Travel Style and Participatory Culture on Pinterest: Celebrity bodies as sites of labour and inspiration

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Abstract

This study contributes to the body of work on media tourism by shifting attention from destinations to how we get there. In doing so, I am responding to Pritchard and Morgan's (2005, 299) call for 'explorations of the intimate relationships between travel, fashion, dress, the body and sociocultural constructions of place'. Specifically, I am interested in examining celebrities as transmedia resources for the imagining and planning of tourism. Focusing on Pinterest images of celebrities in airports, I analyse how the labour of travelling is concealed through circulated images of celebrity bodies that are beautiful, glamorous, wealthy, calm and comfortable, rather than sweaty, tired, rushed or bored. My discussion draws on Wilson and Yochim (2015) to reflect on how the pinned images offer a 'promise of happiness' (Ahmed 2010) within a feminised digital space that addresses users as creative consumer-researchers who search for and catalogue inspiration. Here, happiness is not just promised by the tourist destination, but by the possibility of making the journey itself pleasurable. The photographed celebrity bodies become sites of identification and inspiration, demonstrating that this goal can be achieved through careful planning, consumption and self-discipline. I approach the analysis of this networked practice by drawing together literature from a diverse range of fields, including the study of tourism, transport, consumption, celebrities, digital cultures and affect theory. The resulting framework facilitates the exploration of a participatory tourism culture characterised by gendered pleasures, consumerism and regulation.

Contributor Note

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Introduction: Airports, Non-Places and Liminality

I want to start off by thinking about the significance of airports in discourses of tourism. There is, of course, literature on airports as transport hubs (Lohmann and Duval 2011; Page 2009) and as commercial spaces (Freathy and O'Connell 1999; Geuens et al. 2003). In tourism studies, there is also work that considers the importance of airports for setting tourist expectations for a destination (Riche and Hudson 2009). However, working from a cultural studies perspective, I am primarily interested in studies that explore what we *do* at airports, and how we *feel* there. Marc Augé's (1995) notion of airports as 'non-places' is an important starting point. He argues that, like motorways and supermarkets, airports exist 'to be passed through' and are experienced 'in the present' (Augé 1995, 104) and in solitude. Providing us with 'instructions for use' (Augé 1995, 104), non-places require passengers to enter into 'contractual relations' that afford them a temporary 'shared identity' and 'relative anonymity' (Augé 1995, 104). This anonymity is not necessarily available to celebrities, however, as evidenced by the transmedia circulation of paparazzi photographs by gossip magazines, blogs and social media users. The notion of a shared identity is also undermined by systems that reserve certain spaces for wealthy passengers, and which single specific groups out for additional queuing and security checks.

As Nick Merriman (2004) notes, Augé's account can be seen to gloss over 'the complex habitations, practices of dwelling, embodied relations, material presences, placings and hybrid subjectivities associated with movement through 'non-places'' (Merriman 2004, 154). To explore such nuances, Merriman's own study of a British motorway considers

> The multiple, partial ways in which the M1 has been 'placed' through the arrangement, folding and movements of a diverse array of things at different points in time, and how feelings of boredom, solitude, excitement and familiarity may arise from, and be bound up with the production of, particular 'placings'. (Merriman 2004, 147)

Drawing on Merriman's (2004) approach to Augé's (1995) concept of non-place, my own study is interested in considering pinned images of celebrity passengers as an affective-discursive practice that inscribes airports and their temporary dwellers with particular meanings, emotions and possibilities. Here, the 'placing' of airports is situated within the feminised participatory culture of Pinterest, where celebrities are appropriated as transmedia resources for pleasurable and regulatory identity work.

This affective-discursive practice is, in part, facilitated by what Andrea McDonnell (2015) considers the 'liminality' of the airport. Passengers find themselves 'hovering between one space and another', which detaches us from our everyday lives. In the present, liminal space, we might 'feel less confined by social norms' (McDonnell 2015, 289), despite finding ourselves in a highly regulated environment. As McDonnell writes, the anonymous passenger 'can be anyone, from anywhere, destined for any place' (McDonnell 2015, 295). The liminality of airports, then, can facilitate the imagining of identities, destinations and experiences, although this possibility is constrained or enabled in different

ways for different people (McDonnell 2015, 297).

