"Who Has Time for That?"
Understanding Media Use Among Conservation Photographers

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Although the environmental movement uses photographs and other visual material as part of its social change strategies, less is known about the professional content creators who attempt to use their professional skills for the movement's benefit. This research examines Internet use among conservation photographers who must manage the tensions between their professional roles and their roles as advocates as they integrate Internet technologies into their work. The findings suggest that Internet use varies based on (1) the photographers' relationships with traditional media, (2) how they see technology relating to building community, and (3) their strategies for bringing about social change. I present implications for environmental communication, new media, and social movements.

Keywords: Internet, resistance, photography, activism, environment, creative industry

Introduction

In prominent photographer Alex Wild's (2014) online essay, "Bugging Out: How Rampant Online Piracy Squashed One Insect Photographer," Wild outlines his battle with online copyright infringement and explains that it has led him to step away from his career as a photographer. He states:

> Copyright infringement for most artists is death by a thousand paper cuts. One $100 infringement here and there is harmless enough. But they add up. . . . At some point, the vanishing proportion of content users who license content legally will turn professional creative artists into little more than charity cases, dependent only on the goodwill of those who pity artists enough to toss some change their way. (para. 25)

Wild's battle highlights just one of many challenges professional photographers face today, in part because of widespread online technology, as our society has transitioned from an industrial information

environment to a networked information environment (Benkler, 2006). Although Internet technologies are often portrayed as revolutionary tools in various realms, using them can be challenging for individuals who depend on media for their employment as well as their social movement endeavors.

This study focuses on conservation photographers, or photographers who focus their work on communicating about environmental issues. The photographers are associated with the International League of Conservation Photographers (iLCP), an organization that coordinates expeditions with conservation photographers and conservation organizations. This group of photographers is an ideal case to study how individuals relate to emerging technologies as they balance their roles as professionals and advocates pursuing social change. In this study, I analyze how conservation photographers manage these two roles by examining photographers' media practices while they navigate their transforming media environment.

Drawing from interview data from 33 conservation photographers, I describe the process by which conservation photographers negotiate the use of online technologies in their work. I use the concept of media resistance to study the complexities surrounding the practices of conservation photographers. This study extends our understanding of media resistance by suggesting that this practice is selective and variable and best understood as a complicated continuum rather than a dichotomy of users and nonusers (Wyatt, Thomas, & Terranova, 2002).

There is variation in how conservation photographers relate to online technologies. I find that occupational identity shapes media practices of conservation photographers; those whose careers are constructed around using one form of media (photography) can have challenges using online media. The photographers strive to negotiate between their professional roles and more activist-oriented roles as they use online technologies. Photographers' understanding of how media work influences their media practices and their relationships to online technologies. I find three factors that influence how photographers' relate to online technologies: (1) their relationship to traditional media, (2) their understandings of how technology impacts society, and (3) models of social change. As revealed in previous studies of professionals in creative industries, such as musicians (Baym & Burnett, 2009), photographers are challenged with concerns about digital labor, presenting mediated online personae (Marwick & boyd, 2011) as well as issues surrounding copyright and product ownership. Conservation photographers are faced with changing work processes (Castells, 2010), including pressures to engage in self-promotion and manage product distribution.

Next, I outline relevant scholarship in the areas of the networked information age, media use and the environmental movement, and media resistance. I review my data and methods before turning to my findings. I end with a discussion of the findings in relation to environmental communication, new media, and social movement scholarship.

The Networked Information Age

Our society has transitioned from an industrial information environment to a networked information environment (Benkler, 2006). Scholars and practitioners describe this new society as a "post-

Fordism, post-industrialization, network society, liquid modernity, information society, 'new economy,' 'new capitalism,' and risk society" (Gill & Pratt, 2008, p. 2). The economy centers on information and cultural production (Benkler, 2006). Benkler (2006) contends, "A series of changes in the technologies, economic organization, and social practices of production . . . has created new opportunities for how we make and exchange information, knowledge, and culture" (p. 2).

The transition to a networked society has led to a more participatory culture, which includes a hybrid model of information circulation. In addition to traditional top-down distribution models, information also comes from bottom-up sources (Jenkins, Ford, & Green, 2013). Benkler (2006) explains, "The various formats of the networked public sphere provide anyone with an outlet to speak, to inquire, to investigate, without need to access the resources of a major media organization" (p. 11). It is easy for many people to be broadcasters using laptops and smart phones in conjunction with Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube (DeLuca, Sun, & Peeples, 2011).

