

# Between the Extraordinary and the Everyday

## How Instagram's Digital Infrastructure Affords the (Re)contextualization of Art-Related Photographs

Sarah Ullrich and Katharina Geis

### Abstract

Digital technology and practices of photographic self-representation, captioning, tagging and sharing on social media have effectively transformed the museum experience by blurring the lines between museum visits and everyday life. The many visitors today who take photographs while at art collections or other exhibits and then upload them onto Instagram render the exclusive experience of museums a part of ordinary medialized space. In understanding *affordances* in relation to how people interact with material environments, technology and media, we examine routinized actions and their entanglement with incorporated knowledge, stressing the importance of their social dimensions. Based on empirical data gathered in an ongoing ethnographic research project, we analyze the affordances of Instagram and how they are enacted by users. For this article, we investigate in detail how the platform's infrastructures are appropriated by users in order to address current events and express personal opinions with the help of seemingly unrelated visual content. We argue that the habit of using Instagram for everyday communication is what allows individuals to attach alternative meanings to digital images from museums and art galleries. In the discussion, we consider the economies of valuation and attention within the context of socially distributed practices along with the temporal structures of social media and their impact on visual sense-making. Finally, we ask whether the afforded practices of recontextualization have contributed to a shift in authority away from museums and other influential institutions in the artworld.

## Introduction

Enter any museum in the world and you are likely to see visitors using their smartphones to take photos of artworks and themselves. Often, the images produced in museums remain private. But increasing numbers of them are also appearing on social media platforms. The online posts not only utilize the visual qualities of the photographs; they also make use of comments and captions, hashtags and hyperlinks. They are, for all intents and purposes, *curated*.

The practices of posting on social media, together with their embeddedness in media structures, are the focus of the DFG-funded research project *Curating Digital Images: Ethnographic Perspectives on the Affordances of Digital Images in Heritage and Museum Contexts*,<sup>1</sup> based at the Humboldt University's Centre for Anthropological Research on Museums and Heritage (CARMAH), and part of the DFG priority program 'Das digitale Bild'/'The Digital Image'. The project draws on affordance theory to explore how digital images enable practices of digital curation. Two interconnected areas of work examine the ways that digital images transform museum experiences and shape everyday life. The first looks at how and to what ends users of online museum collection archives search, sort, alter and creatively rearrange digital images in non-museum related spaces. The second is interested in how museum and heritage visitors take photos in physical museums and how they curate them on social media platforms. Both areas of work seek to gather empirical data from online and offline environments.

The first few months of exploratory fieldwork have already yielded up an array of practices and affordances within the two areas of work. One interesting finding is that the visual content from visitors' museum experiences has become a medium to discuss and work through everyday concerns. For many people today, social media use is an integral part of everyday life and an important vehicle for moving the extraordinary into the ordinary. For example, we observed the way individuals recontextualize digital images from museums to comment on political issues such as cultural appropriation, Black Lives Matter and the precarious political situation in the US that are not directly tied to the material quality of the depicted artefacts or environments.

The following article looks at this finding more closely. In this paper we will discuss one case study that represents a number of similar findings. The chosen case study illustrates Instagram users' practices of incorporating current topics into their social media usage particularly well. How does Instagram's digital infrastructure facilitate the social negotiation of current events by means of sharing and uploading visual content from museums? How do social media platforms and images support practices of recontextualization in the public sphere? And how do users generate relations between digital images and current events? Below we examine these questions from an ethnographic perspective inflected by the notion of affordance.

