



# TOWARDS A PRAXEOLOGICAL MEDIA PHILOSOPHY OF THE DIGITAL IMAGE THEORIZING PICTORIAL PICTURE CRITIQUE IN SOCIAL MEDIA

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**ABSTRACT** | This article explores the theory and methodology of the project “Pictorial Picture Critique in Social Media. Explicit and Tacit Theorizing of the Digital Image.” In order to gain elements of a theory of the digital image from the inside perspective of digital images themselves, the aim of the project is to analyze user-generated forms of pictures that criticize other pictures on social media. This inside view is theorized through media philosophy, which is a philosophy of media by media. Assuming that media have knowledge about media, this diffuse knowledge needs to be clarified. Therefore, a praxeological approach is chosen to conceptualize this media knowledge. Both approaches are combined into a praxeological media philosophy of social media imagery from a socio-cultural perspective. Methodically, the picture practice analysis is designed to ascertain such media knowledge from the collected phenomena, which operate in the case of pictorial picture critique on two levels: knowing that aspects of a picture are criticized, and knowing how the picture is used for criticism. Finally, this approach is exemplified by a case study on Insta Repeat, which criticizes the practice of curating in social media.

**KEYWORDS** | contemporary visual culture, media theory, methodology, vernacular visual media, social media content

## Introduction

On June 2, 2020, Instagram and other social media sites literally went black. In the course of so-called Blackout Tuesday, social media users posted black squares to promote Black Lives Matter, a worldwide protest movement against white supremacy and police brutality towards people of color. Instagram, a platform where millions of pictures are posted every day, was suddenly interspersed with these black squares, blocking out the everyday picture production, creating black homogeneity on the screen. In a way, this presumably political action implied that the void produced by blacking out pictures was more meaningful than the entire photo flow in the Instagram feed. Hence, Blackout Tuesday was not just social criticism a performative critique of social media that reflects on the homogeneity and banality of social media imagery. It did not take long for activists to criticize Blackout Tuesday for blocking out not only pictures, but the entire information flow under hashtags like #BlackLivesMatter. On Twitter, users lamented that this protest action was merely slacktivism, not really helping the protests on the streets in any way. The discourse around Blackout Tuesday demonstrates that criticism of social media and its digital imagery is frequently articulated by the users themselves, who are affected by digitalization in their daily lives. Whereas academic, political and journalistic criticism of digital images does get a lot of public attention, vernacular critical



Figure 1. Emma Sheffer; *Insta Repeat*; 2020; [https://www.instagram.com/insta\\_repeat](https://www.instagram.com/insta_repeat); screenshot of *Insta Repeat* (2020) that shows the words “BLACK LIVES MATTER” upon a montage of several drone shots.

practices like the ones described above are often not taken seriously as such and remain understudied, even though nowadays users can easily turn into critics on social media. Indeed, users do reflect on, and therefore effectively theorize digital imagery in their criticism of social media, even if this theoretical practice must be characterized as implicit and performative compared to academic theories.<sup>1</sup> In the context of Blackout Tuesday, a particularly telling example of this is a post created by Emma Sheffer on her Instagram account called *Insta Repeat*. A few days prior to Blackout Tuesday, Sheffer showed solidarity with the protest movement by labeling three of her posts with the words “BLACK,” “LIVES,” and “MATTER” (fig. 1). Instead of black squares, Sheffer used a collage of drone shots found on Instagram to create monochrome, but at the same time mosaic-like, shaded backgrounds, assimilating the political statement to the composition and aesthetics of her previous Instagram picture production. Sheffer does not black out the picture flow, but stresses the uniformity of Instagram’s picture production by turning snippets from it into a writing surface for a political message, a background devoid of proper content. By combining various shades of dark colors instead of a uniform black, the political message can take on a slightly different meaning as well, visualizing the multiple shades and the beauty hidden behind the generic term ‘black.’

What this opening example illustrates is that not only do users in social media criticize digital imagery but that there may also be media-theoretical implications to this criticism. The project “Pictorial Picture Critique in Social Media. Explicit and Tacit Theorizing of the Digital Image” aims to uncover these implications in order to build a theory of the digital image by reformulating media philosophy within practice theory. From the perspective of media philosophy, it is neither necessary nor insightful to look at media from the outside, it being preferable instead to adopt an inner perspective of media, which are already ‘theorizing’ themselves.<sup>2</sup> Doing media philosophy is to philosophize with the media about the media in order to explore their own philosophy and translate it into scientific language – typically speech or writing. This shift of perspective to an inside view of media is necessary in order to formulate a context-specific media theory of digital imagery that starts out from concrete pictorial phenomena of digital culture as the proposal of the Priority Program requested, instead of drafting a grand theory of digital images or simply insisting on their ontological non-existence.<sup>3</sup> However, media philosophy is usually not interested in the actual media practices or the media knowledge of the users – unless they are a “genius film-maker”<sup>4</sup> – but favors a somewhat diffuse and non-situated knowledge of the media about the media. Our approach, which will be presented in the following sections, proposes a way to substantiate this media knowledge in socio-cultural terms by taking media practices into account, yet without ethnographically observing or interviewing their users.<sup>5</sup> We will argue that this is possible as pictures themselves are a form of materialized practice. In short, the media-philosophical question of what media know about media and their imagery will be addressed in terms of practice theory by analyzing what we call ‘pictorial picture critique.’

## Pictorial Picture Critique

Criticism of the digital image (and the image in general) is no longer restricted to intellectuals, artists, journalists or politicians, but is a relevant and highly visible part of digital production in social media as an everyday practice, an often creative and playful one. It does not only occur in the course of singular events such as Blackout Tuesday, but is a common part of social media activities, e.g. on Instagram, where users share pictures to criticize visual stereotypes that prevail on this same sharing site. Instances of this kind of critique are gathered under hashtags like #instagramvsreality and #bodypositive, or on Instagram accounts like Insta Repeat. More often than not, it is taken for granted that criticism, regardless of whether it is aimed at digital or analog media, is a written – or even literary – practice.<sup>6</sup> Roland Barthes prominently emphasizes that “criticism is discourse upon a discourse,” which implies in linguistic terms “a second language, or a metalanguage [...]”.<sup>7</sup> The seemingly self-evident premise that this metalanguage takes on a written form remains unquestioned in terms of its limitations. Current publications on digital media criticism show that this dominance still persists. Peter B. Orlik’s comprehensive book on *Media Criticism in a Digital Age* only mentions examples published in print media: newspapers, TV guides, and other magazines.<sup>8</sup> This predominance of criticism in writing does not rule out that other media, pictures in particular, can produce their own forms of media criticism, even if these tend to be less obvious. “Just as words [...], images are themselves capable of becoming critical tools.”<sup>9</sup> According to Jörg Huber, three kinds of picture critique can be distinguished: First, picture critique is used for didactic and/or entertaining purposes, e.g. art history’s long ingrained practice of comparative double projection, or the reviewing of the ‘picture of the week’ in the feuilleton. Second, there is the wide field of image theory interested in the epistemology of the image by examining how pictures operate. These two practices of picture critique, once again, transpose the visuality of pictures into a linguistic and textual form. To conclude, Huber identifies a third kind of picture critique, namely pictorial picture critique, where pictures criticize other pictures. In this sense, pictures become tools or even agents of criticism. Huber notes that virtually no research has been undertaken on this topic so far.<sup>10</sup>