There is also an expanding creative class. The creative class includes "people in science and engineering, architecture and design, education, arts, music and entertainment whose economic function is to create new ideas, new technology, and new creative content" (Florida, 2014, p. 8). Marshall (2011) also highlights the creative industry as particularly impacted by these changes in society: "The traditional forms of television, film, newspapers, magazines and radio are presenting different and extended patterns of distribution, decidedly new formations and deadlines for the production of material, clearly shifted techniques for generating income" (p. 406). Castells contends that, in the current labor environment, it is hard to determine how to win or lose. He explains, "Skills were not enough, since the process of technological change accelerated its pace, constantly superseding the definition of appropriate skills" (Castells, 2010, p. 302).

Conservation photographers find themselves in the midst of this changing environment. It can be difficult for them to successfully navigate their rapidly changing production and distribution environments as the photographers find that information technologies continue to redefine their work processes (Castells, 2010). Photographers face an era of social production, in which production is often done collaboratively, without individual or group ownership, and is often not financially motivated (Benkler, 2006). Work is presented as "precarious, flexible, immaterial, service-oriented…and often tied to the management of one's own and others' emotions" (Baym, 2015, p. 15). The rise of services, such as iStockphoto, that enable amateur photographers to sell their photographs, has been market changing for professional photographers (Shirky, 2008). Traditional media outlets, such as newspapers and *National Geographic*, are transforming their models or disappearing altogether. Freelance photography opportunities have diminished as traditional media outlets have greatly reduced their travel budgets for such work. Reflecting the shifting conditions of work and compensation photographers now face, photographer Ted Wood, who often works for *National Geographic* and *Smithsonian*, looks to foundations and other sources for financial support rather than traditional media outlets (Boykoff & Yulsman, 2013).

Conservation photographers' advocacy roles add another challenge. Anyone with resources and abilities can take pictures and upload them to online audiences using digital cameras and even mobile devices. The proliferation of Web 2.0 technology introduces online user-generated content. Mobile

applications such as Instagram, with various filters and photographic manipulation capabilities, have created an entire class of amateur photographers (Shirky, 2008). This could be a way for laypeople to become involved in documenting environmental issues, considered a win by many involved with the environmental movement, but it could also create tension between professional and amateur photographers. As the line between producer and audiences becomes increasingly blurred (Benkler, 2006; Flew & Swift, 2013; Shirky, 2008), photographers are torn when it comes to using Internet technologies. Some photographers view these new online technologies as possibly benefiting communication about environmental causes while other photographers work to reestablish boundaries between their roles as producers and their audiences as they attempt to generate income from their photographic work.

The Environmental Movement and Media Practices

Research on the relationship between Internet technologies and collective action has flourished (Bennett, Breunig, & Givens, 2008; della Porta & Mosca, 2005; Diani, 2000; Tufekci & Wilson, 2012). Social movement participants use Internet technologies to provide resources for participation, disseminate information, and create a sense of collective identity and community (Anduiza, Cantijoch, & Gallego, 2009; Garrett, 2006). Using Internet technologies is often touted as a way that social movement participants can bypass mainstream media (Bennett, 2003; Bennett et al., 2008; Keck & Sikkink, 1998; van de Donk, Loader, Nixon, & Rucht, 2004). Internet users can use online technologies to create their own content and share it with their online networks (Bennett & Segerberg, 2011; Kavada, 2010). Most relevant for this study, social movement participants share visual information online (Castells, 2012; Cottle & Lester, 2011; Tufekci & Wilson, 2012).

The environmental movement has made use of online communications (Castells, 2004; Hutchins & Lester, 2011) and the strategy of "mediated visibility," or making the hidden or unnoticed visible via the Internet (Thompson, 2005). Some research suggests the environmental movement could be doing more with new media (Bortree & Seltzer, 2009; Lester & Hutchins, 2009) and focuses Internet efforts on users who are already concerned about the environment (Hestres, 2014. Other research suggests that some environmental organizations change their communication style to fit various audiences (Merry, 2012). As the movement continues to negotiate its way through using the Internet, studying the online practices of content creators becomes even more important.