## Relational affordances

In the 1960s James J. Gibson coined the term *affordance* to describe the range of possible activities and actions that an environment offers individuals based on its material qualities.<sup>2</sup> Since then, scholars from different disciplines have expanded on the term's meaning in various directions, producing a multiplicity of affordance theories. Each approach emphasizes different aspects.<sup>3</sup> Of particular interest for us are theories that emphasize the importance of the social dimension. In this article as well as in our research for the Curating Digital Images project, we take an ethnographic perspective that builds on previous work in the area of museum and heritage studies (Macdonald 2009, 2013; Bareither 2019a) and digital media studies (Hopkins 2016; Hutchby 2001; Costa 2018). Ours is particularly indebted to Christoph Bareither's approach (2019a, 2019b, 2020), which enlists the idea of affordance to think about the relationships between visitors, digital media, museums and heritage spaces, including their aesthetic and emotional dimensions. This approach focuses on the relationship between people, material environments, objects, technology and media in which routine actions and patterns are entangled with incorporated knowledge and practical sense.<sup>4</sup> The groundwork for this relational understanding was laid by Tim Ingold in 1992, when he began to consider how humans perceive affordances and how culture plays into their perceptions.<sup>5</sup> For Ingold, people do not perceive something first and then act on it. Each is intertwined with the other: "I believe that our immediate perception of the environment is in terms of what it affords for the pursuit of the action in which we are currently engaged."<sup>6</sup> Affordances provide possibilities for actions without thereby determining them. They emerge not only from the physical environment but from anything that people encounter in their experience with the world around them. Indeed, experience itself plays an important role in what people perceive as affordances in the first place. As Webb Keane argues, "People usually respond not to immediate percepts in isolation but to recognizable patterns over time."<sup>7</sup>

When applied to our case of museum spaces and social media the relational character of social situations, culture and technology generate implicit knowledge about the field. One part of that knowledge is that change is ubiquitous and inevitable, which accords with Ingold's view that "no environment is ever fully created, it is always undergoing creation. It is 'work in progress.'"<sup>8</sup> This process changes constantly with people and their environment because each "implicates" the other.<sup>9</sup> Individuals on social media platforms learn to utilize interfaces and social mechanisms to meet their personal needs. "The information that is potentially available to an agent is inexhaustible,"<sup>10</sup> Ingold wrote way back in 2000:

[O]ne learns to perceive in the manner appropriate to a culture, not by acquiring programmes or conceptual schemata for organizing sensory data into higher-order representations, but by 'hands-on' training in everyday tasks whose successful fulfilment requires a practiced ability to notice and to respond fluently to salient aspects of the environment. In short, learning is not a transmission of information but – in Gibson's (1979: 254) words – an 'education of attention'. As such, it is inseparable from a person's life in the world...<sup>11</sup>

This becomes particularly apparent when we pay regard to the affordances of museum spaces themselves and examine how the use of digital devices shapes and alters them. Cultural anthropological visitor studies acknowledge that the way in which museum spaces are curated and arranged guide visitors' attention. Therefore, certain objects are more likely to be noticed by visitors than others.<sup>12</sup> The arrangement of physical museum spaces affords a variety of practices like looking at a certain object, photographing it from different angles or getting drawn in to a hands-on station that suggests touching and interacting.<sup>13</sup> In 1997, Beverly Serrell stated that the majority of visitors show highly selective patterns of attention, stopping only at some exhibits and closely inspecting even fewer of those.<sup>14</sup> Taking these findings into account reveals that the design of physical spaces affords specific patterns of movement and perception. Our ethnographic perspective considers these modes of engagement as entangled with and based on the visitors' incorporated knowledge and practical sense.

However, the museums' physical characteristics do not necessarily afford re-contextualizing the exhibited objects on social media platforms or providing the artworks on display with alternative meaning. Rather, the technological devices that visitors bring into the physical space prompt users to draw connections between exhibition contents for their everyday life and personal interests. As will become apparent in the investigation of our case study, media use can enhance and change the way in which visitors interact with the museums' materialities. The connection between the physical (museum) space and media technologies is essential to our research project and must therefore be looked at in more detail in future analyses of our empirical material. In this article, we will specifically focus on how photographs taken in physical museums are curated on social media platforms.

Ian Hutchby argues that "technologies can be understood as artefacts which may be both shaped by and shaping of the practices humans use in interaction with, around and through them."<sup>15</sup> In understanding technologies in this way they rank between an emphasis on the shaping power of human agency and the constraining power of technical capacities, which "opens the way for new analyses of how technological artefacts become important elements in the patterns of ordinary human conduct."<sup>16</sup>

Hutchby is one of many who focus on these affordances of technologies and media (such as Beck 1997) and social media in particular (such as Boyd 2011; Costa 2018; Kaun and Stiernstedt 2014). Bareither emphasizes the value of “highlighting practice theories’ sensibility for actors’ practical sense (embodied knowledge). The affordances offered by digital (poly)media do not only depend on situational contexts; they are also relational regarding the practical sense that actors apply when using them.”<sup>17</sup> Material environments, and the objects that constitute them, become what they are once seen in relation to ordinary cultural routines and customs.<sup>18</sup>

