

Being there live

how liveness is realized through media use at contemporary cultural events

Author(s)

Hammelburg, Esther

Publication date

2021

Document Version

Final published version

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Hammelburg, E. (2021). *Being there live: how liveness is realized through media use at contemporary cultural events*. [Research HvA, graduation external, Universiteit van Amsterdam, Faculty of Humanities, Amsterdam School for Cultural Analysis].

General rights

It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations

If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please contact the library: <https://www.amsterdamuas.com/library/contact>, or send a letter to: University Library (Library of the University of Amsterdam and Amsterdam University of Applied Sciences), Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.

BEING THERE LIVE

How Liveness is Realized
Through Media Use at
Contemporary Cultural Events

Esther Hammelburg



BEING THERE LIVE
How Liveness is Realized Through
Media Use at Contemporary
Cultural Events

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor
aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus
prof. dr. ir. K.I.J. Maex
ten overstaan van een door het College voor Promoties ingestelde
commissie,
in het openbaar te verdedigen in de Aula der Universiteit
op vrijdag 3 december 2021, te 11.00 uur

door Esther Elfrieda Hammelburg
geboren te Hilversum

PROMOTIECOMMISSIE

<i>Promotores:</i>	prof. dr. T. Poell	Universiteit van Amsterdam
	prof. dr. J.F.T.M. van Dijck	Universiteit Utrecht
<i>Copromotores:</i>	prof. dr. ir. B.J. de Kloet	Universiteit van Amsterdam
<i>Overige leden:</i>	prof. dr. M. Kavka	Universiteit van Amsterdam
	prof. dr. M.J.P. Deuze	Universiteit van Amsterdam
	prof. dr. N. Couldry	London School of Economics and Political Science
	dr. J.C. Hermes	Universiteit van Amsterdam
	dr. K.F. van Es	Universiteit Utrecht

Faculteit der Geesteswetenschappen

The research for this doctoral thesis received financial assistance from the Amsterdam University of Applied Sciences, Faculty of Digital Media and Creative Industries.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

On a Sunday evening in April 2013 I (a bit nervously) sent an email to Professor José van Dijck with the first sketch of a proposal for this study. By the time I opened my mailbox on Monday morning she had already responded with an email that emanated attentiveness, enthusiasm, and kindness, and with a concrete suggestion for a date to talk about it. This characterizes how I have experienced her supervision in this project. Thomas Poell, who quickly became involved, brought his upbeat energy and critical mind to the project, and at a later stage Jeroen de Kloet joined my supervisory team bringing his lovely quirkiness and expertise in ethnography and sociological theory. José, Thomas, Jeroen, thank you for being such a supportive team. I am very grateful for your kindness, sharp critical feedback, and motivational support for the past years.

This study has been realized with the support of the Amsterdam University of Applied Sciences (AUAS), Faculty of Digital Media and Creative Industries. I truly appreciate them giving me the time and space to pursue this path. Many colleagues have – at different stages or throughout – provided feedback, advice, and support. Sabine Niederer, Harry van Vliet and Geert Lovink, thank you for reviewing my research proposal and providing advice in the early stages of this process; Tamara Witschge, I truly appreciate your openness in being a sparring partner and providing feedback while I refined parts of my work towards the end. Special thanks to Anne Moes and Bernadette Schrandt for believing in me and for your comradeship within our research group (that was recently renamed) Creative Media for Social Change. Barbara Devilee, Cris van der Hoek, Eelco Brancart, Nusta Nina, Wouter Janssen, Rose Leighton, Miriam Rasch, Jan-Jaap Heine, Quentijn Wulffers, and many others, thank you for listening to my ideas and ramblings in such a supportive manner and meeting these with your own bright ideas, questions, and insights. Special thanks to my partner in crime Marloes Geboers, who kindly agreed to be my paranymp and is nearly at the end of her PhD herself. Also, great thanks to my students who pointed out the weak points in my story by asking strong questions. Teaching helped me to translate my academic work into less complex explanations and design principles for their projects. I truly hope that research and teaching will thrive stronger together at the AUAS.