While different forms of media have long been part of the environmental movement's social change campaigns, the use of photographs has played an important role in supporting environmentalism (Bright, 1992; DeLuca & Demo, 2000; Palmer, 2013; Schwarz, 2013). Myriad environmental groups use visual material to communicate about environmental issues such as deforestation, drought, and endangered species (DiFrancesco & Young, 2011). Greenpeace, for example, routinely uses photographs to draw attention to environmental concerns (Doyle, 2007).

Scant literature examines the relationship between online technologies and the content creators behind these photographs. Seelig (2014) examines environmental photographers and includes iLCP photographers in her sample. She takes the perspective that photographers are embracing media platforms and emerging technologies. She finds that the environmental photographers are critical of how

mainstream media cover environmental issues and argues, "mainstream media uphold existing ideology so it is up to environmentalist and conservationists to push the issues in a way that is useful, interesting and informative" (p. 312). Even with this criticism, the photographers use alternative media outlets such as social media to reach more targeted audiences while relying on mainstream media to reach wider audiences. Overall, photographers use online technologies to supplement more traditional forms of media (Seelig, 2014). I find greater evidence of variation in the levels and forms of engagement with online media among the photographers in my study.

Media Resistance

I place this study in the literature on media resistance to examine conservation photographers' negotiated use of online technologies. Studying the discursive and performative dimensions of media resistance can provide valuable insight into the factors that shape this resistance (Portwood-Stacer, 2013. Studying nonusers and their reasons for not using certain media can also offer significant contextual information about the norms and assumptions of users (Hargittai, 2004). Several studies examine resistance of media use using textual analysis (Foot, 2014; Portwood-Stacer, 2013; Rauch, 2011, 2014). Based on textual analysis and analysis of interviews with 20 people who do not use Facebook, Portwood-Stacer (2013) argues that media refusers are making a political statement through their resistance to using Facebook, even if it is not always intentional. Woodstock (2014) studies the practices of and reasons for resistance among media resisters drawing from interviews with 36 individuals who resist the use of media. Reasons people offer for not using certain media include attempts to create boundaries between their public and private lives, beliefs that the use of media may weaken social relationships, and attempts to be more present. The current study adds to the limited literature that employs interview data to study resistance to media use (Portwood-Stacer, 2013; Woodstock, 2014). Further, according to Wyatt, Thomas, and Terranova (2002), "the internet user then needs to be conceptualized along a continuum, with different degrees and forms of participation that can change over time" (p. 37). By investigating conservation photographers' negotiation of media use, this study moves beyond the dichotomy of user/nonuser and instead reveals a continuum of use.

Method

To better understand conservation photographers' use of media, I conducted 33 in-depth, semistructured interviews with conservation photographers from July 2013 to February 2014. My sample came from the 104 iLCP photography fellows. Participants were located in the United States (16), Canada (3), Germany (3), Australia (2), Italy (2), Scotland (2), Brazil (1), France (1), India (1), Poland (1), and Spain (1). Twenty-four photographers were men, and 9 photographers were women.

The mission of the iLCP is "to further environmental and cultural conservation through communication initiatives that create vital content and disseminate conservation messages to a wide variety of audiences" (iLCP, 2012, para. 1). Past iLCP president and conservation photographer Cristina Mittermeier (2005) describes the field of conservation photographers as "the result of photographic talent combined with environmental understanding and conservation commitment" (p. 8). The photographers are highly skilled and must adhere to iLCP's ethical standards. The group offers a unique international

sample of elite conservation photographers, many of whom work for *National Geographic* and other major media outlets. In the *International Journal of Wilderness,* Cole (2008) calls the idea of the iLCP expedition "a new concept in conservation marketing" (p. 33). Conservation organizations send expedition requests to the main iLCP office in Washington, DC. Typically, there is an urgent conservation issue occurring in the area, often related to upcoming environmental policy, that it is requesting photographers be sent to document. Less often it is an area where the organization simply does not have adequate photographic documentation. iLCP coordinates with the requesting organization to send photographers into the field. The photographers work closely and swiftly with a multidisciplinary team of local scientists, specialists, and advocacy organizations to thoroughly capture visual imagery of the challenges, threats, and opportunities faced by the particular location. The organization and other partners use the resulting photographs to support their messages in conservation campaigns (Farnsworth, 2011). Since its inception in 2005, iLCP has taken part in close to 50 expeditions, often contributing to policy changes. In its Balandra expedition, for example, iLCP photographers worked with local people and organizations to document tourism and residential development issues in Balandra Bay, the last untouched beach in the La Paz area of Baja California Sur state, Mexico. Their efforts resulted in changes in environmental law and implementation of additional protections for the area (Royan & Metherell, 2013).