Pinterest, Scripted Spaces and Inspiration Culture

The affective-discursive practice of imagining passenger identities and experiences is also partially facilitated by the structures and culture of Pinterest as a social bookmarking site. Launched in 2010, the platform is now used by over 30% of online U.S. adults, and is particularly popular with female Internet users (Duggan 2015). Presenting itself as a digital pin board, Pinterest invites users to collect online images by 'pinning' them onto labelled 'boards'. These boards are usually publically available, so that users can peruse each other's collections and 'follow' individual users to receive updates about new additions to their boards. Pinterest explicitly encourages us to use the site to gather 'ideas to try', and it has become part of a wider 'inspiration culture' (Lewallen and Behm-Morawitz, 2016) that is also associated with lifestyle blogs, Instagram and so on. This feminised culture is participatory and regulatory, foregrounding identity performance and a project of self-improvement by inviting us to display imagery that signals who we are, as well as whom we want to become. Here, I want to focus on images of celebrities as a transmedia resource for identity performance and inspiration.

Romana Andò (2015) has explored the ways in which fans of the *House of Cards* (Netflix 2013-18) character Claire Underwood (Robin Wright) engage in 'fashion poaching' (Andò 2015, 216) by using Pinterest to pin images of her desirable outfits and identical or similar items that can be purchased. She

distinguishes this from fan cosplay, a practice in which fans dress up as a character or a celebrity, for example. Instead, she argues that the online/offline practice of fashion poaching is 'more ephemeral' and mundane than cosplay events: 'The simplicity and directness with which these poaching, cut, remixes and performing processes take place within online environments testifies to the ordinary and fundamental presence of these media in everyday life' (Andò 2015, 226). Instead, she is interested in how fashion poaching works to identify resources for the ongoing construction and public performance of identities. My own line of enquiry, then, uses Andò's notion of fashion poaching to consider how the pinning of celebrity tourist images can be seen to identify desirable travel experiences and collect transmedia resources for achieving them. The articulated desire to 'improve' the gendered and classed self is then shared with fellow Pinterest users, framed by the inspiration, consumer and regulation discourses that dominate this participatory culture.

Ken Hillis et al. (2015, 2) argue:

> Our frequent if not near-constant prosthetic connections to information, communication, and media technologies underscore the importance of exploring the affective underpinnings of human-machine relations and the complex forms of agency that arise from these. (Hillis et al. 2015, 2)

Here, I draw on Julie Wilson and Emily Chivers Yochim's (2015) study of Pinterest as 'a virtual inspiration board' (Wilson and Chivers 2015, 233) where middle-class women collect and share 'content that points towards the possibility of happiness: happy scenes, good habits

and best practices, fun activities, and thoughtful ruminations on the meaning of life' (Wilson and Chivers 2015, 234). Drawing on Sara Ahmed (2010) to explore the construction of the family as a 'happy object', Wilson and Yochim (2015) argue for the need to examine the ways in which 'feminized digital media' content can 'enter into, punctuate, and impact women's daily lives, tweaking, exacerbating, or revising how women move through and feel everyday experiences' (Wilson and Chivers 2015, 233). Looking at pinned celebrity traveller images through this lens facilitates a discussion of what happiness these images could be seen to offer Pinterest users. How can pinners poach and share 'good' travel practices? And how might particular outfits promise a more desirable travel experience?

I also want to consider the largely unposed images within the context of surveillance in celebrity culture. As Pamela Church Gibson (2012) observes: 'Endless paparazzi photographs of model Kate Moss show her getting off a long haul flight or relaxing on a beach; the telephoto lenses scour her face and body, always seeking blemishes and thrilling at the sight of a wrinkle or sunspot' (Gibson 2012, 27). Paparazzi practices form part of a culture of policing and self-policing of women, here positioned as female celebrities and the female audiences of celebrity gossip media. While tabloid newspapers or snarky celebrity gossip blogs (e.g. Meyers 2015; Graefer 2014) might use unposed images of celebrities to invite critique and laughter, the inspiration culture of Pinterest selects and positions the airport images as transmedia resources for identification and emulation through fashion poaching. These contrasting orientations are evident in the pinned *Daily Mail* article 'Kate

Hudson looks ready for a nap wrapped up in her scarf after an early morning flight', which accompanies a picture of Hudson with the text 'An early-morning flight isn't always the best way to start your day. And it appears that Kate Hudson was exhausted from travelling first thing this morning' (Fitzmaurice 2012). Disregarding the negative register in the tabloid reading of Hudson, a Pinterest user instead re-inscribed the actress as a superior traveller by praising her style and her choice of a 'perfect' outfit for travelling. However, as this article will go on to argue, I think this Pinterest practice can still be seen as part of a postfeminist regulatory environment in which a long-haul flight is no excuse for looking dishevelled or unfashionable. Here, the gendered policing of transmedia celebrity culture intersects with the participatory regulation of the gendered self on Pinterest, where users articulate the tension between desire and failure through inspiration discourse.