Outside of the AUAS I have also found many sparring partners that helped refine my research at various stages in this PhD. Within academia, I would like to acknowledge the valuable and inspiring meetings and conferences of the Research School for Media Studies (RMeS), the Association of Internet Researchers (AoIR), the Digital Methods Initiative (DMI) and the LSE Digital Ethnography Collective. I also remember my conversations with Scott Rodgers, Tim Markham, Paddy Scannell, Karin van Es, and Sangeet Kumar as sharpening my thoughts. Thank you. Outside of academia I have deeply enjoyed sparring with professionals in the fields of media and events. They challenged me to share insights without academic jargon or

abstract terms and surprised me with questions from different perspectives that I would not have thought of on my own. This added so much fun to my PhD and thoroughly strengthened this work.

I am grateful for the support of Oerol, 3FM and Pride Amsterdam which made it so much easier to carry out my research. At 3FM Serious Request I received a crew wristband for entrance backstage. On long cold research days (it was December) I had a warm place to sit and work for some hours a day with WIFI and coffee. Pride Amsterdam provided me with a press card so organizers of subevents would know that I was approved for interviewing people there.

A very special thanks goes out to my interviewees. I had great conversations and met so many amiable people of all walks of life. Here I want to appeal to the reader who will only read my story about them: while some media or event practices might seem absurd to you, please remember that this thesis singles out one element of their behavior and thoughts and does not reflect the full human being they are. My interviewees took the effort to dig deep to figure out why they do what they do. I quote the parts that are interesting for this study and for readability have cut many words/phrases such as “I don’t know”, “maybe”, and “I know it sounds a bit odd”. I therefore ask the reader to show my interviewees the respect that you would when talking to them face to face. I did and deeply thank them for their openness. You people form the core of this study.

This study rests on the great support of my family, friends, and more distant social circles. When writing up, often isolated from friends and family, I have experienced the caring community of online writing and academic groups: Virtual SUAW Parents edition, PhD and Early Career Researcher Parents group, Writing group chat, WIASN. These were spaces to check in, cheer each other on (often with ridiculous gifs), and ask questions when stuck or insecure about something. In my last year the Shut Up And Write sessions that I hosted together with Aris Emmanouloudis and Eva Sancho Rodriguez were extremely helpful and established a lovely community for PhD’ing. I thank my extended family and friends for having patience with me being away or preoccupied for so long, for enabling me to pursue this by lovingly helping with childcare, providing advice, or editing my writing, and for being proud of me. At times I feel guilt for putting so much energy in my research, your pride makes it worth it. This goes especially for Jitze, Jona and Lize. Running a family and a PhD is challenging and at times feels like too much, but I am so grateful to struggle and celebrate together with you! Jitze, thank you for being a true partner and running this together. Jona en Lize, jullie zijn voor mij de mooiste, liefste, leukste mensen op aarde. Ik hou intens veel van jullie. ♥

PREFACE

While finishing this thesis – in spring/summer 2021 – the Netherlands seems to be coming out of the COVID-19 pandemic, or so we hope. This crisis has deeply impacted the field of live events that I have studied, and has problematized the notion of contemporary cultural live events on which this study hones in.

My fieldwork was carried out in large festival-type cultural events in the pre-COVID period; from March 2020, all mass events were cancelled. By the time this is read, however, this field will hopefully be recovering: plans are already being made to revitalize the event sector. This past period in which we were forced to find new ways of “being there live” – whether for the large cultural events I study, or for birthday parties, funerals, classes, or meeting friends – has sparked myriad experiments in live mediation and changed our understanding of live encounters. When we say we will meet live, it is no longer clear whether this is face-to-face or via the various media technologies that have become (more) ubiquitous in the past year and a half. The COVID-19 crisis has accelerated media-based transformations in the field of cultural live events. Changing practices at these events in the late 2010s revolving around the use of digital media now seem to be amplified and expanded, and can be expected to thoroughly shape cultural events in the coming years. This context shapes my use of the notion of contemporary cultural events in this thesis: my analysis draws from the specificity of my fieldwork at three cultural live events in the Netherlands in 2017 and 2018, yet the insights resulting from my research can be used to understand and design future cultural events.