We want to close this research gap by gathering phenomena that fit the definition of pictorial picture critique on social media. This critique involves a form of “fault-finding, or at least [...] judgment,”<sup>11</sup> which aims at the digital mediality of the picture in the form of parody, juxtaposition, comment etc. While critique in written or spoken form can be defined, using Barthes’ theories, as a metalanguage, pictorial picture critique can be grasped with what W. J. T. Mitchell calls “metapictures.”<sup>12</sup> In both cases, critique implies a particular kind of reflexivity. Metapictures are typically “media objects that reflect on their own constitution,”<sup>13</sup> which means that they do observe the mediality of imagery. Media reflexivity, thus, can be considered a critical practice directed at creating medial self-knowledge.<sup>14</sup> In this respect, the project is founded on the media-philosophical conviction that pictorial picture critique offers inside access to the mediality of digital images, as it lays bare the self-reflexive logic of the medium. The objective of the project is not a second-order observation of digital media, as criticism already is, but a third-order observation of digital media reflecting on digital media.<sup>15</sup> According to Lorenz Engell, media philosophy does not mean using a philosophical approach to think about media but is instead a philosophy *with* media that know about themselves as media. Media hold knowledge about themselves because in their representation of the world they inevitably include a representation of themselves, as they are part of the world they represent.<sup>16</sup> “So, if you want to find out what media are, or what they want, or what they in fact do, just ask them.”<sup>17</sup> From a practice-theoretical perspective, we insist that this reflexive media knowledge should be situated in the various media practices and we thus try to uncover it by observing the media-reflexive practices of pictorial picture critique. Whereas all picture practices rely on some (often tacit) knowledge about how pictures ‘work,’ pictorial picture critique is an exceptionally fruitful case, because it also, consciously and explicitly, exhibits knowledge about itself, i.e. the image. As the reflexive knowledge resides in the current performance of a specific practice, it does not aim at a fully-fledged systematic theory but rather performs a processual and piecemeal ‘theorizing.’<sup>18</sup> By drawing theoretical knowledge from media practice, we follow Mitchell’s claim that “no theory of media can rise above the media themselves, and that what is required are forms of vernacular theory, embedded in media practices.”<sup>19</sup> Exactly how we can manage the convergence of media philosophy and practice theory in terms of methodology will be discussed in the next section.

## Picture Practice Analysis

The praxeological or practice turn has affected visual studies and photography research immensely during the last decade in general, and digital photography even more intensely. This turn has shifted the focus from the pictures themselves towards the practices of producing, circulating and viewing digital images. The picture itself – what it shows and how it is designed – fades from the spotlight as it is perceived as an obstacle for understanding visual culture. Rather than focusing on the aesthetic form or semantic content, the non-representative properties of pictures are prioritized. Edgar Gómez Cruz, for instance, urges digital photography studies to look beyond images to distance “it[self] from the model within which the images are the central element, instead positioning photography in a broader set of digital practices [...]”.<sup>20</sup> In such an approach, pictures should be observed in the context of the social practices surrounding them. The claim is that it is inevitable to take recourse to social science and ethnographic methods such as participant observation and interviewing, i.e. either observe the actors or interview them about their actions in order to reconstruct the overall meaning of an image.<sup>21</sup>

In our view, this approach alone is not convincing for two reasons. First, we think it is questionable whether practices can be fully reconstructed this way because interviewing creates a new knowledge according to its own logic instead of just revealing what is already there and giving insights into the actual practice, i.e. the know-how of the actor. Therefore, it is hard to tell the knowledge constructed by the actor during the interview apart from the one used in the everyday habitualized practice, i.e. outside the interview. In other words, interviews are a practice in themselves and therefore generate a knowledge of their own.<sup>22</sup> This is not the only reason ethnography reaches its limits here: Since digital images can be easily circulated online, they appear in various contexts, where they are interpreted by users in different ways. Martin Hand, who actually uses ethnographic methodology himself, argues that “in-depth interviewing potentially ignores compositional and technological issues, rarely moving beyond localized contexts that arguably miss the more challenging aspects of *circulation* [...]”.<sup>23</sup> There is supposedly no alternative to using quantitative/digital methods for analyzing the circulation of images in social media. We beg to differ by introducing a qualitative method beyond ethnographical and sociological research.

That brings us to our second point. We are convinced that media studies has its own tools for analyzing images and forms in general that can help to reconstruct picture practices. Hence it is neither productive nor creative to simply turn media studies into “media sociology”,<sup>24</sup> as Nick Couldry proposes. Both disciplines have epistemologies and methodologies of their own, yielding specific kinds of insights. From a media studies perspective, it is important to stress that the picture itself, as the result and starting point of practices alike, carries signs of those practices that make it possible to reconstruct them without taking recourse to producer and/or user statements, as sociologists would do. This is what we mean by ‘materialized practice.’ A picture materializes a practice insofar as it is the result of a practice that gains a perceivable, definable and at least to some extent stabilized (because reproducible) form in the aesthetic object.<sup>25</sup> At the same time, the picture is imbued with the power to instigate ensuing practices (not infrequently leading to the production of more pictures, e.g. in the case of internet memes). Thus, the picture can be reconstructed not as a representation but as a trace of the practices that are inscribed into its form because, as Bernd Stiegler puts it, “human actions are turned into images.”<sup>26</sup> Of course, in order to understand a picture as a token of a particular practice, it is necessary to include the context in the analysis, i.e. on which platforms the picture appears, how it is tagged, arranged in a feed, positioned in a blog etc. Mirroring the production of social media content, which is always directed at a specific audience on a specific platform at a specific point in time, the reception is context-sensitive, a fact which also has to be considered by researchers.<sup>27</sup>

