonal and weather conditions.

The notion that “participant observation is for observers to become tourists among tourists” (Graburn, 2002, p. 25) is straightforward: we can reach a deeper understanding of tourism as a social practice once we immerse ourselves on the field and take part in it. In turn, as this understanding stems from a long-term stay on the field that also makes us confront our own prejudices regarding the operating logics of our object of study (Adams, 2012), participant observation as it was employed also encompasses the insights harnessed through the ethnographer's situated touristic performances. As part of the participant observation that was carried out, the all-too common practice of visiting a place while ‘being a tourist’ was used as a multisensory technique (Vidal, 2014) as

well, in order to unpack situated touristic orderings and imaginaries by way of embodied, first-hand in situ experiences.

To understand how tourism is practised in Cascais and the underlining meanings that social actors attribute to how photography played into their experience and in thinking about this town as a touristic space, ten semi-structured interviews were conducted with tourists of legal age during the fieldwork following a purposive sampling. All these interviews were the result of serendipitous encounters on the field facilitated by the ethnographic method, namely by “[h]anging around” (Bryman, 2012[2001], p. 438) in different sites along the shoreline of Cascais. Following this method, diverse visitors were approached and probed regarding their availability and willingness to speak about their visit to the town in relation to the photographs they had made and consumed in preparation for it. Those who agreed to participate in the research (Table 1) were then interviewed, some of which during their visit to Cascais and others afterwards, using the Zoom software.

Even though an interview script with topics aligned with our object of study was mobilised, we let our interviewees “speak openly” (Quivy & Campenhoudt, 2003[1995], p. 192)¹⁴ to preserve the upmost spontaneity of the social interaction, even during scheduled conversations. Furthermore, all interviews were normally preceded and/or followed by a walk along the town to witness the interviewees’ situated touristic performances by way of being present alongside them during their visit on the streets of Cascais. On these instances, the ethnographer—a Caucasian Portuguese male—would play the role of ‘the guide’,¹⁵ sharing local facts with his touristic audience in exchange for their time and company while sharing with them the performance of tourism. Informed consent for participating in the research as well as to obtain the rights to publish any data collected in the interviews was gathered from all individuals who agreed to become research participants. Additionally, conversations with privileged informants were held to grasp the everyday life of touristic

¹⁴ Translated from the original by the authors.

¹⁵ During these walks along Cascais, the ethnographer had tourists calling him their ‘guide’, a title he would promptly decline stating that instead he was merely ‘someone that’s been around the block’, and offering him money for having kept them company on said walks, which he refused to accept on every occasion.

Table 1 Characterization of the sample of all visitors interviewed as part of the fieldwork that was conducted in Cascais between the summer of 2022 and the fall of 2023

Date of the interview	Age	Sex	Nationality	Occupation	Site of the interview	Traveling with... ?
15th of September of 2022	60	Male	Brazilian	Post office worker	Online (via Zoom)	Alone
13th of October of 2022	65	Female	Brazilian	Pedagogue (retired)	Online (via Zoom)	Alone
17th of December of 2022	55	Male	Brazilian	Federal public servant	Online (via Zoom)	A friend he met on the tour bus
17th of February of 2023	28	Male	Spanish	Photographer and videographer	Downtown Cascais	Alone
19th of February of 2023	29	Female	Albanian	PhD student (Pharmaceutics)	Online (via Zoom)	As a couple
	26	Male	German	Financial consultant		
14th of March of 2023	65	Male	Brazilian	Teacher (retired)	Downtown Cascais	As a couple
	55	Female	Brazilian	Teacher (retired)		
17th of March of 2023	53	Male	Polish	Agricultural engineer	On the outskirts of Cascais	Alone
21th of March of 2023	23	Female	Portuguese	Student (Forensic sciences)	Online (via Zoom)	As a couple
	22	Male	Portuguese	Nurse		

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

Date of the interview	Age	Sex	Nationality	Occupation	Site of the interview	Traveling with... ?
7th of September of 2023	34	Male	German	Working in IT	Near Boca do Inferno	Alone
16th of September of 2023	24	Male	Brazilian	Working in a supermarket	On the train going from Cascais to Lisbon	Alone

Source: the authors

Cascais from the eyes of locals and a field journal was maintained to register relevant impressions about the fieldwork that was conducted.