This means that the affordances of a given material and digital environment can differ from context to context and from person to person. Whenever two or more individuals engage in a common activity, the affordances they experience can be shared or different. Carl Knappett calls this the ‘sociality’ of affordances.<sup>19</sup> Although some affordances are independent of people’s interpretations, they only become meaningful through actions that in themselves are “contingent on people’s self-interpretations – notions of who they are and what they are up to when engaged in an action – within what is for them a (more or less) meaningful world.”<sup>20</sup> Understood in this way, affordances are an important tool for examining what social media platforms provide users vis-a-vis socio-cultural practices. Below we identify insights from affordance theories using an example in our work.

## The Extraordinary in the Everyday Museum Photographs on Instagram

Individuals who take photographs in museums and post them on social media, like everyone who interacts with the affordances of their environment, rely on routinized actions and behaviors bound up with internalized knowledge. The connections they create between museum spaces, art and current social discourses spring from a practical understanding of digital image technologies and social media. The links they build to recent events and debates “reflect social practices that already exist as part of people’s everyday lives and experiences.”<sup>21</sup> By posting visual content from the exclusive space of museums on social media, however, they inject the extraordinary into the medialized space of those everyday lives and experiences. Moreover, once digital images of artworks or museum spaces are placed on social media platforms, they afford opportunities for recontextualization and alternative meaning-making that go beyond the material qualities of the depicted artefacts or installations.

The example we consider below involves self-portraits taken by a young black woman in front of a painting by Pablo Picasso and the online debate on cultural appropriation it elicited. We will examine how the affordances of Instagram, a popular social media platform that requires all posts have visual content, shape the way users grapple with current political issues. The digital images of Instagram are, as Maria Schreiber has observed, “integral to networked interpersonal communication”<sup>22</sup> and “aesthetic products ..., which allow explicit and implicit visual sense-making.”<sup>23</sup>



Figure 1: Tayla next to a Picasso Painting. Created by Tayla Camp. Instagram. <https://www.instagram.com/candidcurator/> (accessed December 11, 2020).

The example consists of three images. The first photograph shows Tayla, the post’s creator, next to a preliminary study for one of the women featured in Picasso’s celebrated *Les Femmes d’Alger*. Tayla stands in a way that relates herself visually with the woman in the painting. Both are positioned laterally and face the beholder behind the camera. The second image shows *Les Femmes d’Alger*, which many art historians consider “a curtain raiser or trigger to Cubism.”<sup>24</sup> The third and last picture depicts a black-and-white photograph of Pablo Picasso in his studio in 1908.<sup>25</sup> It is worth noting that the portrait of the artist appeared on the cover of the opening invitation to Primitivism in 20<sup>th</sup> Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern, an exhibition held at the Museum of Modern Art in 1984.<sup>26</sup>

Our ethnographic perspective is less concerned with the question whether art is understood “correctly” or whether the historical context has been taken into account appropriately; rather, the actors’ individual practices of appropriation and subjective modes of interpretation are at the center of our analysis. In our field of research, the observed discussions and negotiation processes often deviate from the established, professionally curated and contextualized understanding of art. An aspect that has also been addressed by Tayla herself:

I actively shy away from claiming to be an expert or an art historian, because I’m not. I’m simply someone who likes to learn about art and enjoys sharing what I find out, and I think that it is important to differentiate between the two because the latter is far more relatable for a platform like Instagram.<sup>27</sup>

In her interpretation of *Les Femmes d’Alger*, she overlooks the complex social and cultural relationships that formed Picasso’s work and the implicit criticism of western art traditions that it incorporates.<sup>28</sup> Tayla’s photos of the paintings and her subsequent arrangement of them creates a visual narrative exclusively thematizing the iconography of female sexuality in Picasso’s art and juxtaposes it with present-day values and norms. Her angry and indignant attitude towards the artwork, the way in which she criticizes the artist and her emotional and political reading of the historical context is a result of Instagram’s affordances for inspiring emotional debates on topics of societal and political relevance, and less shaped by the characteristics of the museum space, which mostly suggest a more sophisticated and cautious discussion of the objects on display.