To conclude both points made, the project decidedly pursues a methodological interest in bringing together practice theory and image analysis, combining them into a *praxeological media philosophy* which understands the picture itself as materialized practice acting as a site of reflexive media knowledge. It is important to shift the emphasis from the actors/users to the practice itself to realize that it is practice that implies knowledge, whether or not the actors/users can provide insights into the concepts informing their doings. One might then argue: Why jump on the bandwagon of practice theory in the first place? What have media studies to gain from this move other than the risk of turning into a poor imitation of sociology? The answer is that looking at practices is now more crucial than ever for media studies since digital media such as photography, film, video, computer games etc. tend to blend inside the raster grid of pixels, but are distinguishable in their actual practices, which socially construct

how media are perceived as distinct and individual. Digitization questions this status of what were formerly known as mono-media.<sup>28</sup> For example, digital images can look like paintings and feature photographic properties like lens flare at the same time and yet still be entirely computer-generated.<sup>29</sup> Consequently, it is hard to grasp what the digital image actually *is* or can *be*. Maybe this is the reason why there is no general theory of the digital image so far, apart from the theorem of its ontological non-existence. Ontological thinking, which emphasizes the changing status of digital imaging per se, cannot cover the digital image in all its varying manifestations but only aspects of it, which is why recent studies prefer to start out from concrete practices and social uses of these pictures.<sup>30</sup>

Consequently, we want to propose a method that intervenes in current debates on media and image theory in order to provide a form-sensitive complement as well as an alternative to sociologically and ethnographically founded approaches to digital visual studies. This method aims at extracting media knowledge from within the picture. Pictorial picture critique makes a particularly interesting case for analyzing media this way since it holds knowledge about certain aspects of the pictorial media it addresses as well as knowledge about the pictorial medium it uses. Thus, media knowledge about digital images operates on two levels: On the one hand, digital images are the object of criticism. Any form of critique logically presumes prior and conscious reflection about its object. Hence, pictorial picture critique cannot but be media-conscious. As an aesthetic form, the critical picture visualizes knowledge about the type of picture it addresses. On this level, we ask what kind of knowledge the picture exhibits about other pictures by analyzing the content of these pictures in their original contexts. On the other hand, digital images come into play as the medium in which the pictorial form of critique is located. This knowledge about the qualities and options of digital images is a prerequisite for the pictorial form in which criticism is practised. The form that the pictorial critique takes is based on knowledge about the multiple options of designing digital images and what kinds of pictures are viable at the moment. In this sense, we analyze the picture in terms of composition, montage, captioning, and other picture practices – all operations which imply specific know-how. Thus, the analysis operates at a formal and aesthetic level as well. The coexistence of these two levels lends itself to an examination of how their relation is brought into play. They may possibly support each other or produce a contradiction if a trait of digital imagery is criticized which applies to its own pictorial status.

Following Gilbert Ryle, these levels can be theoretically conceptualized as “knowing that” pictures are pictorially criticized and “knowing how” pictures can pictorially criticize.<sup>31</sup> Both levels can be either explicit and/or tacit. Arguably, pictures rely heavily on and exhibit tacit knowledge as they show more than their producers can consciously tell, very much like Michael Polanyi once wrote: “We can know more than we can tell.”<sup>32</sup> Then again, as the saying goes, ‘A picture is worth a thousand words,’ explicitly pointing to specific contents and contexts that cannot be easily captured by language. This may especially apply to metapictures, i.e. pictures about pictures, as is the case for internet memes and other self-reflexive social media imagery. Even so, the relationship between ‘tacit knowledge’ and ‘knowing how,’ respectively ‘explicit knowledge’ and ‘knowing that,’ is rather complex. Contrary to a common scientific understanding, the terminology is not synonymous.<sup>33</sup> The level of ‘knowing that’ can be tacit at times, e.g. when internet memes mystify their origin, or can be rather explicit, e.g. in case of juxtaposition. The level of ‘knowing how’ is typically tacit because practices are usually not articulated but performed. However, they can be reflected and become more explicit – particularly in pictorial media. In terms of participation, it could be worth considering if the opposition of explicit and tacit knowledge ‘in practice’ tends to look more like a continuum ranging from “producing media texts and artefacts” (e.g. creating memes, writing blogs etc.) to more “automated user participation” (e.g. sharing content, connecting with people etc.) on social media.<sup>34</sup> This is what Mikko Villi and Janne Matikainen are proposing for a broader understanding of social media practices, which could be adopted and specified for digital picture practices.

The shift from *what* pictures depict to *how* pictures depict is also addressed by the ‘documentary method,’ which is designed, in the traditions of Karl Mannheim and Erwin Panofsky, to analyze people in pictures and/or the producer of the picture through the picture itself.<sup>35</sup> In contrast, our approach is to reconstruct the media knowledge of the picture by extrapolating materialized picture practices. The difference between both methods is the media-philosophical epistemology of the picture practice analysis compared to the knowledge-sociological epistemology of the documentary method. By primarily focusing on the content of the picture, the latter is the exact opposite of the “non-representational methodologies”<sup>36</sup> that we mentioned above. It is important to note that our approach is not meant to replace but to complement those social-scientific methodologies. By applying the picture practice analysis, we focus on praxeologically analyzing the mediality of the digital image from within social media

imagery. This reconstructed media knowledge about the digital image can in turn be triangulated with sociological or ethnographical findings. If we approach the material with already existing knowledge, this might be inevitable in order to avoid circularity in our findings. However, we want to make the pictures 'speak' for themselves, which is why we have gathered a broad range of cases of pictorial picture critique which we will then inductively examine in order to methodically control our own interpretation.

For this purpose, we use a knowledge database (lexiCan) to organize and analyze the images we collect. This database mainly consists of screenshots, which have the advantage over loose images that they provide metadata such as captions, hashtags, links etc., which can help to contextualize the image. For the time being, the corpus of phenomena we have collected is structured by five key practices (editing, imitating, captioning, tagging, curating). We use these key practices of pictorial picture critique to sift through different platforms like Instagram, Reddit, Tumblr, Twitter etc. in search of pictorial phenomena that are edited, imitate pictures, have captions/tags and/or are curated with a media critical impetus, for example dank memes, anti-selfies, photoshop fails, stocking, facial editing etc. In many of the cases, we found several of the designated practices combine. Our initial set of practices is open to new entries, of course. In lexiCan, it is possible to display, sort and tag the screenshots found this way as well as provide them with sources to the original posts. Tagging is itself a practice of digital culture, which can be found not only almost everywhere in social media, but also in professional image databases. However, we do not use arbitrary tags in our database, as is perhaps common in social media, but rather strive for a systematic coding in the sense of qualitative research. In this vein, we inductively reason the codes from the screenshots and document them in a code book. The focus of coding is naturally on the picture practices used, including various sub-practices such as cutting, pasting or posing, but also on the forms that result from them and the platforms in which they are embedded. The code book serves to enable us to keep track of research as well as to establish intersubjectivity, defining the pictorial practices and putting them into relation. The picture practice analysis is directly undertaken in lexiCan, which also serves as a text processing program. Conducting case studies directly in the knowledge database has the advantage that we can interlink the phenomena and practices to each other, much like the hypertext structure of the internet itself. In the following, we will present such a case study that will give an example of the pictorial phenomena we have observed as well as an account of how we use the picture practice analysis in practice.