Having focused on the performative role of holiday photography (Urry & Larsen, *op. cit.*) as a dimension of our object of study, we have also tested its uses and usefulness as a technique of ethnography. From the get-go, we considered that the photographic camera could be a useful icebreaker in the course of the fieldwork to approach tourists and to be approached by them (Yeh, 2009). This strategy proved fruitful: the research-made photographs unlocked new venues and leads of research through the use of the technique of photo-elicitation (Harper, 1988). Besides research-made photographs, photographs used by municipal, regional and national Portuguese tourism boards to promote Cascais as a tourist destination were also sourced from institutional and personal archives, as well as from used book stores, to be used while interacting with research participants. Those visual materials were then inserted in social interactions along with participant-made photographs whenever the opportunity to discuss these materials was pertinent (e.g., pinpointing sites where research participants had been to when they visited Cascais, or grasping the underlining meanings of a specific photograph they had made while they were in the town).

We will not delve into the usefulness of photography as a method for social research as our *de facto* object of study is the subjective and symbolic meanings that those who have visited Cascais attribute to this town as a touristic space. And in subscribing to the notion that “visual social sciences are less about camera use and more about looking and seeing, watching, and being observed” (Chalfen, *op. cit.*, p. 41), we will unpack the site-specific meanings that those who have visited Cascais hold of this town and their links with the photographs that they have consumed and made as a part of their holidays therein. Also, how Cascais is framed as a touristic space vis-à-vis the micro (the town) and the macro (the Lisbon Metropolitan Area) scales of its social reality was also explored on this case study.

5 Cascais as a Touristic Space

As we plan our holidays, looking at photographs that portray our destination(s)—which we can find available in diverse outlets (e.g., brochures, social media platforms, a personal friend's archive)—can be useful for us to form an idea of a place(s), or rather a touristic imaginary that will assist in guiding us (Gravari-Barbas & Graburn, 2012) in situ. In an interview to a couple (she [29 y.o. Female Albanian PhD student (pharmaceutics)] and he [26 y.o. Male German financial consultant]) that have visited Cascais in the summer of 2022, this common place was discussed by them as the starting point of their trip:

“she: [...] [F]or both, it was our first time in Portugal.

he: [...] [S]he wanted to go to Lisbon, the city, and stay there all the time [of our holidays], and I wanted something more relaxed, at the beach. So, we compromised and stayed the first few days at the beach in Cascais, and [she] just was searching up nice places, and we looked at some pictures [of Cascais] and we were like ‘yeah, that looks like amazing, let’s just go there’. [...] I enjoyed the weather as well a lot, and... I don’t know if urban is the right word here, but the, like, rural, kind of... it wasn’t, like, a big... city, all of beton [German word from concrete], like for example Frankfurt—you know, with high buildings? It was like, really... beautiful, like a small...

she: Like, homey.

he: ... kind of a village-almost city, like, something in between. There were places where a lot of people were roaming around, and just... a lot of nice things you could try out, especially if you’ve never had... like, overlapped with the Portuguese culture. [...] I wanted to go somewhere more rural, where we could meet some...

she: You could have more contact with locals, you know? [...] Because in Lisbon, we kind of also felt that you could barely hear Portuguese in the restaurants or bars because they were all tourists, and we didn’t really feel the same thing as with Cascais, later on” (Interview conducted by Eduardo Silva | Zoom, 19th of February of 2023).