## Practices of (Re-)Contextualization

The photographic perspective and digital reconfiguration of the examples are enhanced by practices of (re-)contextualization and categorization. Using captions and hashtags, Tayla sets her photographs of museum spaces in relation to alternative structures of meaning, relations and networks. For instance, the images she posts on Instagram are preceded by a provocative statement: “If anyone needed any further proof that Picasso was an asshole, this is the post for you.”<sup>29</sup> As she discusses African art in Picasso’s works and his ill-famed denial that such art influenced him, her texts become more personal, more political and more critical, turning to topics such as global imperialism, the objectification, exploitation and sexualization of African women and the disregard of black history.

Viewed in isolation, the platform's limited options for contextualizing visual content make it difficult to remove it entirely from their original location, such as a museum space. But if we take into account users' implicit media knowledge, it is possible to argue that the habit of using social media as a platform for everyday communication allows digital images to be placed in alternative frames of reference. The visual mediation of everyday life is part and parcel of the platform's economy of valuation and attention. Instagrammers like Tayla know how to use the platform's features in order to place content from unusual and unpopular contexts in an ordinary sphere that appeals to a larger audience. As Tayla explained to us in a chat interview:

Everything I post is dictated by how I feel it will be received by my followers. I built up my account on giving insight into my personal interpretation of art and by drawing links to other topics that I think we should draw attention to. I think that is what really attracts followers. A good quality picture is important, but what really matters is that people can relate to the story you're trying to tell. You can see that the posts with the most likes and comments are those where I talk about my personal experiences and topics that are discussed in public and are on everyone's mind, this is what makes it really 'instagrammable.'<sup>30</sup>

The practice of (re-)contextualizing digital images is neither completely determined by the digital infrastructure of the platform in use nor is it a purely subjective practice on the part of the users. The platform's evaluation mechanisms encourage the creating and sharing of content that is recognized by a large number of people. Tayla understands very well that platforms like Instagram are meant to communicate personal experiences; she has learned that references to everyday issues and current affairs are appropriate behavior and generate appreciative attention. The most common ways to reframe visual content on social media in terms of the everyday are captions and hashtags.



## Practices of Categorization

Tayla's photographs employ hashtags such as #blackhistory, #blackarthistory or #blackhistoryfacts to link them with a wide variety of posts that deal with these topics. Through these practices, she places the famous Picasso painting in the same context as photographs of the Black Lives Matter movement, self-portraits of naked black women, newspaper articles about growing racism in the U.S and memes of the newly elected Vice President, Kamala Harris.

As Haidy Geismar, who introduced the term "unruly archive"<sup>31</sup> to describe Instagram's emergent and fluid classificatory system, writes, "the hashtag is the device that collects and collates images bringing a second dimension to user accounts, and facilitating the social networking and image-networking component."<sup>32</sup> The clustering of images generates shared visual attention and sensitivity to certain events. A topic that is discussed publicly is likely to be a frequent hashtag on social media platforms, attracting users who want to help shape the formation of political opinions and the negotiation of socially relevant issues visibly and visually. The more users categorize their images with a particular tag, the more value is attached to the issues. As social practices, hashtags and captions are shaped by the digital infrastructures in which they are embedded and are constitutive in their maintenance.

"The physical and the virtual do not separately orbit each other,"<sup>33</sup> Kylie Budge writes, summarizing the view of many. "They intersect and overlap constantly and by necessity."<sup>34</sup> The everydayness of mediated communication practices is what allows users to connect pictures of museum spaces with other posts in such a way that they can co-exist as an integral part of more far-reaching discourses. "The mediation of everyday life with a technical apparatus that rationalizes and valorizes those communicative practices"<sup>35</sup> and assemble a wide variety of contexts into a mosaic with a single theme. And hashtags are the tools with which to recontextualize digital images from the art and museum world within topical debates.

## Instagram's Interactive Potential

Digital images shared on social media platforms are, above all, points of reference for socially distributed practices. By liking and commenting on posts, online users participate in processes of visual sense-making. The interactive possibilities afforded by Instagram allow users to interpret, adapt, modify or even challenge visual content. In doing so, they circulate images, allowing other interested individuals and groups to take part in the "process of making choices about what is most meaningful to preserve and pass on to future generations."<sup>36</sup>

Within days after appearing on Instagram, Tayla's three photographs had received more than two thousand likes. In addition to signaling their appreciation, many users left comments about the images. Some praised Tayla for work she has done; some noted the readability of her posts; quite a few opined on her aesthetics or appearance; many supported her in her anger; others thanked her for shedding light on often overlooked aspects of modern art history; and there were some who vehemently disagreed with her recontextualization of the artworks.