Like airports, Pinterest can be perceived as a non-place that we pass through on our way to somewhere else. As a social bookmarking site, it facilitates the gathering and curating of media material from *other* online spaces, and invites users to click on pins to visit those sites. However, users can also spend time within the platform itself, browsing and selecting pins without actually accessing the external sites. Here, Pinterest becomes the site of the activity, rather than a space we pass through. For example, Rhema Linder et al. (2014) found that some of their participants regularly used phones and tablets to squeeze 'bursts' of Pinterest browsing into 'in-between time', while others reported engaging in 'sustained sessions' (Linder 2014, 7).

Moreover, Daniel Chamberlain (2011) argues that, although media interfaces might seem like 'simply functional non-places', we should instead think of them as 'the experiential moment of more complex interactive scripted spaces' (Chamberlain 2011, 233), and as 'the visible tip of a software layer that increasingly structures our engagements with text, audio, and video' (Chamberlain 2011, 231). Pinterest, like other media interfaces, is 'actively screening metadata, deploying them as key aesthetic features, as navigational elements leading to related screens, and as actionable criteria upon which media experiences are customized' (Chamberlain 2011, 235). So, when I entered the search term 'airport' on Pinterest, the platform suggested a range of key words that would help me narrow down my search. The first set of these were 'Outfit', 'Style', 'Photography', 'Bag', 'Fashion', 'Hacks', 'Tips', 'Lounge', 'Essentials', 'Travel', 'Security' and 'Pictures'. These suggestions construct the airport as a challenge that can be tackled through the consumption of the online content that Pinterest can facilitate access to. In particular, it foregrounds content that focuses on fashion, which is consistent with the platform's promotion of feminised inspiration culture. I opted for the first term, 'Outfit', and this choice brought me a second set of suggestions that included 'celebrity'. Through these processes, then, Pinterest, as an 'interactive scripted space' (Chamberlain 2011), connects the transmedia cultures of travel, fashion and celebrity.

My options highlight that this 'screening of metadata' not only enables users to find content that they want to access, but also enables them 'to find the content others want them to see' (Chamberlain 2011, 238). As Robert Kozinets et al. (2017) argue, 'technology sits at the juncture of various social, cultural, economic, institutional and other forces involved in the disciplined channelling, direction, and successful transformation of raw passionate energy into a range of general and specific consumer interests' (Kozinets 2017, 23). Examining the frequency of different words added to pins, Eric Gilbert et al.'s (2013) quantitative study argues that 'the four verbs uniquely describing Pinterest are 'use', 'look', 'want', and 'need', reflecting the 'things' at the heart of Pinterest' (Gilbert et al. 2013, 2435). They conclude that this emphasis on desire for consumption makes the platform 'of great interest to online retailers and marketers' (Gilbert et al. 2013, 2427). Here, I will argue that its structure facilitates the construction of the celebrity traveller as a guide to 'good' consumer practices.

Using Pinterest's interactive screening processes, I collected my data by re-pinning the 50 top images that were tagged with the key words 'airport', 'outfit' and 'celebrity' (my 'airport outfit celebrity' board was quickly followed by three other users), and by following the 14 suggested boards that were dedicated to this topic. This data collection approach enabled me to demonstrate the ways in which the structure of Pinterest privileges feminised celebrity and consumerist discourse, and to explore how the transmedia figure of the celebrity traveller was constructed and re-contextualized through individual pins, as part of curated Pinterest boards, and within the digital spaces the materials were pinned from. I have chosen to avoid using direct quotes that can be traced back to individual Pinterest users, in order to protect their anonymity. However, the article does include direct quotes from corporate Pinterest accounts, such as those of media companies and shops. Having outlined my theoretical framework and methodological approach, I will now

move on to my analysis, which identifies and explores three key themes: How celebrities are positioned as resources for tourist style inspiration; how the pinned material conceals the labour of travel; and how it represents the labour of celebrity.

Celebrities as Tourist Style Inspiration

Of the 50 images in my sample, 48 depicted female celebrities. In particular, there was a recurring focus on U.S. actress Selena Gomez, British actress Emma Watson and British model Rosie Huntingdon-Whiteley, which indicates an interest in younger, female celebrities. This trend was also reinforced by the most re-pinned image, which was of U.S. model and reality TV celebrity Kendall Jenner. The image was shared by the lifestyle blog *Glam Radar* in 2015 and, at the time of my research, it had been re-pinned 30.5K times. The pin was labelled 'Kendall Jenner signature style pieces' and the caption read: 'Kendall is undoubtedly on fire! Be just like the catwalk darling by investing in these Kendall Jenner signature style pieces'. This post explicitly positions Jenner as a resource for fashion poaching, and invites readers to emulate her 'style' through consumption. The term 'investing' mobilises an economic discourse that constructs these items of clothing as desirable assets that will pay the consumer back, perhaps by removing the need for further purchases or perhaps through increased social capital. It positions the reader as someone who has enough money to buy the clothes, but who would also consider the price substantial, and needs convincing that such purchases are 'good' consumer practice. Here, fashion poaching is not frivolous consumption, but incorporates decisions about budgets and perceived

long-term benefits, guided by celebrities and fashion writers.