Because data collection was part of a larger project, interviews covered various topics, such as becoming a conservation photographer, storytelling, and the influence of technology on conservation photography. Interviews lasted between 45 minutes and three hours, and because participants lived all over the world, I conducted the interviews using Skype. I transcribed the interviews and then coded and analyzed them using Atlas.ti. What follows are the major themes that emerged from the analyses.

Findings

Conservation photographers offer the following areas of concern as they consider integrating the Internet into their work: privacy and security; time commitment; Internet characteristics; and questions of effectiveness.

Privacy and Security

Photographers focused less on issues of personal security, privacy, and trusting of media than on other topics, and when they did talk about the issue of security, privacy, or trust, inevitably they would turn to a discussion of their age. A husband and wife team brought up the idea of trust and the use of social media, and they suggest the mind-set most likely comes from the fact that they are older. She explains, "We technically have a Facebook account, but I don't use it because I don't trust it, with all the schemes and identity thefts. . . . We are old farts; we're not up to speed on that." Her explanation speaks to her distrust of online technologies, but her indication that it may be because they are old is quickly followed up by a suggestion that their age is an excuse preventing them from learning more about the technologies. This may indicate that she is conflating the idea of age with a general societal perspective that there are security and privacy concerns related to the Internet.

Another older photographer also falls back on age when describing his perception about the general prevalence of smart phones in society:

> We don't own a smart phone; we don't own an iPhone. I refuse to have a smart phone. That may have caused some to frown. . . . I don't know how it is in America, when we go to Asia . . . you go in a Starbucks cafe, and I see ten kids sitting around at the table and no one is talking and everyone is staring into their iPhone, I think there's something really wrong. It's a general attitude that I can't comprehend, but then again I'm a dinosaur. We chose to live in a countryside, in a rural area . . . to enjoy more life, real life, not being with an iPhone in your pocket, everybody knows where you are, I find that very not comfortable . . . it's like Big Brother is watching you twenty-four hours [a day].

He resists using any type of smart phone and suggests some people might find that odd. He discusses a mind-set about communication that he does not understand. His comment indicates that he sees a difference between talking (verbal communication) and communicating using phones (mediated communication) and suggests he privileges verbal communication. He notes that it may be his age, but then expands on his lifestyle—residing in a rural area—which may indicate that he thinks the choice of where he lives is indicative of his desire for privacy or what he seems to see as a simpler, technology-free life. His stance echoes concerns expressed about the proliferation of technology in society and the detrimental impact it has on people's abilities to relate to one another and be present with the individuals and information around us (Turkle, 2012), echoing findings by Woodstock (2014). He juxtaposes real life with a life that includes the surveillance embedded in iPhones, revealing a perspective aligned with digital dualism, where there is a difference between real life and mediated online presences (Jurgenson, 2012).

These photographers highlight the importance of considering privacy and security online but also tend to position themselves as outside of what is customary in society. They offer their ages as reasons for their unease in embracing online technologies. However, past studies have noted privacy to be a concern among individuals who resist using different forms of social media (Portwood-Stacer, 2013; Woodstock, 2014). These responses also reveal that users of social media may view privacy and security as areas of concern that they are willing to accept when they decide to use social media.

Time Commitment

A number of photographers acknowledge that they limit their use of certain media or do not use them altogether because they do not have the time to devote to using social media. Kate explains, "I use Twitter somewhat. I think mostly it's a waste of time." Taylor describes a general mind-set against using Facebook that he has observed among other conservation photographers:

> A lot of them think it's a waste of time. There is a lot of the older members that say, "F*** Facebook. I don't have enough time for that." And I am like, "Really!? But you have the time to send out cards. You are still sending out card announcements? All that

> printing! All those stamps! You have time for that, but you don't have time for Facebook? Really?" It's just a mind-set.

Taylor reengages with the issue of age in his response. He aligns the particular mind-set he describes with older photographers. However, among the larger sample, being older does not automatically preclude the use of online technologies. These photographers are making a choice about what they will spend their time on, and Facebook is not something they choose to do. This mind-set supports previous findings of media resistance research, which suggests that by labeling Facebook as a waste of time, they position themselves as individuals who find value in being productive with their time (Portwood-Stacer, 2013). Simultaneously, they are making a comment on what activities they deem worthwhile to them as they perform their roles as conservation photographers.