## Case Study on Insta Repeat

This exemplary case study returns to the picture practices of Insta Repeat, which Emma Sheffer designed to illustrate the aesthetic repetition in digital travel photography. For this purpose, various formally similar Instagram posts are montaged into one overall picture. Each of these overall pictures is composed of 12 single shots taken by Instagram influencers. We categorized this pictorial phenomenon under the practice of curating. To discuss how (and if) this practice works and which knowledge is implied in the context of social media, we will take an exemplary look at six of Sheffer's curations (fig. 2).

On the 'knowing that' level of the picture practice analyses, we consider what the curated pictures are about and who took them. Obviously, they are digital photographs, all taken from inside a tent. Each photograph depicts a so-called 'tent hole' which serves as a window to the outside world. Through these tent holes mountains, lakes, beaches, forests and deserts are visible and suggest a rough, untouched nature. However, almost all of the places shown are well-known tourist locations such as the mountains Seceda, Tre Cime di Lavaredo, and Matterhorn. Most of the photographs, roughly 70% (50 out of 72 pictures), show mountainsides. This motif was arguably so frequently chosen because "mountains" have – in terms of Walter Benjamin – an "aura" to them, defined as "the unique apparition of a distance, however near it may be."<sup>37</sup> Each mountain is a singular formation in nature, none like the other. In contrast, this is exactly what these digital photographs are missing. They fetishize the mountains as a motif to feign a uniqueness that digital photography simply cannot achieve. Just like Benjamin, not in writing, but pictorially, Insta Repeat is pointing out that these pictures are actually not unique but rather common and reproducible. In comparison, the photographs of mountains do not seem as unique as mountains in nature due to the reproducibility of the medium. However, this digital reproducibility is not necessarily afforded by the platform

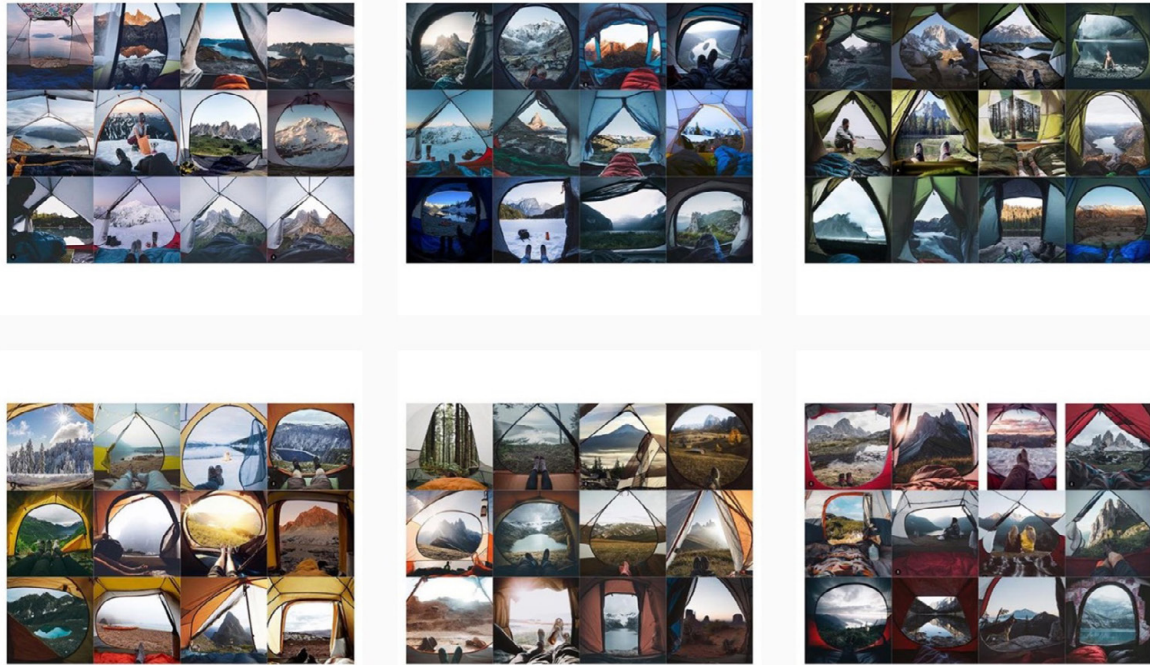


Figure 2. Emma Sheffer; *Insta Repeat*; 2018; [https://www.instagram.com/insta\\_repeat](https://www.instagram.com/insta_repeat); screenshot of *Insta* that shows a curation of several tent shots (2018).

itself as other people's pictures cannot easily be copied on Instagram.<sup>38</sup> Instead, other users, who are familiar with these kinds of pictures, imitate the picture practices of travel photography.

For example, the photos by Thilo Axnick and Tom Fechtner (fig. 3 and 4, curated in the first image of fig. 2) look almost exactly the same.<sup>39</sup> From the white tent to the blue sleeping bag to the angle of the mountain shot of the Seceda – everything is identical. Just the color temperature is a bit different. A quick research shows that Thilo and Tom are cousins. One might speculate that creating photographs with this particular aesthetic could be a family-related practice. However, it is noteworthy that their kinship is not disclosed anywhere in their posts. Actually, both posts are designed to appear unique. *Insta Repeat* reveals that this is not the case on an even larger scale. Lots of tourist sites, especially mountainsides, are pictured as tent shots. What varies, at least in some part, are the operators themselves, who are present in most of the photographs. In the extreme case of Thilo and Tom, their bodies staged here, hidden within sleeping bags, look quite alike. In other cases, however, the bodies of the influencers are shown with visible differences: some wear shoes or socks, some are barefoot, and others lie in their sleeping bags. These human contingencies make the photographs distinguishable and, ironically, more unique than the nature pictured, which is irritated by these so-called 'feet shots' of Instagram influencers.