The image is from a *Glam Radar* post that identifies a series of 'Kendall Jenner signature style pieces' that readers are encouraged to wear. The airport outfit is accompanied by this text:

> Proving that the model is just like any other mere mortal is the simple Kendall Jenner signature style piece – the skinny jeans. Although she is a fan of denim, she makes sure to break out of the box by choosing unique styles (such as the two-toned denim by the Paige.) Just like Kendall, you can choose a traditional style with unique prints and ornaments. (Raychel, 2015)

The post invokes the idea that stars and celebrities embody a tension between the ordinary and the extraordinary (Dyer 1998 [1979]), inscribing Jenner with the ability to choose a 'unique' version of a ubiquitous item of clothing. The reader is invited to emulate this shopping practice, which will help her 'break out of the box' that confines other consumers. Here, 'good' fashion consumption is constructed as a crucial strategy in the identity work of young women. It requires digital Pinterest consumption to guide the consumption of material goods, demonstrating a key way in which this online participatory culture spills over into offline practices.

The photograph of Jenner was included in my Pinterest search results because of its metadata tags, and here it is re-contextualised within a stream of content depicting (young, female, often white) celebrities in airports. Jenner's clothing then becomes valorised specifically as a good travel outfit, rather than just a good choice of skinny jeans. Jenner wears the cropped jeans with bright white trainers,

a loose-fitting, white crewneck top, an unbuttoned, long, loose-fitting navy coat and sunglasses. She is carrying a small tote bag in navy leather. The sunglasses set up a barrier between Jenner and her surroundings, indicating a desire for privacy, while the outfit suggests cleanness, comfort and functionality. It resembles many of the other outfits depicted in this content stream: Fitted trousers and loose, casual tops, layered with unbuttoned, flowing coats or jackets. Flat shoes and leather tote bags or shoulder bags. Sunglasses. Together these items of clothing indicate that there is a 'right' way of dressing for travel, and the stream offers up celebrity passengers as inspirational resources for travel planning.

This function is made explicit by content headlines and image captions such as 'Celebrity Secrets for an Amazing Airport Outfit' (Eggertsen 2016) and '91 Style Tips to Steal from the Airport's Best Dressed Celebs' (McKinley 2016), as well as by pin boards with names such as 'airport outfits' (254 pins and 5858 followers) and 'Travel in Style' (181 pins and 172 followers). The latter pin board is curated by the fashion retailer Shop Pyramid, and its introduction inscribes travel style with great significance.

> Because it's not the destination but the journey and how you look en-route. Inspiring airport & inflight street style and celebrity looks plus tips on creating your perfect travel outfit. (Shop Pyramid, 2018)

Here, the retailer collapses two key focal points in inspiration culture, namely style and 'thoughtful ruminations on the meaning of life' (Wilson and Yochim 2015, 234). Rather flippantly, the writer dismisses the destination as irrelevant,

while inscribing the travel experience and the travel outfit with great significance. Here, clothes should not be chosen because they make the traveller feel comfortable, but because they make her look good to her fellow passengers.

The 'Travel in Style' pin board situates tourism within 'a feminine project of self-improvement through culturally sanctioned consumption' (Bore 2017, 125). It invites Pinterest users to imagine the moment of travel, rather than the holiday itself, and inscribes the consumption of stylish travel clothes with the 'promise of happiness' (Ahmed 2010). If we accept this invitation and visit the retailer's website, it promises to provide 'An effortless, confident, inspired wardrobe for the woman who desires uncomplicated luxury' (Shop Pyramid, 2018). Like the invitation to 'invest' in clothes that resemble those of Kendall Jenner, this claim should be considered within the contexts of austerity and neoliberalism. Few pinners can afford to buy these clothes, but the affective labour of their pinning practices stabilises the idea that such consumption remains key to a good 'quality of life':

> Feminized social media sites and, more specifically, the practice of pinning happiness, garner much of their cultural power in the affective context of precarity. In such precarious times, the affective structure of happiness and its gendered happiness scripts are evermore key to sustaining neoliberal social order. (Wilson and Yochim 2015, 245)

When they re-pin content from this retailer's board, Pinterest users perform free labour by promoting the company to their own followers, and by circulating its promise that travel can be pleasurable if we have the right (expensive) wardrobe.