> Dan explains his reluctance to using social networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter:

> My biggest concern . . . is obligation of the time to maintain your circle of friends, time it requires posting new information, or responding to the information they are posting, I get overwhelmed really quickly, I just kind of avoid it.

Dan's comment illustrates the amount of labor that goes into using social media as a conservation photographer. If photographers do decide to take on the role of online microcelebrities, the digital labor involved is not trivial. This demonstrates the way that information technologies are redefining work processes (Castells, 2010), and in the photography industry, this may mean taking on more digital labor (Terranova, 2000).

Internet Characteristics

The characteristics of Internet technologies, such as self-promotion and sharing, also provide conservation photographers with opportunities and challenges.

Self-promotion. Social media in particular provides a venue that allows for self-promotion (Marwick, 2013). Audiences have the expectation that they can have relationships with public figures through social media—or, as Marwick and boyd (2011) call it, "a new expectation of intimacy" (p. 156). The work the photographers do to maintain online presences and show the background labor is part of doing business for some conservation photographers, but this work also puts them in a position of being digital laborers.

I argue that some photographers use online tools to create a microcelebrity persona, drawing on Marwick and boyd's (2011) understanding of celebrity as "an organic and ever-changing performative practice rather than a set of intrinsic characteristics or external labels" (p. 140). Some of these practices include (1) ongoing maintenance of a fan base, (2) performative intimacy, (3) authenticity and access, and (4) construction of a consumable persona. This is part of the rise of microcelebrity, or "a mindset and set of practices in which audience is viewed as a fan base; popularity is maintained through ongoing fan management; and self-presentation is carefully constructed to be consumed by others" (Senft, 2008, p.

140). They use online tools to give audiences a backstage look into their work, but they have to balance this with making them the focus versus the conservation issue, which most photographers maintain should garner the attention of audiences rather than the photographers.

A number of photographers reveal their unhappiness about the idea of sharing with users outside their interpersonal networks. Paul describes his use of social media:

> Social media I use mostly just for connecting with friends. One of the things that has been addressed a few times but never really implemented was to . . . hire people to do social media, because I just don't have the energy. . . . I think that we run into that conflict as conservation-oriented people; I'm not a person who likes to continuously tell everyone what I am doing . . . for me social media is a bit about that; I'm just simply more of a private person. If I have to hire someone, it becomes less private for me.

Comments such as these draw attention to issues of privacy as previously discussed, but also to the complications photographers face when trying to balance their public and private lives while dealing with the seemingly inherent logics of the Internet that encourage them to share more about themselves. They feel as though, in a way, they are expected to become microcelebrities as part of their roles as conservation photographers—a role not all photographers are eager to take on.

However, other photographers see a benefit to self-promotion online. Conservation photographers often use online promotion to help them create authentic brands (Banet-Weiser, 2012) as individual conservation photographers and for the field of conservation photography as a whole. Many conservation photographers embrace the idea of creating online personae and integrate the practice into their work, often using social media to bring people along into the field. They also often share information about works in progress and assignments in progress. Gabriel notes that he can show his "philosophy about why [he's] doing [conservation photography]."

Similarly, Richard sees technologies such as camera phones as ways to humanize photographers when they are out in the field:

> We screw around with our iPhones taking pictures of each other, taking pictures of our comradery. . . . I have a very funny picture of Clyde Butcher, who . . . takes pictures of the Everglades swamps. And he set out his eight-by-ten on a ladder, and then he tried to step from his boat over onto the ladder because he put the ladder into the swamp and then he put the camera up in the ladder. His wife was taking pictures with her iPhone, and, as he stepped from the boat, the ladder destabilized and he flipped over in the swamp. It's [one of] the funniest damn pictures you'll ever see. So now it becomes part of Clyde's social media. . . . And it makes it more human as a photographer. . . . To go on one of these expeditions with iLCP and to come back with pictures of monkeys, and butterflies, and beautiful flowers is one thing. But then to see the photographer, these famous photographers whose names people have seen in magazines all our lives, whose books they have seen on the shelves of Barnes and Noble. . . . All of a sudden

here is Tom Mangelson, with his arm around [another photographer], and they are both drinking beer. And they are laughing hysterically at a joke that has been made by Jack Dykinga. And they are real people. I mean those are things that suddenly become enhancements to the pictures. Frankly I think because it makes the storytelling easier to do. So when we come back . . . we now have a human interest story as well as an activist portfolio.