Feet and tent shots are a popular form on Instagram. Up to now, tent shots have been curated by Sheffer in 29 posts, i.e. 348 single photographs. Feet shots, i.e. photographs of one's feet, are even more common, curated in 59 posts. These selfies are taken on the one hand to convey the subjective sensation of what the influencers have witnessed in the 'wild.' On the other hand, these selfies are self-marketing. By staging their own bodies, travel selfies are not just intended to document the backpacking experience but to mediate the presence of the influencers.<sup>40</sup> This 'selfie-branding' gives the photograph an individual touch and a glance at the backstage that is, of course, staged as well. By bringing the self to the fore, "the viewer is invited to establish their own relation to both the subject





Figure 3. Thilo Axnick; thiloaxnick; 2017; [https://www.instagram.com/p/BY\\_arlznTk/](https://www.instagram.com/p/BY_arlznTk/); screenshot of the photograph of the Seceda posted by Thilo Axnick (2017).



Figure 4. Tom Fechtner; tom.fechtner; 2017; <https://www.instagram.com/p/BX8Ug6jlQm0/>; screenshot of the photograph of the Seceda posted by Tom Fechtner (2017).

and the pictured object [...].<sup>41</sup> This relationship is exactly what influencing is all about since influencers are most interested in accumulating as many followers as possible, who can be affected by promotion. In this way, a “high follower count can be monetized on Instagram,” which is why “within the travel genre the most-followed users are, in effect, businesspeople [sic].”<sup>42</sup> Our research shows that the 52 travel influencers marked in the overall pictures by Sheffer, have at least several thousand followers, actually ranging from 7,500 (flolanni) to 1.5 million (hannes\_becker). Hannes Becker, for example, is openly advertising a camera of the company Olympus in his post, which is disclosed with: “Paid partnership with olympuscameras” and “Werbung,” the German word for ‘advertisement.’<sup>43</sup> This example demonstrates that these travel selfies are not just about self-branding, but in some cases actual marketing and paid promotions, reaching millions of people, as with Hannes Becker. But Becker is not the only such case, even though he is the most influential in Sheffer’s curation. 37% (19 out of 52) of the influencers marked in Sheffer’s curation are actively advertising in their posts, some more explicitly than others. Overall, the content of their posts is more often about promoting than describing the photographed nature, which only occurs in 31% of the cases (16 out of 52 influencers). The analysis of the ‘knowing that’ reveals that, content-wise, these photographs are not just about nature or backpacking adventures but advertorials, and almost always self(ie)-branding.

On the ‘knowing how’ level of the picture practice analysis, we reconstruct how the curation is formally executed. In the case of Insta Repeat, the 12 travel photographs are organized into a chess-like mosaic, which reveals their likeness (in conjunction with their variation). In fig. 2, each of the 72 photos can be qualified as a so-called ‘tent shot,’ i.e. a point-of-view shot that was taken from inside a tent. To gather material evidence that they actually look alike, Sheffer searched the Instagram pages of the influencers for photographs that share one similar perspective, consisting of a POV, a tent hole, and the view outside into nature. The form of the tent shot is responsible for the similarity of these 72 photographs. Most of the selected photographs vary in some way, however. For example, the tent holes vary in shape due to different tents, the landscape is depicted in variable angles, or – as stated above – the influencers themselves cause contingencies in the photographs. Nevertheless, some of the photographs are almost identical as, for instance, in the curation of Thilo Axnick’s and Tom Fechtner’s photographs, which is valid also for other curated photographs of the Seceda.<sup>44</sup> Therefore, each of the mosaics is iconically organized by genre (travel photography), motif (e.g. the Seceda mountainside), and form (e.g. tent shots).

Furthermore, this iconic arrangement is structured by color. This means that each mosaic has its own color scheme, which is expressed in the captions of the posts: “Purple blueish tent hole” / “Blueish tent hole” / “Greenish tent hole” / “Yellowish tent hole” / “Orangish tent hole” / “Red tent hole.”<sup>45</sup> These captions are an explicit cue that Sheffer searched for similar tent shots but also sorted them by color. This sorting takes place on two different levels. First, photographs with a similar color are montaged together. In most cases, the color is defined by the tone of the tent, which is mainly responsible for the color scheme. For example, in the last mosaic all tents have reddish parts – some more than others. In other cases, it is not the tent but the nature that colorizes the photograph, for instance the sun in the fourth mosaic. On their own, most of the photographs do not actually seem very colorful at all and/or could be easily described by another color. In combination, however, they form distinct mosaics that differ in color and hue. Pictorially, the curation is criticizing exactly this: that these photographs appear quite special on their own but put together they easily form a unity. By putting these digital photographs side by side, Insta Repeat powerfully demonstrates how similar Instagram photography actually looks. The supposed uniqueness of Instagram photography is challenged by Sheffer’s curation. The result is a mosaic-like ‘Gesamtkunstwerk.’

Second, the color scheme indicates that the mosaics themselves are sequenced by color. Sheffer explains this in the captions of the photographs and with the dates they were posted. A sequence can adopt the form of a series, stringing together variations on a common form or theme, if the posts appear interconnected. This is precisely what happens: By using the theme of ‘color,’ Sheffer serializes the mosaics, which were posted within a week, based on the color spectrum – from red to violet. That means the red mosaic was posted first on December 9, 2018, then the orange mosaic a day later, then the yellow mosaic a day after, and so on. While repeating the form of the ‘tent shot’ in each post, Sheffer varies the color scheme and description of the mosaics. This serialization can be understood as a tacit self-critique of the picture practice applied, because Insta Repeat is actually a curation of curations. While curating is usually a practice at home in museums and art galleries, it is appropriated by Sheffer for social media. On her website, she explicitly lists Insta Repeat under curations and defines it as an “[e]xamination of an internet copy machine.”<sup>46</sup> Appropriately enough, ‘repeating’ is how Sheffer labels her practice in the name of her profile. She repeatedly (in a series of posts) repeats (by appropriating images already posted) what others have repeated (the pictorial stereotypes). In this case, curating combines with another common practice of pictorial picture critique: imitating.