Writing about girls' blogging and activism, Jessalynn Marie Keller (2012) describes a participatory culture that 'challenges notions of neoliberal consumer citizenship', and 'that may offer girls more political agency as cultural producers than other more traditional spaces for political activity', which are often organised by adults (Marie Keller 2012, 434). Pinterest is certainly also used to gather and share activist and feminist resources, but the affordances of this space facilitates the development of participatory cultures that are firmly embedded in neoliberal and postfeminist norms and values. As Adrienne Massanari (2015) stresses, it is important to consider how experiences of online participatory cultures are shaped by the design of the spaces these cultures inhabit, and to pay attention to the contradictions that such spaces embody. In the case of Pinterest, a key contradiction is the platform's offer of a project of self-improvement in which self-regulation is imbued with pleasure.

I now turn, then, to the pleasures that fashion poaching can offer Pinterest users. For example, on a pin board dedicated to airport style, the pinner had added a comment to a photograph of Rosie Huntington-Whiteley, positioning the celebrity's 'style' as an object of 'love', and inscribing fashion with great salience and pleasure. The user then brought this particular 'style' even closer by claiming it as her own style. If we draw on Sara Ahmed's (2010) perspective on affective attachments, we can see that the pinner adopted a 'loving orientation' (Ahmed 2010, 24) towards the outfit, which was inscribed as a 'happy object' (Ahmed 2010, 21):

> Happiness might play a crucial role in shaping our near sphere, the world that takes shape around us, a world of familiar things. Objects that give us pleasure take up residence within our bodily horizon. We come to have our likes, which might even establish *what we are like*. (Ahmed 2010, 24)

The Pinterest user's comment on her affective encounter with the outfit connected it to her experience of happiness: this outfit was valorised as an articulation of the pinner's own perceived 'style'. It became, then, not just a resource for travel inspiration, but also an important resource for the articulation of taste-based identity within the participatory culture. As Edward McQuarrie et al. (2013) suggest, we can think of taste in fashion culture as 'an individual's capacity to discriminate between the beautiful and graceful versus the laboured and unappealing', and therefore 'their ability to discriminate stylish, fashionable clothing from merely acceptable dress' (McQuarrie et al. 2013, 139). The pin enabled the user to perform an identity as a fashion enthusiast, while demonstrating that the celebrity's outfit validated her own knowledge and use of fashion.

At the time of writing, this particular airport style board only had 14 pins, and half of those pins featured images of Rosie Huntington-Whiteley.

The apparent intersection between the user's affective attachments to fashion culture and to this particular celebrity fashion model was confirmed by another board of 285 pins dedicated entirely to Huntington-Whiteley's style. As Gibson notes, 'Over the decades, the model has moved from being a completely anonymous figure whose job was to show off clothes to best effect, at first on small catwalks and then in photographs, to

becoming – in some cases, at least – a well-known public figure' (Gibson 2012, 196). It is useful, then, to situate these Pinterest practices within the overlapping cultures of travel, inspiration, fashion and celebrity, and to be aware that pinners will orientate themselves towards, and privilege, these cultural spheres in different ways.

Concealing the Labour of Travel

Stephen Page (2009) notes that promotional tourist discourse ignores the potential for stress associated with international air travel, an omission that is often reproduced in shared meanings of tourism that foreground desire and pleasure. Some travellers might feel a fear of flying or suffer from jet lag. Others might be kept waiting in overcrowded terminals with little or no information about their delayed flight, experiencing 'an impersonal and dehumanising process' (Page 2009, 291). Barlay similarly inscribes the airport with the potential for unpleasantness:

> The airport cavalcade can baffle or startle the inexperienced passenger. Laden with suitcases and packages, calm and rational people grow uptight, defensive with aggression, fail to allow themselves time to familiarise themselves with the layout or study the free guides to terminals. (Barlay 1995, cited in Page 2009, 253)

Such negative effects can sometimes be glimpsed at the edges of the celebrity images in my Pinterest stream. If we return to the image of Kendall Jenner, we can see other passengers queuing in the background. Jenner, however, is walking past us, encumbered only by a small tote bag. To her right, we can see a Louis Vuitton suitcase being wheeled by

someone who has nearly been cropped out of the picture. We see the sleeve of a dark blue sports jacket and the brown skin of the hand that pulls the suitcase along. Perhaps this is Jenner's suitcase. Perhaps not. In another popular image (re-pinned to 4.3K boards), we see U.S. actress Reese Witherspoon walking past us, smiling and carrying only a black leather tote bag. Behind her, we can see two separate female travellers who are pushing luggage trollies piled high with suitcases. And, finally, an image of British pop star and fashion designer Victoria Beckham (re-pinned to 2.9K boards) shows her walking in a short black dress, black stilettos and black sunglasses, while, immediately behind her, we can glimpse a hand carrying multiple clothing items on hangers. The patterns of travel labour depicted in these three images draw attention to celebrity privilege and, more broadly, the ways in which airport structures produce different travel experiences along lines such as class, ethnicity, nationality and bodily abilities.