Charles points out how social media allows photographers to show audiences parts of their jobs that were previously hidden, but he also cautions against making it all about the photographer:

Today one of the other advantages of having the Internet available and social media and all that is you can carry people along with you as you're working on something. Whereas before you . . . hid everything and then you pulled the curtain back at the end and said, "Here it is," and that's great, but you may be missing an audience that you can take along with you. . . . Again you're building a community that's going along with you on that journey, and I think that can be a powerful thing, too.

The photographers claim that they use the Internet as a way to help build community, or engagement around an issue, which is a counterperspective from previous photographers who viewed the use of the Internet and iPhones as contributing to a lack of community. Both sets of photographers value community, but they differ in terms of whether they view online technologies as facilitating or limiting interpersonal interactions.

Photographers' responses indicate that the digital economy pushes labor, but not necessarily paid work, to the foreground. In fact, often "the commodity . . . is only as good as the labor that goes into it" (Terranova, 2000, p, 48). This showcasing of photographers and expeditions through social media can also be tied to the idea of the "experiential life" (Florida, 2012) wherein the creative class is viewed as experience driven. But, while the creative class is positioned as individuals who thrive on authentic experiences, it also leads to the commodification of those experiences. It may be that conservation photographers are now expected to share their experiences in the field as part of their final creative content, which then serves as a way to showcase their authenticity as conservation photographers. There is a balance that photographers must find between promoting the photographer and promoting the environmental issue.

Free sharing. The affordances of sharing that the Internet offers give some photographers pause when considering whether to share images online. Copyright issues become important when combined with the online sharing environment. They also influence photographers' use of social media. Lucas points to the number of images online and the general idea of sharing as customary online as reasons he hesitates to put images online. He explains:

I think maybe we consider the image as . . . being . . . undervalued if we put it on Facebook, where there are millions of other images out there and where everybody . . . feels like they have a right to use it or to do with it whatever they want and then say

they [don't] know about . . . copyright issues. . . . Maybe we are a bit too precious about our images here . . . at least what I know from many of my colleagues who say "I'm not going to publish this on Facebook, because I want to use it in a book that is going to come out in five years." [Laughs] So that's . . . a very strange attitude . . . from a business perspective that is complete nonsense.

Lucas highlights the frictions between maintaining monetary value for images the photographers make and the push to share the images online. This also demonstrates the tensions between ideas found in new profit models associated with online work and digital labor (Terranova, 2000) and the old ways that photographers worked. Lucas sees the irony in holding images back from sites like Facebook for a more traditional medium like a photobook, which has a slow turnaround time compared to online publishing.

Bridgett shares her experience with images being shared online without her permission:

I don't put things on Pinterest. There, again, things are ripped off. You just have to be very careful where you go with a lot of stuff. Right now I can at least keep some semblance of sanity through Facebook, but when you start spreading things out too thin, you can't track [the images]. I mean I have one signature image of mine and . . . it was ripped off about four to five years ago off of an online web story, which I gave permission for, but it's been ripped off like 5,000 or 10,000 times.

Bridgett uses the term *ripped off* to describe the activities she experiences online, indicating that she views the activities akin to stealing. Although she has stopped using Pinterest, she does use Facebook, where she can track the images she posts. Her knowledge of how people engage with material on Pinterest and the inability to track photographs cause her to stay away from that site. In this case, her occupational position as a photographer presents an instance of situational nonuse (Leavitt, 2014), whereas after having negative experiences she finds it more advantageous to not use certain Internet tools as part of her work.

Maura argues, "It's our choice as photographers whether or not we want to play that game or not. . . . We certainly don't have to use [social media]." She uses the term *game* to describe the debate around whether she uses social media with her images. In a way, the term *game* suggests the content creators and social network sites may not be on the same team. She does not consider using social media to be something that is required from her as a conservation photographer. Overall, the norm of assuming that online content is open for everyone to use is a challenge for conservation photographers. This may mean they are selective about what technologies and tools they use to share their images, or it could mean they refrain from sharing all the images that they have.

Concerns About Effectiveness

Hansen (2010) contends that, in the case of constructing environmental problems, the biggest implication of new Internet technologies is "the twin emergence and mass proliferation of sources of

information about the environment combined with the concomitant erosion . . . of control over news and information about the environment, environmental problems, environmental damage" (p. 66). Similarly, other scholars warn that numerous competing environmental messages may oversaturate the public sphere and distract people from more serious environmental issues (Boggs, 2001). Photographers also question how effective Internet technologies are for their work of advocating for the environment. Bridgett explains, "There's some argument as to whether it's effective or not. Yes, it's growing, but it's growing in a very young-based community, and I'm not so sure it adds value to what I do."