It has already been mentioned that Cascais is an urban littoral hub permeated by significant dynamics of place-making and commuting,

being also the capital town of the third most populated municipality in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. However, and in spite of its metropolitan scale, the aforementioned couple resorted to familiar frames of reference (e.g., the city of Frankfurt) to talk about the scale of the urban landscape of Cascais and the pace of its everyday dynamics, finding it to be devoid of the rush usually associated with large cities and metropolises (Simmel, 1997[1903]).

In line with these impressions, they further talked about how their visit to Cascais brought them opportunities to come into contact with Portuguese culture, which was something that they found lacking from their holidays in Portugal after they departed from the town to stay in Lisbon. Having embodied a collective gaze (Urry & Larsen, op. cit.) while visiting Cascais, they spoke about how they relished the opportunity they have had of contacting with Portuguese people in Cascais as opposed to constantly being around tourists, as it occurred to them when they were in Lisbon.

Given the emergence of “the desire of tourists to *live like a local*” (World Tourism Organization, 2018, p. 79), Visit Cascais has also begun to invite visitors to “[g]et to know the people” (n.d.) of the town, as they are a part of its immaterial culture. However, as the everyday life of places is marketed in the same way as its natural landscapes are (e.g., sunny beaches with a warm climate), the expectation that these places live a life which unfolds beyond touristic expectations must be set (Joaquim, 2015).

While experiencing places ‘like a local’ is a quaint notion, it is also one that glosses over the multisensory complexity of their everyday life dynamics and how these may impact tourists and their in situ experience. During the aforesaid interview, the couple mentioned having both entertained and dismissed opportunities to come into contact with the everyday life of Cascais on different stages of their visit to the town:

“she: We did saw this (see Fig. 2), but we didn’t stay there for the beach.

We kind of walked more on... I don’t know if it was east or west—west, maybe? And it was, like, a smaller beach [Praia da Rainha], not so open [...] I guess we wanted something a bit more... more intimate

[...]” (Interview conducted by Eduardo Silva | Zoom, 19th of February of 2023).

Even though “[o]ther people give atmosphere to a place” (Urry, 1995, as cited in D’Eramo, *op. cit.*, p. 48), who they are, what they are doing, who we are with and what we seek at a particular moment during our holidays might lead to a celebration—or not—of the opportunities that the urbanity of the touristic space brings us. And even if the everyday life of Cascais is not rattled by the rush that we witness in a capital city like Lisbon, it nevertheless has its own degrees of commotion (e.g., traffic jams and peak times in public transportation as well as in commercial establishments). Furthermore, as it is a touristic coastal town graced with a pleasant climate all year round, it is prone to receive significant flows of tourists moving in and around its shoreline, especially during the seasonal summer holiday months.

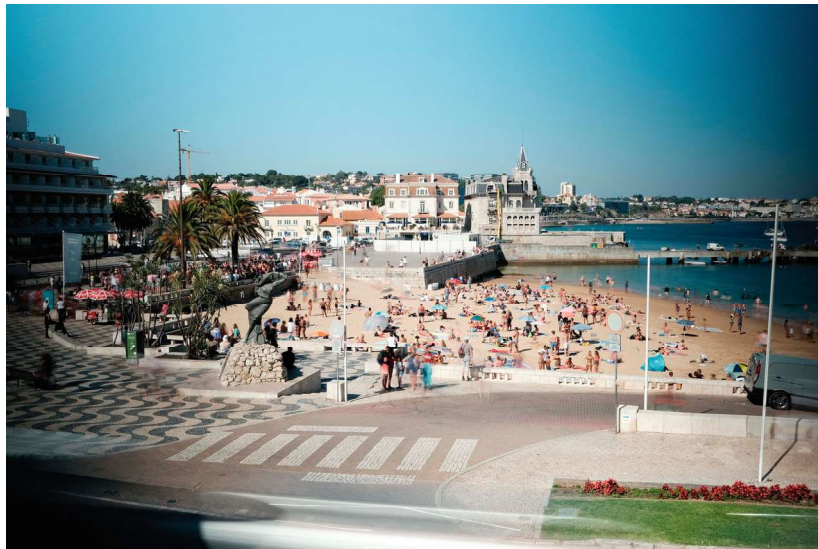


Fig. 2 Praia da Ribeira [Creek Beach, in English], one of the three beaches that can be found in the town of Cascais—apart from Praia da Rainha and Praia da Conceição [Conceição’s Beach, in English]—on a hot and sunny, weekday summer afternoon. Cascais, 10th of August of 2022. | Source: Eduardo Silva