Our previous work on social media platforms has shown that photographs of paintings, sculptures or art installations that communicate only the material qualities of the objects or the aesthetic experience of art exhibitions receive fewer comments and likes. Not surprisingly, such posts do not attract the same levels of participation, exchange and confrontation as images framed to respond to cultural and political debates. Sparking a discussion online was precisely what Tayla set out to do by taking the artworks out of their conventional contexts. She used her media savvy and the creative possibilities of the platform to create awareness and a sense of community. "[S]eeing artworks situated on their own, away from the context of a museum can be liberating, particularly to those who are unfamiliar with art history and do not frequent museums,"<sup>37</sup> she writes "I think it opens up the possibility to discuss certain aspects independent from professional knowledge."<sup>38</sup>

As a platform dedicated to everyday discourses, Instagram can take digital content from the art galleries or museums and assign them social or political value. This, in turn, opens attributions and patterns to larger online debates, as the following critical comment makes plane:

"This is such toxic nonsense, aren't you appropriating Spanish culture yourself by claiming Picasso was a closet racist misogynist extrapolated from your toxic interpretation of Picasso's vague answer to the public? ... But of course, nowadays having a well-studied answer or showing Picasso's normal side doesn't score as much points as calling him a racist misogynist."<sup>39</sup>

The comment's author accuses Tayla of getting caught in a modish preoccupation that sees racism and misogyny everywhere in order to obtain recognition for reproducing well-worn opinions and insights. Merely discussing Picasso's artistic talent, he suggests, would not have received as much attention as a post criticizing artworks for cultural appropriation. He understands that users of Instagram are incentivized to address trending topics that generate likes and followers. The debate revolves around two questions: should art be appreciated independently of an artist's life and character? And are discussions on social media fundamentally problematic given that media users are highly motivated to focus on the most attention-grabbing issues? However one answers these questions, it is the options afforded by the platform, the socio-cultural context and the actor's practical media knowledge that enable the recontextualization of digital images and the multitude of approving and disapproving comments.

In the following, we discuss some temporal elements of social media platforms and provide an outlook on how the technological realities of Instagram allow practices that stand to unsettle traditional structures of authority in the art world.

## The Dialectic of Instagram

Anna Kaun and Fredrik Stiernstedt have noted that Instagram "structures temporal experiences."<sup>40</sup> Users are constantly confronted with rapid changes and the urge to update their profiles, because "new stories are continually appearing, pushing old stories out of sight, downwards in the stream."<sup>41</sup> Following the communication and media sociologist Maren Hartmann, we argue that the ephemerality and impermanence of Instagram's interface structure social interaction and hence is an integral part of how people create meaning on the platform.<sup>42</sup> For instance, every post, story and image in the Instagram feed is visible only for a short while before it disappears in the vast amount of digital content that is created and shared on the site nearly every second of the day. In a study on Facebook and media memory, Kaun and Stiernstedt write that "the visibility of content in the newsfeed stream is decided based on the closeness of the relationship between users, the importance of the interaction, and the currency of the post."<sup>43</sup> Our previous work suggests that it is the topicality of digital images that plays a decisive role for visualization and attention generation on Instagram. The platform's temporal structures encourage not only the constant and regular posting of visual content but also its embedding in current debates and events.

In contrast to the immediacy and amnesia of Instagram's interface is the long-term storage provided by its archive. Many of those we interviewed describe their social media profiles as galleries or diaries – a way to conserve personal impressions, experiences, memories, political events, social changes and controversial debates. What is published and perpetuated on the user's profiles and what is left to the transient flow and forgetfulness of digital time depends on a variety of interrelated factors.

The initial view of Instagram user profiles displays only images and hides the accompanying captions. It is understandable, therefore, that many Instagram users are keen to cultivate a total aesthetic. For instance, Tayla told us that she will not post a photograph if it doesn't match the aesthetic that she has built her following on, even if she loves it. "In these cases, I will post the work on my story only."<sup>44</sup> How the time structures of the platform are used, and which practices they afford, accordingly depend on the media knowledge of the users.