Page (2009) observes that, for 'the uninitiated, occasional traveller, terminal facilities can be a bewildering, seemingly chaotic and unnerving experience' (Page 2009, 253). In comparison, we might expect celebrities to be more seasoned travellers, and to have greater access to support and expertise. Moreover, whereas 'ordinary' passengers have to queue and wait in areas that might be overcrowded and uncomfortable, more privileged passengers can take advantage of offers such as fast track services (to skip queues at security), early boarding and 'executive lounges' that provide 'a more relaxed and welcoming environment' (Page 2009, 290). As Pritchard and Morgan (2006) note, then:

[N]o territory or place can offer equal freedom from restraint to all nor can it be uniformly experienced since spaces are hybrid, mutable and protean. Differentially empowered, socially positioned and embodied people interact to construct and consume spaces and whilst liminal places are typically associated with freedom, our gender, race, sexuality and embodiment all combine to constrain or empower our every experience and perception of such places. (Pritchard and Morgan 2006, 765)

The participatory inspiration culture of Pinterest can be seen to identify careful consumer strategies as a way to overcome such differences. Here, the potential for a more pleasant air travel experience was not only suggested by the pinned images of unencumbered celebrities, but also by images that show celebrities handling their own luggage with effortless mobility and style. For example, a photograph of British model and actress Cara Delevingne had been published by British tabloid newspaper *The Daily Mail* (Strang 2013) under the headline 'Feeling a bit shady? Cara Delevingne slips on dark sunglasses as she flies out of London after late night partying at Carnival'. Underneath, the writer had added 'She partied until the early hours of the morning at a house in Notting Hill after hitting Carnival hard during the day'. The text suggests that Delevingne might be feeling tired and perhaps hungover. However, although this could make for an unpleasant travel experience, such negative effects are concealed through good travel style practices. Delevingne is wearing a black beanie hat over her long, blonde hair, dark sunglasses, a loose-fitting grey sweatshirt with 'TRAPSTAR' written along each sleeve, black skinny jeans and black high-top leather shoes with gold zips. The outfit

suggests a young, cool femininity that combines heterosexual desirability with a relaxed boyishness (Kanai 2015), and Delevingne wheels a suitcase while carrying two shoulder bags with apparent ease. The image had been re-pinned to 12.4K boards, and one Pinterest user commented that she would be very happy to wear Delevigne's outfit on 'most days'. While drawing a distinction between the (presumed extraordinary) celebrity and herself, the user inscribed the outfit with the promise of happiness, and constructed Delevingne as a resource for fashion inspiration.

Viewed through this lens, good travel style does not just conceal the negative effects of travel labour, but can even help consumers overcome them. This reading was also evident in other pin comments. In response to an image of Huntington-Whiteley, one user commented that her style proved that 'airport chic' is 'possible', praising her choice of a scarf that could also be used as a blanket on the plane. The outfit was here constructed as a clever trick that enabled the celebrity to look stylish *and* avoid feeling cold and uncomfortable while travelling. The image is taken from a blog post that identified similar items of clothing from high street fashion shops, in order to enable consumers with limited budgets to copy the celebrity's 'look'. This transmedia celebrity discourse, then, not only constructs celebrity passengers as resources for good travel strategies, but also facilitates the consumption of their particular travel 'solutions', through the affective labour of the amateur blogger and the Pinterest users who share the post.

The celebrity images in my Pinterest sample form part of 'the multiple, partial and relational 'placings' which arise

through the diverse performances and movements associated with travel, consumption and exchange' (Merriman 2004, 147). In engaging with these 'representations of movement', Pinterest users can draw on wider cultural discourses of mobility. Whereas 'immigrant mobilities' are often associated with 'notions of threat reflected in metaphors of flooding and swamping used by journalists and politicians', tourist mobilities might instead be 'figured as adventure, as tedium, as education, as freedom, as modern' (Cresswell 2009, 19). The participatory culture of Pinterest uses transmedia celebrity images to add 'glamour' and 'cool' to this set of meanings, and to connect desirable mobility to gendered, neoliberal narratives of 'good' consumer practices.