## Conclusion

Insta Repeat questions the individuality of Instagram photography, and instead places it within a larger framework of photographic practices, i.e. routines. In the analyzed examples, these photographic routines are materialized into the form of feet and tent shots. Taking photographs this way is a common practice on Instagram, which is not only showcased by Insta Repeat, but is actually acknowledged by some users. In the curated photographs, 15% (8 out of 52 influencers) reference this photographic form in the caption of their posts. For example, Seya Egger calls his “tent view game over 9000!” and is “[m]aking a ‘Outofthetent’-Shot” in another post.<sup>47</sup> At the same time, these photographs do not want to appear ordinary but rather extraordinary, since they are designed for self[ie]-branding and advertising. Hence most posts obscure the fact that there are already hundreds of very similar looking tent shots out there on Instagram. These tent shots are collected and exhibited by Sheffer to expose their similarity, which only becomes explicit through curation (fig. 2). In the examples analyzed, at least two sub-practices – captioning and serializing – are used to facilitate this curation. Captioning these photographic mosaics explicitly brings the posts into an order that is tacitly serialized by color scheme. In a very similar way, Sheffer used these sub-practices to curate the words “BLACK LIVES MATTER” (fig. 1), to criticize the homogeneity of Instagram, disguised as individuality, by uniformly serializing her own posts. Rather than dissociating itself from homogeneity in order to criticize it, Insta Repeat is itself characterized by homogeneity. In a manner quite similar to pop art, social media is reflected through the means of social media, implying that the uniformity of pictures is not a problem per se, but rather the myth of their uniqueness is.

The critique of tourist snapshots as repetitive is not limited to digital photography or new in any way, but is a staple of cultural critique of the tourist experience as inauthentic.<sup>48</sup> For example, the artist Penelope Umbrico curates travel photography as well, which she collects from Flickr, but does not exhibit on social media. Her curations are shown in art galleries.<sup>49</sup> In a similar vein, Erik Kessels collected thousands of foot selfies posted on the internet and materialized them into an installation on which museum visitors can walk to set their own feet in relation to the pictured ones culled from the massive vaults of the internet.<sup>50</sup> Both projects are mentioned here, because they clearly exhibit parallels to Sheffer’s curations. At the same time, they stand for an important strand in contemporary artistic practice, namely appropriation art, typically connected to the concept of postmodernism.<sup>51</sup> In contrast to Sheffer’s project, however, Kessels’ and Umbrico’s curated appropriations do not involve the internal perspective of self-critique, as in the case of Insta Repeat. First, it is a critique supported by sites of institutionalized cultural power: art galleries and museums, whereas Sheffer’s curations appear inside the same ‘institution’ and virtually next door to the pictures she critically addresses. Second, by leaving digital image culture and materializing the digital shots as prints, the potential of the installations to be repeated – (re)appropriated and circulated – has been minimized.

Still, there might even be an artistic aspiration to Sheffer’s project, although she remains a social media user in the end. When she criticizes Instagram from within, it is not without self-criticism. Certainly, self-critique is an important part of pictorial picture critique in social media since it brings to light the circularity of the digital image. The influencers are explicitly marked by Sheffer in her posts and therefore made accountable for their actions, which is not the case in the art gallery, where the origins of the photographs used by Umbrico and Kessels are rendered anonymous. In a sense, Sheffer becomes herself a meta-influencer by accumulating and appropriating the ‘art’ of others, while criticizing the practices of others (and her own) with metapictures. By curating curations, the pictorial picture critique of Insta Repeat implies media knowledge about the digital image in social media using images of social media, giving us a critical inside perspective of Instagram. By putting 12 similar-looking photographs together into one ‘Gesamtkunstwerk,’ she criticizes the similarity of Instagram photography in a rather artistic manner, creating a new curation of photographs that have already been curated by influencers. According to Lev Manovich, photographs on Instagram are “designed photos [that] aim for *originality* in terms of how subjects are shown, at the same time for very tight *control* of an image – ideally consisting from smaller number of clear differentiated elements organized to achieve strong visual contrast and rhythm.”<sup>52</sup> This apparent originality and definitive controllability of digital travel photography is exactly what Sheffer points out in her curation while she criticizes the practice of “curating”<sup>53</sup> on social media pictorially. While doing so, however, she has to curate her own content, i.e. her curations on social media. This is exactly what we mean by ‘curation of curations.’ Sheffer is a curator on Instagram as well, not just in an artistic way but as a social media user. Ironically, her curated mosaics look homogenous, too, for instance the many curated car shots, drone shots, feet shots, tent shots etc., which ultimately result in exasperated comments by other users like this: “Enough with the tent holes, we get it.”<sup>54</sup>