Having visited Cascais in the month of August, the aforementioned couple also embodied a romantic gaze (Urry & Larsen, op. cit.) when they sought a beach—their primary motivation to go to the town—that was displaced from the commotion of this town in which they would be able to, albeit momentarily, enjoy their touristic experience more privately. In acting upon the imaginary that they had formed of Cascais as a touristic space before visiting this town—to which photography played a noteworthy role—through their embodied, situated performances they went beyond its thresholds:

“she: [...] [T]here were, like, usually websites with... little lists, of where you could go, and this [Cascais] was, like, one of the places that was most mentioned... and I also saw the pictures. And, in comparison to other places that we could have gone for, like, a beach day and stuff like that, I felt like this was also kind of... prettier [...] also, I felt like it was less crowded. Like, the other beaches were also, like—because they were closer to Lisbon, and I guess more people were going there as well [...]. This was also closer to Lisbon, we didn’t want to go too far away. [...]

he: But I think it’s like, the *eintrittszeit* [German word for entry time] that matters. So, not what you think beforehand but what actually, how the place is, you know? And that’s why I got a really nice picture of it [Cascais] as well. Because, we... everybody we talked to was really nice, and there were amazing places, like, especially within the streets” (Interview conducted by Eduardo Silva | Zoom, 19th of February of 2023).

The lists that this couple had browsed through online and the photographs that they saw brought them to Cascais. And once they arrived to this town and began to experience it, their motivations and touristic performances evolved according to their impressions and perception of it, beyond the knowledge that they had derived of it from the image that they had formed of Cascais as a touristic space. That is, beyond the perception they had of Cascais as being a laidback and conveniently located coastal town—close to Lisbon, but not so much—where

they could spend a couple of days before returning to the city where the “dromocratic regime” (Pais, 2015[2010], p. 77)¹⁶ reigns supreme.

How much or how little we know about a touristic place and how we perceive it dictates what we think about it and, in turn, how we experience it as such. This constant renewal of our gaze occurs in our touristic imaginary, which can be thought of as a “transitional space” (Amirou, op. cit., 93)¹⁷ between ‘us’ and everything that is ‘outside of us’ that is cumulatively being (re)formed through embodied experiences. By experiencing Cascais first-hand, the aforementioned couple learned that the everyday life of this town encompasses rush hours and also opportunities for conviviality with locals. And thus, they began to act accordingly, seeking both privacy as a couple as well as to connect with others as their stay in the town went on. Furthermore, they also began to confront the image that they had previously formed of Cascais and to build upon it, and in doing so, they began to imagine the town beyond how they saw it portrayed in photographs.

Let us now move from discussing how consumed photography informs social actors on their holidays to discuss the role photography plays as something that is practised while being a tourist. We know that the photographic camera is commonly used as *aide-mémoire* to bring home souvenirs (photographs) from a trip for future memory purposes. Such was also the case with the aforementioned couple, as they shared with the ethnographer during a walk along Cascais in which they embarked upon while visiting the town in the summer of 2022:

“As we were leaving Boca do Inferno,¹⁸ she decides to make a stop on the cross fixed next to the outer left facet of the gift shop—in the old days, a shipwreck aid station—to make a photograph of them both [she and he] together, using her smartphone. As she smiles for the photographic

¹⁶ Translated from the original by the authors.

¹⁷ Translated from the original by the authors.