Pinterest users can also draw on memories of their own 'experienced and embodied practice of movement' (Cresswell 2009, 19) in their engagement with the images. For example, in response to a black and white photograph of Emma Watson, one pinner commented that it looked like it was from a photo shoot. And in the introduction to their celebrity airport style pin board, another user observed that these celebrities always seemed to know how to dress well, regardless of the time of their flight. Contrasting the images with their own embodied travel experiences, or their own understanding of travel experiences, these Pinterest users inscribed celebrities with extraordinary abilities to overcome the challenges of air travel through beauty and style practices. By saving and sharing their photographs, pinners construct the celebrity passengers as transmedia sites of inspiration within the participatory culture, so that fellow 'ordinary' passengers can imagine their own

desirable travel experiences and work towards accomplishing that goal.

Travel and the Labour of Celebrity

So far, I have discussed how celebrities are appropriated and inscribed with the promise of pleasurable air travel experiences within a participatory culture that is underpinned by the gendered norms and pleasures of neoliberal and postfeminist self-regulation. This inscription is carried out in two key ways: through the positioning of celebrities as transmedia resources for travel style inspiration, and through the concealment of the labour of travel. However, the images also draw attention to another form of labour, which is that of being a celebrity. These passengers are photographed specifically because of their fame, and so the pinned material highlights that celebrities are often denied the feeling of anonymity that airports afford to other passengers between identity checks. They may not be 'freed from their institutionally determined roles', but may instead experience 'a heightened sense of scrutiny' in such busy, public spaces (McDonnell 2015, 295). This scrutiny is sometimes evident within the pinned images. For example, we see British actress Keira Knightly walking outside an airport, followed by a man who is recording her movements with a professional video camera. We see Selena Gomez walking inside an airport, while a male passenger is photographing or videoing her with his smartphone from behind a barrier. Thus, although we can think of airports 'as crossing points into the unknown, as places of transition and anonymity' (Pritchard and Morgan 2006, 767), for celebrities, the likelihood of scrutiny and even voyeurism requires them to perform particular kinds of labour

to negotiate the risks associated with transmedia celebrity culture.

The images indicate a range of affective practices associated with this labour. Nearly all the celebrities wear sunglasses, whereas hardly any of the other depicted passengers do so. In one photograph, we see actress Hilary Duff walking down a corridor into the arrivals area, while pulling a suitcase and carrying two bags. The photographer appears to be immediately in front of her, and we can see the harsh light of the camera flash on her face. A Pinterest user commented that she loved Duff's 'casual' style, which she perceived to be both 'edgy' and comfortable. However, there is perhaps a tension between the 'edgy' and comfortable femininity read by the commenter, and Duff's smile at the photographer, which can be seen as an accommodating response to gendered expectations that women should be friendly, polite and helpful. In other photographs, model Sofia Richie is wearing headphones and looking down at her smartphone, while Behati Prinsloo hides the lower part of her face behind a scarf. In the image I examined earlier, Kendall Jenner shields her face with her hand, while on a user pin board we see her obscuring her face with her fist and an upturned middle finger. Across my sample, then, these female celebrities respond to photographers with attempts to accommodate, to hide and to confront.

The invasive practices associated with '[t]he ever-waiting lenses of the paparazzi' (Gibson 2012, 28) were also highlighted by the pinned Selena Gomez picture I discussed above. It is part of the *Daily Mail* article 'Selena Gomez tweets that she's suffering from anxiety', where the image is accompanied by the text 'The 23-year-old wrote: 'Had major anxiety at the airport.

Not feeling good at all" (Davison 2015). The actress' use of Twitter to voice her embodied experience of a mental health problem to her followers stands in sharp contrast to the tabloid paper's exploitative use of a paparazzi image to turn this tweet into commercial media content. Although passenger and photographer surveillance may not have had anything to do with Gomez's sense of anxiety, the image produces a tension between an apparent desire for privacy (Gomez has a serious expression, her face is turned downwards and she is wearing black sunglasses indoors) and the bright flash lighting up her face.

These pinned images, then, can be situated within a regulatory environment that polices the appearance and practices of female celebrities. Importantly, it also encourages the celebrities and other women to self-police their femininities. This is evident in the transmedia surveillance culture of paparazzi photographers, tabloid journalists and snarky bloggers, who are ready to pounce on apparent fashion and beauty 'failures'. Within the overlapping contexts of the cultural sphere of tourism and the inspiration culture of Pinterest, users *participate* in such gendered policing by suggesting that female celebrities should offer users the promise of happiness, and that pinners should strive to emulate them through self-discipline and careful consumption. The regulatory discourse undermines the notion that airports, as liminal spaces, offer passengers a sense of freedom and anonymity. Instead, this 'threshold zone' (McDonnell 2015, 289) is positioned as a site of labour, where celebrity and non-celebrity women are required to look stylish, attractive and effortlessly mobile, carefully concealing negative effects such as 'tiredness and disorientation' (Page

2009, 24). Here it is not enough to enjoy the sense of being 'out-of-place' produced by 'the airport atmosphere and infrastructure' (Geuens et al. 2003, 10), and to *imagine* whom we could be and where we could go. Instead, we should *look like* seasoned, confident, glamorous or cool travellers who are effortlessly on the move.