The story that Tayla mentions is typical of Instagram profiles. The categorizing and linking of digital images by means of hashtags enables collective storytelling, common narratives and the cooperative negotiation of social discourse. The technological affordances of the platform, Kaun and Stiernstedt summarize, are characterized by the dialectic of "fluidity, 'nowness', 'liveness', and change, on the one hand, and remembrance, archiving, preservation, and stasis, on the other."<sup>45</sup>

## Shifting Authority?

Tayla's post, together with the discussion it generated, ethnographically engages with the changes of interpretative sovereignty in the digital realm. The question is whether Instagram and other social media platforms, by allowing users to recontextualize digital content through additional or alternative data, information, references, historical facts and political preferences, are shifting the authority to confer value on art and artefacts away from museums and towards individuals. Joel Taylor and Laura Kate Gibson, in critically examining the promise of a democratized heritage through digital participation, acknowledge that digital interactions constitute a process of interpretation that can be considered as "more polyvocal than didactic exhibitions, and therefore less dependent on expertise and institutional structure."<sup>46</sup> The circulation on social media of artwork from museums, we submit, is indicative of a similar shift. By detaching art from its institutional framework, social media users can put museum objects into new, more personal narratives and create alternative forms of meaning. Tayla's recontextualizing of the Picasso painting on Instagram adds critical perspective while playing the work within her everyday political discourse. She emphasizes the significance of the

influence and historical achievements of black communities and draws attention to the failure of cultural institutions to address them. Her clear and sometimes provocative language, her physical positioning and appearance work to break the museum's monopoly on appropriate forms of interaction with art and art history. Instagram's technological features give "people more confidence to share their versions of stories, and their thoughts and opinions about certain topics or objects."<sup>47</sup> When asked why she decided to share photographs of herself in museums and galleries, Tayla replied: "The story I wish to tell is that art history is also relevant to young audiences, especially to those who weren't necessarily exposed to art and museum culture from a young age. I hope that by seeing a young black woman with tattoos, my audience will understand that art history, which has historically been exclusionary, is now more democratic."<sup>48</sup> It therefore seems reasonable to argue that the platform's technology helps break down the exclusionary structures and the conventional spaces of interpretation.

Instagram should not be seen as "an inherently neutral and democratic space for sharing knowledge,"<sup>49</sup> however. Even as the platform enables the individual appropriation and democratic negotiation of value and meaning, its digital infrastructures reproduce and consolidate prevailing power relationships and patterns of visibility. What is exhibited in museums and art galleries and therefore photographed in the first place, which paintings, sculptures or installations are recognized as "Instagram worthy" and what content is taggable as art or art history are "socially and culturally determined."<sup>50</sup> That is to say, the participation and democratization enabled by the platform occurs within the framework of established power relationships. If platforms like Instagram shift authority away from institutions towards individuals, they also "in many ways, continue to produce new blind spots and new silences."<sup>51</sup>

## Conclusion

In this article, we employed a relational understanding of social media affordances to discuss how Instagram enables the everyday integration of photographs taken in the rarefied spaces of museums and art galleries based on a specific case from the project *Curating Digital Images*. We focused on the routinized actions and behavioral patterns made possible by the platform and their entanglement with users' incorporated media knowledge. For it is people's habit of using social media for everyday communication that allows them to place digital images within alternative frames of reference. In examining practices of (re-)contextualization and categorization, we observed that the mediation of everyday life and public debates is something wholly determined neither by the digital platform nor by the users. Digital images on social media platforms are above all points of reference for socially distributed practices within an online economy of valuation and attention. By liking and commenting on posts, social media users participate in processes of visual sense-making. The interactive potential of Instagram extends users' ability to interpret, adapt, modify and even challenge visual content. In addition, we describe how Instagram's temporal structures afford the everyday practices of sharing, circulating and linking of digital images in a dialectic of impermanence and preservation. We then concluded by asking whether practices of digitally embedding photographs of museum artworks in everyday discourses indicates a change in who assigns value and meaning to art. We argued that the afforded practices of (re-)contextualization have helped shift authority from museums to individuals, albeit within the existing framework of established power relationships.