¹⁸ Boca do Inferno—Hell’s Mouth in English—is a coastal geomorphological formation that lies roughly 1.5 km away from the centre of Cascais. It features an archway through which the oceanic waves enter and a number of viewpoints from which to gaze at this spectacle. Being one of the touristic hotspots of Cascais, it is also a place known for some people having lost their lives there, accidentally or otherwise, over the years.

camera, he leans on the cross [...]. He does not use social media platforms and he does not like to be portrayed in photographs [...] but he feels compelled to make photographs of his holidays, which he will later show to his family. [...] They told me the photographs they do while on holidays were meant mostly for self-consumption, as souvenirs of their holidays together. [...] [S]he has a profile on some social media platforms, but says that in her personal account she does not share a lot of information about her personal life. However, she has a private group on a social media platform in which she shares videos and images of her life with some of her friends [...]" (Eduardo Silva's field journal excerpt, 24th of August of 2022).

This couple's performance for the photographic camera next to the aforementioned cross, in which they both have their backs turned to Boca do Inferno, "undermines orthodox notions about how the attraction should be gazed upon romantically and beheld with intense seriousness" (Edensor, 2000, p. 337). Furthermore, by presenting themselves to look as if they were 'having a good time' while being on holidays signals the role photography plays in supporting the theatricality of our interpersonal relations (Haldrup & Larsen, 2006), however unnatural these moments might be. And so, this couple went out of their way while visiting Cascais to make some photographs for their family and friends, which not only portray "the world through *their* eyes" (Urry & Larsen, op. cit., p. 172) but also themselves as a part of that world which they have portrayed.

To include oneself in a photograph can also be a claim regarding placeness:

"[...] [A]s to the photos, I like to register! Both the place where I'm at... and I like to include myself in it (laughs). I don't like to do a lot of photography like, just of the visual [the landscape of the place] no, because I think that for me to make a photograph of the visual I have to say something about that place... do you understand? [...] Although I think [Cascais] it's wonderful and beautiful. But I've already proven that I'm included in that there, right? (laughs)" (Interview conducted by

Eduardo Silva to 65 y.o. Female Brazilian retired pedagogue | Zoom, 13th of October of 2022)¹⁹

By doing photography, this Brazilian tourist exercises power over the places that she visits. And when she went to Cascais in the summer of 2022, she included herself in most of the photographs that she has made during that visit—some were made by the ethnographer, following her requests—to assert her presence in the town, and also to gather visual proofs (Urry & Larsen, op. cit.) of having visited it. Likewise, a German traveller²⁰ that the ethnographer has met in the following summer also expressed during their walk along the shoreline of Cascais the desire to be photographed so that he could return home with a proof that he had been there, in that town. But it became clear that the need expressed by this German traveller to bring home photographic proofs of his trip to Portugal—and his failure to do so thus far—was because of how immersed he was in using photography while on holidays:

“Basically, I use my camera to... like, when I’m on vacation, to explore. This is what keeps my driving [pointing to his photographic camera] [...] I feel like people in—normally—in their daily life, they have this tunnel vision and they don’t really see what’s going on outside of them, and I feel like having this camera around me makes me observe me, see more, appreciate little things more” (Interview conducted by Eduardo Silva to a 34 y.o. Male German) working in IT | Near Boca do Inferno, 7th of September of 2023).

Visiting Cascais on a schedule free from the constraints of a working daily life, the aforecited traveller demarcated himself from the “habitual passersby” (Pais, op. cit., p. 73)²¹ of this town as he could observe their milieu with the heightened sense of vision that his holiday schedule

¹⁹ Translated from the original by Eduardo Silva.

²⁰ As part of the interviews that were conducted with visitors to Cascais, these social actors were asked if they considered themselves to be tourists or travellers and thus, appear identified in the text according with the answer that they’ve provided to that question.