This response suggests that, when thinking about whether to use Internet technologies, photographers consider the "imagined audience" (Marwick & boyd, 2011). The photographers are not sure whether the users they reach using Internet technologies are the audience they want to reach with their conservation messages. Bridgett questions the value using Internet technologies adds to her work.

Kristy expands on the idea of the Internet's effectiveness by questioning whether it is the right venue for environmental issues:

> We can bring issues forward, we can do all the social media . . . crap . . . but it doesn't last very long—it lasts as long as the campaign is there, and then the next one comes in—and the next and the next. You know environmental concerns are long-term projects; they don't happen with one little social media event–these are things that you have to change peoples' hearts and minds, and it has to be done over the long term. And it takes a lot more than one event. It takes a lifetime of work. And that's something that most people don't have—the concentration power; we've created a whole generation of people with ADHD. . . . And that's very hard for people . . . to keep focus on that over a long period of time. . . . That's the problem . . . the overabundance of digital devices and the fact that . . . we're being bombarded by sounds and actions and noise and imagery—a lot of this has to be done with silent thought—creative thinking is done with silent thought—it's not done with being bombarded by all kinds of social media crap. I think that it just makes people more jittery and anxious.

Kristy argues that the long-term campaigns she believes environmental issues require do not align with how people use the Internet and the way the designers of Internet technologies present users with information. On the topic of environmental issues, scholars assert that issues such as environmental disasters or other dramatic environmental events are more likely to get news coverage than slower environmental issues such as degradation processes (Cottle, 2013). She and other photographers address the question of whether Internet technologies can be effective for environmental communication purposes.

Kristy's perspective aligns with the photographers mentioned earlier who point out the possible negative effects of technology on social relations (Turkle, 2012). In addition, she speaks to what scholars have called supersaturation (Couldry, 2012; Gitlin, 2007). Couldry (2012) considers supersaturation "the unstable, nonequilibrium state when social life is filled with media contents at every level" (p. 5). Photographers are challenged to keep people's attention in a whirlwind media environment.

The Luxury of Resistance and Negotiated Use

Whereas scholars and practitioners often view the ability to bypass mainstream media outlets as a benefit of using online technologies (Bennett, 2003), some photographers turn to more traditional outlets as a means of rising above the onslaught of digital content. Leonardo contends: "You have too much information all of the time . . . too much information, too much photography, too much word, too much listening, too much of everything . . . we are losing our voice." To overcome this challenge, he explains:

> The best strategy is [to] let the . . . big voice [do the] calling for you. The big voice for me is *National Geographic*. . . . I let them use my images on the web also and . . . Instagram and so on. You know, I [have] maybe 20,000 followers, but *National Geographic* [has] almost three million. So the big voice.

Leonardo's response involves the personification of a corporation; Leonardo attributes a voice to *National Geographic* and notes that he, as an individual person, is not able to share his information with the voice he would like to, but corporations can. He highlights the importance of reaching a large number of people. He does not necessarily think about who the audience is he is reaching through *National Geographic*.

However, photographers who try to work with more traditional media outlets often have to weigh the costs and benefits of the topic on which they choose to focus, asking themselves whether they will be able to sell their work after they spend weeks, months, or years on a particular environmental topic they consider important but that may not be attractive to traditional outlets. Max provides an example of how *National Geographic* still has influence on the content on which some photographers focus:

> Right now, if something was in *National Geographic* in the last ten years, you basically can't do another story on it. So . . . then maybe you find a different species that we haven't talked about, connected to that landscape, and you talk about it that way.

If an environmental issue was not resolved after it was first promoted in these conventional outlets, it could be harder for conservation photographers to turn audiences' attentions back to the issue through traditional publications that are most interested in distinctive story topics.

Working for more traditional outlets also factors into when material is disseminated. Derek explains that working for magazines influences when he shares certain content on his own:

> Because a lot of my work is done for magazines, I cannot afford to put it out there while I'm shooting it. I only can release them after or a little before I get published. You tend to hold back things for a while, having to say once you've done it you want to promote the location or event in front of you, in the future. Anything that is new you tend to hold back for a while.