## Author Biography

Sarah Ullrich (sarah.maria.ullrich@hu-berlin.de) and Katharina Geis (katharina.geis@hu-berlin.de), are PhD students at the Institute for European Ethnology at the Humboldt Universität zu Berlin (HU) and researchers in the DFG-funded project *Curating Digital Images: Ethnographic Perspectives on the Affordances of Digital Images in Heritage and Museum Contexts* at the Centre for Anthropological Research On Museums and Heritage (CARMAH). Within the project Sarah Ullrich focuses on the curation of digital images through visitor photography and on social media practices in the context of museums and art galleries. Katharina Geis's research concentrates on the use of digital artefacts or artwork images that can be found in online museum archives.

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## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) – GZ: BA 6440/2-1 AOBJ: 660775. <http://www.carmah.berlin/curating-digital-images/> (accessed January 25, 2021).
- <sup>2</sup> See Gibson 1986, 127.
- <sup>3</sup> See Bareither 2020, 35–6.
- <sup>4</sup> See Bareither 2020, 42.
- <sup>5</sup> See Bareither 2020, 37.
- <sup>6</sup> Ingold 1992, 44.
- <sup>7</sup> Keane 2018 31–2.
- <sup>8</sup> Ingold 1992, 50–1.
- <sup>9</sup> See Ingold 1992, 51.
- <sup>10</sup> Ingold 2000, 166
- <sup>11</sup> Ingold 2000, 166–7.
- <sup>12</sup> See Tröndle 2014, 16.
- <sup>13</sup> Tröndle 2014, 16.
- <sup>14</sup> See Eghbal-Azar 2016, 11.
- <sup>15</sup> Hutchby 2001, 444.
- <sup>16</sup> Hutchby 2001, 444.
- <sup>17</sup> Bareither 2019, 12.
- <sup>18</sup> See Bareither 2020, 38.
- <sup>19</sup> See Knappett 2004, 47.
- <sup>20</sup> Keane 2018, 31.
- <sup>21</sup> Iversen and Smith 2012, 129.
- <sup>22</sup> Schreiber 2017, 144.
- <sup>23</sup> Schreiber 2017, 145.
- <sup>24</sup> Chave 1994, 596.
- <sup>25</sup> Schulz 2017.
- <sup>26</sup> <https://www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/1907> (accessed January 25, 2021).
- <sup>27</sup> Tayla Camp, Instagram Message to Author, September 22, 2020.
- <sup>28</sup> See Leighton 1990, 610.
- <sup>29</sup> Tayla Camp, Instagram Post, September 21, 2020: <https://www.instagram.com/p/CFZtKNoqDCA/> (accessed January 25, 2021).
- <sup>30</sup> Tayla Camp, Instagram Message to Author, September 17, 2020.
- <sup>31</sup> Geismar 2017, 332.
- <sup>32</sup> Geismar 2017, 336.
- <sup>33</sup> Budge 2017, 70.
- <sup>34</sup> Budge 2017, 70.
- <sup>35</sup> Carah 2014, 137.
- <sup>36</sup> Liu 2012, 31.
- <sup>37</sup> Tayla Camp, Instagram Message to Author, September 22, 2020.
- <sup>38</sup> Tayla Camp, Instagram Message to Author, September 22, 2020.
- <sup>39</sup> Anonymous, Comment on Tayla Camps Instagram Post, September 21, 2020: <https://www.instagram.com/p/CFZtKNoqDCA/> (accessed January 25, 2021).
- <sup>40</sup> Kaun and Stiernstedt 2014, 1155.
- <sup>41</sup> Kaun and Stiernstedt 2014, 1161.
- <sup>42</sup> See Hartmann 2017, 373.
- <sup>43</sup> Kaun and Stiernstedt 2014, 1161.
- <sup>44</sup> Tayla Camp, Instagram message to author, September 17, 2020.
- <sup>45</sup> Kaun and Stiernstedt 2014, 1162.
- <sup>46</sup> Taylor and Gibson 2016, 412.
- <sup>47</sup> Jareontananan 2016, 302.
- <sup>48</sup> Tayla Camp, Instagram message to author, September 22, 2020.
- <sup>49</sup> Taylor and Gibson 2016, 411.
- <sup>50</sup> Taylor and Gibson 2016, 412.
- <sup>51</sup> Lundrigan 2020, 642.