²¹ Translated from the original by the authors.

brings him. But if photography is the driving force behind this traveller's curiosity, it has also exercised over him a demanding force (Urry & Larsen, *op. cit.*) during his visit to Cascais:

"[...] [W]e went up to Boca do Inferno where, again, someone asked us for help to make a photograph of them—in this case, two Female tourists (North-American, from their accent) and their Female Portuguese guide/tuk-tuk driver. The German traveller immediately pointed at me saying that 'I have to take a picture' [with his photographic camera aimed at Boca do Inferno] without facing the person who has asked us to do it [the Portuguese woman], as I readily accepted their plea to photograph them" (Eduardo Silva's field journal excerpt, 7th of September of 2023).

As the ethnographer was more than happy to photograph the aforementioned trio, one can wonder if this performance would have unfolded any differently had the German traveller been left alone to reply to their request. Leaving speculation outside of our reasoning, this episode proves that "photographic conversations shape the way photos are taken" (Yeh, *op. cit.*, p. 204) and also that the photographs that we do while on holidays need not fulfil anyone's expectations beyond ours. Being photographs something that is consumed as a part of doing tourism, we will now approach their plurality of uses considering their reception. The photographs that we do while on holidays, however naïf [naive] they may be, can be valuable to inform others about the image of places as touristic spaces, but also to inform ourselves as we are always filling the role of prospective, future tourists:

"[...] [T]hat recovery of those moments, through photography, it plays out like that: 'Well, how do I want to remember Cascais?', for instance. As I've told you, I'm planning to go [to Cascais again]. Then, I'll grab—I've done that once before—then, when it gets closer to the trip, since my wife will be coming with me that time around, then I'll show her the photographs [...]. So [photography] it also ends up, besides a souvenir, it ends up serving as a reference in those situations as well, in which I know or I knew—I lived—and then, there's the photographic registry, and she will... I'll share that experience with her, which she didn't have"

(Interview conducted by Eduardo Silva to a 55 y.o. male Brazilian federal civil servant | Zoom, 17th of December of 2022).²²

Photographs can be mementos brought back from an embodied touristic experience (Haldrup & Larsen, 2010) abroad, in this case to be used as visual cues to support the oral accounts of this Brazilian tourist about the time he has visited Cascais in the summer of 2022. On the one hand, his photographs allow him to remember this visit to Cascais and to frame it more clearly to someone who has not shared that experience with him; on the other hand, his photographs also set the visual tone for a follow-up trip to Cascais that he was planning for at the time of the interview, which would include his wife.

In spite of our intentions when making the photographs that we bring home from our holidays, these can be used in a multitude of ways depending on whom they reach and how and why, in turn, these observers use them for. As our photographs now have a global reach thanks to instant communication devices and to social media platforms in which the emergence of the use of native content²³ by tourism boards as part of their promotional endeavours²⁴ is ever more present, how may these serve other tourists visiting or wanting to visit Cascais?

“Today, I met a British tourist (probably in her mid-30s) that had done a road trip across Portugal, and on the last day of her holidays in the country she took advantage of the fact that she was staying in Lisbon to catch a train and visit Cascais for the first time. Walking together from the Stationed Pier to the west side of Praia da Ribeira, she told me that prior to her visit to Cascais she saw some photographs of the town and of the Santa Marta Lighthouse on the internet and on social media platforms, favouring the latter outlet because the photographs uploaded by other visitors provided her a more updated view of how the place looked like

²² Translated from the original by Eduardo Silva.

²³ Native content relates to user-generated advertisements on social media platforms designed in a way as to emulate, as closely as possible, a regular post.

²⁴ Not unlike other regional and municipal Portuguese tourism boards, Visit Cascais regularly shares photographs and videos made by tourists during their visit(s) to the town on its *Instagram* profile.

in the present” (Eduardo Silva’s field journal excerpt, 11th of August of 2022).

For this British tourist, the photographs that were shared on social media platforms by past tourists in Cascais were useful to her before visiting the town because of their immediacy. Seeing said photographs shared on social media platforms as a way of “sharing eyes” (Jurgenson, 2020[2019], p. 84), through these she was able to acquire an idea of how the town looked like at in a time closer to that of her visit instead of how it appears portrayed in photographs that had been made a long time ago.