Having to adhere to copyright and usage right permissions associated with many publishers means that conservation photographers cannot disseminate material as quickly as they might like and instead must rely on the time line of the outlet. The time gap could be detrimental to bringing timely awareness to urgent environmental issues. Responses such as these demonstrate the conflicts the photographers face as they balance their work as photographers who earn a living selling photographs in the new economy (Benkler, 2006) and using Internet technologies individually to share conservation messages. Even if they would like to share more, they feel constrained by more traditional models of media distribution.

Discussion and Conclusion

This study examines the media practices of conservation photographers. By considering media resistance as selective by form and as a continuum instead of a binary, we gain insight into what influences photographers' use of Internet technologies. Rather than a simple use/nonuse dichotomy, there is variation in how conservation photographers relate and respond to online technologies as well as the extent to which they use them. Photographers' relationships to online technologies are influenced by their (1) relationships to traditional media outlets, (2) thoughts on how technology is influencing society, and (3) models of social change. Supporting previous findings about media resistance, conservation photographers highlight concerns about maintaining boundaries between their public and personal lives and a concern about how technology negatively affects the quality of social interaction by encouraging less face-to-face communication (Woodstock, 2014).

Photographers draw attention to the occupational challenges associated with using Internet technologies in their work in a more participatory, networked information society (Benkler, 2006; Jenkins et al., 2013). Supporting the findings of previous studies of professionals in creative industries, such as musicians (Baym, 2012), photographers are challenged with concerns about digital labor, presenting mediated online personae, and issues surrounding copyright and ownership of their products. Conservation photographers face changing work processes (Castells, 2010), such as encouragement to self-promote (Marwick, 2013) and the digital labor that goes along with that process (Terranova, 2000). Photographers' professional concerns about making a living with their photography help to explain some of the variation in the Internet use among these photographers.

Media and social movement scholars maintain that environmental groups should develop strategies to "leverage the tactical and participatory potential of the Internet" (Lester & Hutchins, 2009, p. 592). This study highlights the complexity behind this recommendation for some groups of social movement participants who use online technologies in various roles. In particular, the study demonstrates the importance of considering occupational identity when examining the relationship between social movement participants and online technologies.

Conservation photographers present an important case of individuals who rely on one form of media for their livelihood (photography), which makes the use of other types of media more complex than it does for the average Internet user. Conservation photographers must manage the tensions they face online as they balance their roles as professional photographers, who need income, with a desire to promote conservation messages among the public for social change.

Past research suggests that, within the environmental movement, environmental groups tend not to create new models of working with traditional media or create their own models of media use employing social media; instead, they maintain the status quo (Lester & Hutchins, 2009). This research helps us understand why professional environmental communicators like conservation photographers may not be taking full advantage of new media—for example, while conservation photographers may want to spread photographs using the Internet (Castells, 2012; Cottle & Lester, 2011; Tufekci & Wilson, 2012), the day-to-day complexities they face as they strive to make a living from photography as well as be advocates for social change may prevent them from doing so.

Becker's (2008) notes that art worlds are always in flux but that fully developed art worlds "provide distribution systems which integrate artists into their society's economy, bringing art works to publics which appreciate them and will pay enough so that the art can proceed" (p. 82). Conservation photographers work during a time when the markets and distribution systems of the past are not as viable, but new processes have not yet emerged. It may be that, for now, traditional media outlets remain dominant as photographers balance earning a living with getting their messages into society in the most effective, efficient ways possible. This has implications for environmental communication and social movement initiatives, as the Internet's purported democratic nature may not play out as easily for conservation photographers practically.

Trying to be the loudest voices has been a continuous challenge for social movement participants, who are often those individuals with less social and economic power (Earl, 2014). New media may offer less powerful activists new ways to be loud. However, this research demonstrates that, from the perspective of conservation photographers, the easiest and best way to be loud with Internet technologies may be to go through more traditional media outlets. The photographers note that this may not be the best for the environmental movement in the long run because it may introduce corporate control over what and when content is distributed. Individuals in the creative class who want to use their professional skills for social change issues, as well as social movement organizations that may work with them, should continue to develop innovative strategies to facilitate this process. This study highlights numerous avenues that should be further examined to make sure social movement participants and organizations are working with creative professionals in the best way possible in an ever-changing media environment. These avenues include issues surrounding online identity, sharing, compensation models, and working with amateur photographers to promote social change.

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