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> For an overview of criticism of digital media, mostly from an academic and journalistic perspective, see Otto Peters, *Against the Tide: Critics of Digitalisation*. (Oldenburg: BIS-Verlag, 2013).
- <sup>2</sup> Cf. Lorenz Engell, "Medientheorien der Medien selbst," in *Handbuch Medienwissenschaft*, ed. Jens Schröter (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2014), 207.
- <sup>3</sup> See Wolfgang Hagen, "Es gibt kein 'digitales Bild.' – Eine medienepistemologische Anmerkung," *Licht und Leitung – Archiv für Mediengeschichte* 2 (2002): 103–112 and Claus Pias, "Das digitale Bild gibt es nicht: Über das (Nicht-)Wissen der Bilder und die informatische Illusion," *zeitenblicke* 2, no. 1 (2003): 1–25. For digital photography see Lev Manovich, "The Paradoxes of Digital Photography," in *The Photography Reader*, ed. Liz Wells (London: Routledge, 2003), 240–249.
- <sup>4</sup> Lorenz Engell, "Ontogenetic Machinery," *Radical Philosophy*, no. 169 (2011): 10.
- <sup>5</sup> Engell himself actually suggests this praxeological reading when he frames media philosophy as a practice of media, cf. Lorenz Engell, "Tasten, Wählen, Denken: Genese und Funktion einer philosophischen Apparatur," in *Medienphilosophie: Beiträge zur Klärung eines Begriffs*, ed. Stefan Münker, Alexander Roesler and Mike Sandbothe (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2003), 53.
- <sup>6</sup> Cf. Raymond Williams, "Criticism," in *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, ed. Raymond Williams, 2nd ed. (Oxford University Press: New York, 1983), 85. See also Jürgen Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit: Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1990), 105.
- <sup>7</sup> Roland Barthes, "What Is Criticism?," in *Critical Essays*, ed. Roland Barthes (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1972), 258.
- <sup>8</sup> Cf. Peter B. Orlik, *Media Criticism in a Digital Age: Professional and Consumer Considerations* (New York: Routledge, 2016). See also Anandam P. Kavoori, *Digital Media Criticism* (New York: Lang, 2010), who gives guidelines for writing critiques on digital media.
- <sup>9</sup> Georges Didi-Huberman, "Critical Image/Imaging Critique," *Oxford Art Journal* 40, no. 2 (2017): 260.
- <sup>10</sup> Cf. Jörg Huber, "Bildkritik: Über Taktilität und die Armut des Einzelnen," in *Ästhetik der Kritik oder verdeckte Ermittlung*, ed. Jörg Huber et al. (Zurich, Vienna: Springer, 2007), 95–97.
- <sup>11</sup> Raymond Williams, "Criticism," in *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, ed. Raymond Williams, 2nd ed. (Oxford University Press: New York, 1983), 83.
- <sup>12</sup> W. J. T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 38.
- <sup>13</sup> Mitchell, "Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation," 210.
- <sup>14</sup> Cf. Kay Kirchmann and Jens Ruchatz, "Einleitung: Wie Filme Medien beobachten: Zur kinematografischen Konstruktion von Medialität," in *Medienreflexion im Film: Ein Handbuch*, ed. Kay Kirchmann and Jens Ruchatz (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2014), 9.
- <sup>15</sup> See for criticism as a second-order observation Niklas Luhmann, *Die neuzeitlichen Wissenschaften und die Phänomenologie* (Vienna: Picus, 1996), 17.
- <sup>16</sup> Cf. Lorenz Engell, "Medientheorien der Medien selbst," in *Handbuch Medienwissenschaft*, ed. Jens Schröter (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2014), 207.
- <sup>17</sup> Lorenz Engell, "Ontogenetic Machinery," *Radical Philosophy*, no. 169 (2011): 10.
- <sup>18</sup> Cf. Lorenz Engell, "Medientheorien der Medien selbst," in *Handbuch Medienwissenschaft*, ed. Jens Schröter (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2014), 207 and W. J. T. Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images* (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 6.
- <sup>19</sup> W. J. T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 210.
- <sup>20</sup> Edgar Gómez Cruz, "Digital Photography Studies. From Images to Material Visual Practices," in *Handbuch Soziale Praktiken und Digitale Alltagswelten*, ed. Heidrun Friese et al. (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2020), 100. For pre-digital photography see Elizabeth Edwards, "Objects of Affect: Photography Beyond the Image," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41, no. 1 (2012): 221–234.
- <sup>21</sup> Formative for such an ethnographical approach is Larsen, Jonas. "Practices and Flows of Digital Photography: An Ethnographic Framework," *Mobilities* 3, no. 1 (2008): 141–160.
- <sup>22</sup> Cf. Paul Atkinson and David Silverman, "Kundera's Immortality: The Interview Society and the Invention of the Self," *Qualitative Inquiry* 3, no. 3 (1997): 304–325 and David Silverman, "How Was It for You? The Interview Society and the Irresistible Rise of the (Poorly Analyzed) Interview," *Qualitative Research* 17, no. 2 (2017): 144–158.
- <sup>23</sup> Martin Hand, "Visuality in Social Media: Researching Images, Circulations and Practices," in *The Sage Handbook of Social Media Research Methods*, ed. Luke Sloan and Anabel Quan-Haase (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2017), 224.
- <sup>24</sup> Nick Couldry, "Theorising Media as Practice," in *Theorising Media and Practice*, ed. Birgit Bräuchler and John Postill (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010), 41.
- <sup>25</sup> On a technical level, this materialization can be understood quite literally because digital data is formed into an image on the screen, for example on the basis of liquid crystals (LCD).
- <sup>26</sup> Bernd Stiegler, "How to Do Things with Photographs: Towards a Praxeology of Photography," in *The Routledge Companion to Photography and Visual Culture*, ed. Moritz Neumüller (New York, London: Routledge, 2018), 5.
- <sup>27</sup> André Gunther, "The Conversational Image: New Uses of Digital Photography," *Études photographiques* 18, no. 31 (2014), accessed December 3, 2020, url: <https://journals.openedition.org/etudesphotographiques/3546>.