Besides showcasing one of the possible uses that our holiday photographs can have for other tourists, this account also approaches how these are being inscribed in a massive, worldwide photographic corpus that is being built on the go. And this is happening as part of the effects that the mediatization of our everyday life is having on tourism (Cohen & Cohen, 2012) vis-à-vis the dissemination of tourism and of photography as mass social practices.

6 Closing Remarks

Seeking to contribute to the sociological study of tourism in urbanised coastal areas, we chose to study Cascais due to its significance for the emergence of seaside tourism in Portugal and to the role this social phenomenon played in the ordering of this coastal town. Focusing on how tourists frame photography as a part of their multistaged experience of Cascais, their impressions and perception calls attention to the multiscalar relevance of this media when first learning about the town, throughout their visit to it and also later on, once they are back home, as a way to reminisce about a lived past.

Tourists make photographs driven by a plethora of reasons (e.g., curiosity, necessity, affirmation of self), but the main conduit linking all holiday photographs seems to be safeguarding personal memories, either shared with someone or lived alone. And if “[p]hotographic performances are always *more-than-just* representational” (Urry & Larsen, op. cit., p. 209) then holiday photographs are not simply souvenirs that we

either keep away from or share with others, but also windows through which we can understand the logics of an individualised, situated embodied experience of a place as a touristic space.

We mentioned the extent to which tourists' photographs are nowadays shared by tourism boards on their social media profiles along with commissioned photographs, in order to fulfil institutional strategies of (re)imagining touristic spaces according to current logics of mediatization. This topic merits further research. Albeit an analysis on the value of tourist-generated photography regarding its use on social media platforms by and to target tourists is outside the scope of our chapter, it appears as though these can, such as the photographs commissioned by tourism boards, enhance "how tourists 'see' touristic spaces" (Scarles, *op. cit.*, p. 46). As virtual windows, photographs showcase the possibilities for diverse on site experiences and how places look like on the surface.

However, the photographs that tourists make in and about the places that they visit can earn "an extra—a more real—quality" (Davin, 2005, p. 174) in the eyes of other tourists due to their immediacy. In resorting to and/or in contributing to this photographic corpus, tourists are breaking the frame of the photography commissioned by destination marketing organisations through their in situ experiences, in turn questioning the notion of the tourist as a mere observer altogether (Cohen & Cohen, 2019).

The photographic camera can be perceived as a barrier between the tourist and the experience he/she is photographing (Urry & Larsen, *op. cit.*). Conversely, doing photography while being a tourist is a multisensory performance (*Ibid.*), one which is permeated by objective (how we move through and occupy the place(s) that we visit) and subjective components (how we feel and think about the place(s) that we visit).

Shedding light on the link between tourists' performances in Cascais and photography's role in (re)forming this town's real and imagined touristic landscapes, it is evident that photography cannot convey, in and of itself, the multisensory immersion that the holidays brought to those who have experienced them to potential observers. But such as "our mode of existence isn't imposed onto us from the outside" (Simmel,

op. cit., p. 41)²⁵ so do the photographs that we do while on holidays come from inner drives that are aligned with a particular perspective of the world in which we live in, and in which we are occasionally tourists.

Throughout this chapter, we have demonstrated that by unpacking how photography intertwines with situated touristic experiences as well as with prospective, imagined ones articulating both local and global scales, we could grasp how tourists are increasingly (re)forming an image of places on the go.

Whether we celebrate sites as places of seaside romantic relaxation, flânerie, or escape from the urban rush, by framing the photographs that are made and/or consumed during a situated touristic experience as an integral part of it allows us to not only uncover deeper meanings fixed to touristic spaces from the visitors' gaze, but also to espouse the inner workings linking photography to tourism and tourists.

7 Competing Interests

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²⁵ Translated from the original by the authors.

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