Pinterest encourages users to identify goals, inscribe them with the promise of happiness, and then document strategies to reach those goals. These values underpin the platform's participatory culture, and facilitate its representations of tourism through the lens of transmedia celebrity culture. However, the platform's continued success also relies on the probability that participants will fail to reach most of their goals, or that the satisfaction will only be ephemeral, so that they can carry on with their pinning projects. Jodi Dean (2015) sees this failure as a crucial part of what she terms 'drive':

> The movement of the networks of communicative capitalism, the ways it flows capture subjects, intensities, and aspirations. Accompanying each repetition, each loop or reversal, is a little nugget of enjoyment. We contribute to the networks, as creative producers and vulnerable consumers, because we enjoy it. (Dean 2015, 94)

Drawing on this perspective, we could argue that the aim of Pinterest use is not to reach the goals we have identified, but to enjoy the experience of using Pinterest. While searching for the elusive outfit that can solve our travel problems, the process of browsing pinned images of well-dressed celebrities can offer other 'little nuggets' of pleasure, like encountering a hat we particularly like, or seeing a celebrity we have developed an

affective attachment to. Such affective rewards can sustain our engagement with the celebrity travel style discourse and, most importantly for Pinterest, encourage us to continue driving traffic to the platform by contributing to its participatory culture.

Conclusion

Alastair Gordon (2004) argues that '[t]he airport is at once a place, a system, a cultural artefact that brings us face-to-face with the advantages as well as the frustrations of modernity' (Gordon 2004, 4-5). In this article, I have explored some of these tensions by considering how the airport and air travel are 'made to mean' (Cresswell 2009, 19) through transmedia representations and practices. As Kevin Hetherington (1997) observes, such

> Representations assemble and transform the similitude of the materiality of space into the ordered arrangement of a place. They arrange, order, include and exclude, they make knowable a space to everyone who might choose to look at these representations and also make it possible to compare it with another space. The subjective world of memory, image, dream and fantasy, so often associated with place, operates by assembling materials into representations and using those representations to establish the difference between one place and the next. (Hetherington 1997, 189)

I have here been particularly interested in thinking about what pinned images and their digital contexts might suggest about gendered norms for travel and tourism. What can the circulation of these transmedia celebrity texts tell us about how women 'should' imagine, plan and

execute their travels? My analysis has argued that celebrities are constructed as resources for travel inspiration – not because of where they travel, but because of how good they look and (possibly) feel while they get there.

Page (2009) notes that 'In terms of foreign travel, stress is a feature often overlooked since tour operators and travel agents frequently extol the virtues of taking a holiday to fulfil a deep psychological need' (Page 2009, 290). The pinned materials in my sample suggest that wearing the right outfit can help passengers tackle such stress, enabling us to look stylish, feel comfortable and move with ease. Here, celebrities are inscribed with extraordinary knowledge of good travel style, and positioned as guides that can help Pinterest users make the right consumer choices to prepare for their own journeys.

I have problematised this promise in two key ways. Firstly, I argued that this transmedia content conceals the labour of travel. Across my sample, the celebrities never queued, never ran, never waited. Instead, they were on the move, and rarely carrying more than a medium sized tote bag. Secondly, I reflected on the significance of celebrity labour, exploring how images suggested attempts by actresses and models to deflect attention by using dark sunglasses and covering their faces. Some conformed to

expectations for polite, accommodating feminine behaviour by smiling at photographers. Others looked down, looked away or, in the case of Kendall Jenner, flipped the photographer 'the bird'.

I have argued that this transmedia content and the associated pinning practices can be seen as part of a surveillance culture that is characterised by the policing and self-policing of femininities. The participatory culture of Pinterest becomes complicit in invasive and exploitative paparazzi practices as they participate in the circulation and valorisation of the images. Along with tabloid journalists, fashion bloggers and fashion retailers they constructed female celebrities as evidence that we can experience travel as glamorous, cool and pleasurable, as long as we mimic celebrity consumer practices. Although this imagined possibility is clearly structured by bodily abilities, body size and access to financial capital, it is instead connected to careful research and notions of fashion as sensible investment. On and beyond Pinterest, then, the transmedia discourse of celebrity travel style undermines the exciting potential that is sometimes associated with airports as liminal spaces, replacing imagined anonymity, possibilities and adventure with gendered norms, self-discipline and surveillance.

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This article was first published in *JOMEC Journal*

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