- <sup>28</sup> Cf. Jens Schröter, "Das ur-intermediale Netzwerk und die (Neu-)Erfindung des Mediums im (digitalen) Modernismus: Ein Versuch," in *Intermedialität – Analog/Digital: Theorien, Methoden, Analysen*, ed. Joachim Paech and Jens Schröter (Munich: Fink, 2008), 590. William J. Mitchell, *The Reconfigured Eye: Visual Truth in the Post-Photographic Era*, 4th ed. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001), 4-5.
- <sup>29</sup> Jens Schröter, "Das ur-intermediale Netzwerk und die (Neu-)Erfindung des Mediums im (digitalen) Modernismus: Ein Versuch," in *Intermedialität – Analog/Digital: Theorien, Methoden, Analysen*, ed. Joachim Paech and Jens Schröter (Munich: Fink, 2008), 588.
- <sup>30</sup> Cf. Jens Schröter, "Digitales Bild," *IMAGE*, no. 25 (2017): 91. A current example of this is Martin Hand, "Photography Meets Social Media: Image Making and Sharing in a Continually Networked Present," in *The Handbook of Photography Studies*, ed. Gil Pasternak (London, New York: Bloomsbury, 2020), 310–326.
- <sup>31</sup> Gilbert Ryle, "Knowing How and Knowing That," *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* 46 (1945–1946): 4.
- <sup>32</sup> Michael Polanyi, *The Tacit Dimension* (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 4.
- <sup>33</sup> For this consideration, we would like to thank Christoph Ernst, who gave us feedback on our talk "Bildpraxisanalyse: Erschließen, was Praktiken in Sozialen Medien vom digitalen Bild wissen" that we held at the Priority Program workshop "Das digitale Bild – Methodik und Methodologie: fachspezifisch oder transdisziplinär?" on November 12, 2020. See also Kjeld Schmidt, "The Trouble with 'Tacit Knowledge,'" *Computer Supported Cooperative Work* 21, 2–3 (2012): 209.
- <sup>34</sup> Mikko Villi and Janne Matikainen, "Participation in Social Media: Studying Explicit and Implicit Forms of Participation in Communicative Social Networks," *Media and Communication* 4, no. 4 (2016): 110.
- <sup>35</sup> Ralf Bohnsack, "The Interpretation of Pictures and the Documentary Method," *Historical Social Research* 34, no. 2 (2009): 300-301.
- <sup>36</sup> Phillip Vannini, "Non-Representational Research Methodologies: An Introduction," in *Non-Representational Methodologies: Re-Envisioning Research*, ed. Phillip Vannini (New York, Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 2.
- <sup>37</sup> Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility: Second Version," in *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility, and Other Writings on Media*, ed. Michael W. Jennings, Brigid Doherty and Thomas Y. Levin (Cambridge, London: Belknap Press, 2008), 23. The modern aesthetic interest in mountains as 'picturesque' – put in simple terms: as particularly picture-worthy – originated in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, cf. David S. Miall: "Representing the Picturesque: William Gilpin and the Laws of Nature," *Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and Environment* 12 (2005), No. 2, 75–93.
- <sup>38</sup> On Instagram, pictures cannot be downloaded directly to a smartphone or PC. Sharing a post like on Facebook, for example, is only privately possible, or outside of Instagram itself.
- <sup>39</sup> The photograph by Thilo Axnick can be seen here: Thilo Axnick, "Seceda," Instagram, September 13, 2017, accessed November 30, 2020, url: [https://www.instagram.com/p/BY\\_arlznTk\\_](https://www.instagram.com/p/BY_arlznTk_). Tom Fechtner's photograph can be found here: Tom Fechtner, "Seceda," Instagram, August 18, 2017, accessed November 30, 2020., url: <https://www.instagram.com/p/BX8Ug6jJ0mQ>.
- <sup>40</sup> Mikko Villi, "'Hey, I'm Here Right Now': Camera Phone Photographs and Mediated Presence," *Photographies* 8, no. 1 (2015): 6-7.
- <sup>41</sup> Sean P. Smith, "Landscapes for 'Likes': Capitalizing on Travel with Instagram," *Social Semiotics* 29 (2019): 8, accessed November 30, 2020, url: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10350330.2019.1664579>.
- <sup>42</sup> Smith, "Landscapes for 'Likes': Capitalizing on Travel with Instagram," ?.
- <sup>43</sup> His post can be seen here: Hannes Becker, "Midi–Pyrenees, France," Instagram, October 31, 2017, accessed November 30, 2020, url: <https://www.instagram.com/p/Ba7I0lyAqXa>.
- <sup>44</sup> For example, the photograph by Florian Lanni that can be seen here: Florian Lanni, "Seceda–2500m," Instagram, July 16, 2017, accessed November 30, 2020, url: <https://www.instagram.com/p/BWnG7ZQFgpV>. Steven Weisbach's photo-graph, which can be found here: Steven Weisbach, "Seceda–2500," Instagram, May 31, 2017, accessed November 30, 2020, url: <https://www.instagram.com/p/BUw68NOAcUy>. And the photograph by Fábio Luz, which is shown here: Fábio Luz, "Seceda–2500m," Instagram, June 15, 2018, accessed November 30, 2020, url: <https://www.instagram.com/p/BkDbA6uhqjY>.
- <sup>45</sup> The captions can be looked up in the same order as described:  
 insta\_repeat, "Purply blueish tent hole," Instagram, December 15, 2018, accessed November 30, 2020, url: <https://www.instagram.com/p/BrY4JZaAC1Z/>; insta\_repeat, "Blueish tent hole," Instagram, December 13, 2018, accessed November 30, 2020, url: <https://www.instagram.com/p/BrUPkAYABJ2/>; insta\_repeat, "Greenish tent hole," Instagram, December 12, 2018, accessed November 30, 2020, url: <https://www.instagram.com/p/BrRS9NpghWc/>; insta\_repeat, "Yellowish tent hole," Instagram, December 11, 2018, accessed November 30, 2020, url: <https://www.instagram.com/p/BrO9loqgxF8/>; insta\_repeat, "Orangish tent hole," Instagram, December 10, 2018, accessed November 30, 2020, url: <https://www.instagram.com/p/BrMko9IgpN8/>; insta\_repeat, "Red tent hole," Instagram, December 10, 2018, accessed November 30, 2020, url: <https://www.instagram.com/p/BrKGsilAs-0>.
- <sup>46</sup> Her website can be found here: Emma Sheffer, last modified November 30, 2020, url: <https://emmasheffer.com/index.php/curations/curations>.
- <sup>47</sup> Both posts can be found here: Seya Egler, "Vierwaldstättersee," Instagram, July 9, 2017, accessed November 30, 2020, url: [https://www.instagram.com/p/BWVgkmWFM\\_C/](https://www.instagram.com/p/BWVgkmWFM_C/). and Seya Egler, "Berggasthaus Seealpsee," Instagram, April 9, 2017, accessed November 30, 2020, url: <https://www.instagram.com/p/BSrcEJ2FTYi>.
- <sup>48</sup> Cf. Donald L. Redfoot, "Touristic Authenticity, Touristic Angst, and Modern Reality," *Qualitative Sociology* 7, no. 4 (1984): 291–309; Olivia Jenkins, "Photography and Travel Brochures: The Circle of Representation," *Tourism Geographies* 5, no. 3

- (2003): 305–328; Lynn Berger, “Snapshots, or: Visual Culture’s Clichés,” *Photographies* 4, no. 2 (2011): 175–176; Annabella Pollen, “When Is a Cliché Not a Cliché? Reconsidering Mass-Produced Sunsets,” in *Photography Reframed: New Visions in Contemporary Photographic Culture*, ed. Benedict Burbridge and Annabella Pollen (London et al.: Bloomsbury, 2019), 74–81.
- <sup>49</sup> Clément Chéroux et al., *From Here On: Postphotography in the Age of Internet and the Mobile Phone* (Barcelona: Editorial RM, 2013), 88: “For Penelope Umbrico the world is already image-saturated so what’s needed is a recycling strategy that injects new life into existing photographs. Penelope Umbrico’s gambit consists in exploring all sort of situations, accumulating graphic information and then picking out and conceptualising her discoveries.” An extract of the curation “Suns from Sunsets from Flickr” can be seen here: “Suns from Sunsets from Flickr,” Penelope Umbrico, last modified December 14, 2020, url: <http://www.penelopeumbrico.net/index.php/project/suns-from-sunsets-from-flickr>. See for further contextualization of Umbrico’s curation: A, Pollen, “When Is a Cliché Not a Cliché? Reconsidering Mass-Produced Sunsets,” in *Photography Reframed: New Visions in Contemporary Photographic Culture*, ed. Benedict Burbridge and Annabella Pollen (London et al.: Bloomsbury, 2019), 79.
- <sup>50</sup> Erik Kessels, *The Many Lives of Erik Kessels* (New York: Aperture, 2017), 347–360. Cf. also Erik Kessels, “My Feet,” last modified December 14, 2020, url: <https://www.erikkessels.com/my-feet>.
- <sup>51</sup> Cf. Douglas Crimp, *On the Museum’s Ruins* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1993), 126–137.
- <sup>52</sup> Lev Manovich, *Instagram and Contemporary Image* (San Diego: Qualcomm Institute, 2017), accessed December 2, 2020, url: <http://manovich.net/index.php/projects/instagram-and-contemporary-image>, 99.
- <sup>53</sup> Manovich, “Instagram and Contemporary Image,” 99.
- <sup>54</sup> The comment of the user noah\_sc photo can be read here: insta\_repeat, “Greenish tent hole,” Instagram, December 12, 2018, accessed January 19, 2021, url: <https://www.instagram.com/p/BrRS9NpghWc/c/17878877302288490/>.

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