This work centers practices of media use of event-joiners of Oerol festival 2017, 3FM Serious Request 2017, and Pride Amsterdam 2018. It forefronts their experiences. Whereas this close empirical focus is necessary to explore how being there live is established in practice and shaped by specific event and mediated contexts, it also limits the scope of the study. Evidently, this thesis does not critique technology, ideology, or economic systems behind the studied events and media practices, aside from that expressed by event-joiners in the fields. Moreover, centralizing these event-joiners renders others invisible. Despite the probability – due to intentional selection of events – that this study provides insights that are valuable beyond the scope of these three fields, it does not claim that the studied event-joiners represent the general Dutch population, let alone all event-joiners worldwide. In addition, this study only considers those involved in the events; it examines the successful live experiences in the studied fields as well as some of the struggles event-joiners encounter concerning their media use in these live events. There are of course many others who could not care less about these events and might be involved in very different media practices. I count on the knowledgeable reader to bring a critical stance and to understand that it is not my intention to idealize these events or certain media practices, nor to generalize insights. Rather, I concentrate on event-joiners’

media practices at these three events to generate empirically rich knowledge about how their uses of media at these events shape their sense of being there live.

Concrete plans for writing this thesis grew in 2013, the research project officially started in 2014, and fieldwork took place from spring 2017 until summer 2018. While conducting research for this PhD, I have shared various parts of its results in three single authored peer-reviewed publications and one co-authored project report.¹ Whereas none of these publications were directly turned into chapters of this thesis, I have used this work and incorporated – often rewritten – parts of these texts.

Hammelburg, E. (2015). #Stemfie: Reconceptualising Liveness in the Era of Social Media. *TMG Journal for Media History*, 18(1), 85–100.

This article was based on my literature review and parts of it are incorporated in Chapter 1 of this thesis.

Hammelburg, E. (2020) Live Event-Spaces: Place and Space in the Mediatized Experience of Events. In: *Locating Imagination in Popular Culture: Place, Culture & Belonging*. Eds Van Es, N., Reijnders, S.L., Bolderman, S.L. & Waysdorf, A. Routledge.

This publication holds my first work on place and formed the basis for Chapter 4 of this thesis. Also, as this publication presents my methodology, it corresponds with parts of Chapter 2.

Hammelburg E. (2021) Being There Live: An Ethnographic Approach for Studying Social Media Use in Mediatized Live Events. *Social Media + Society*. January 2021. doi:10.1177/2056305120984454.

My work on this article has deepened my analysis of sociality, which influenced Chapter 5 of this thesis. Also, as this publication presents and reflects on my methodology, it corresponds with parts of Chapter 2.

Hammelburg, E., Drakopoulos, L., Benedetti, A., and Colombo, G. (2017). *Studying liveness @OerolFestival2017*. In: *Get the picture: Digital methods for visual research*. Digital methods summer school 2017. <https://wiki.digitalmethods.net/Dmi/InstagramLivenessOerolFestival>

This research report describes the data set of Instagram images from my Oerol field study as well as the automated ways of gathering and analyzing these images. Parts of this report are incorporated in **Appendix B**. As leader of this sub-project in the summer school I was the main author of the text. Some parts of the analysis and visualization were done in cooperation with the other authors, and the text about the *image map* was co-written with Lauren Drakopoulos. I have noted cooperation per part in the headings of the sections in the appendix.

¹ — For a full overview of my work that stems from this PhD project (including these publications, as well as courses, presentations, and popular writings), see www.estherhammelburg.nl.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	i
PREFACE	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
LIST OF TABLES	viii
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
INTRODUCTION RECONCEPTUALIZING LIVENESS FOR MEDIATIZED CULTURAL EVENTS: BEING NOW HERE TOGETHER	1
CHAPTER 1 THE PRACTICE OF LIVENESS	11
1.1 THEORIZING LIVENESS BEYOND TV	15
1.2 THEORIZING LIVENESS BEYOND MEDIATED PRESENCE	17
1.3 UNDERSTANDING LIVENESS AS KAIROS: BEING NOW HERE TOGETHER	21
1.3.1 <i>Temporality: The Kairotic Now</i>	22
1.3.2 <i>Spatiality: The Kairotic Here</i>	23
1.3.3 <i>Sociality: The Kairotic Us</i>	24
1.4 REGARDING LIVENESS AS PRACTICE	26
1.4.1 <i>Taking a Phenomenological Perspective</i>	26
1.4.2 <i>Taking a Practice Approach</i>	27
CONCLUSION	30
CHAPTER 2 METHODS, ETHICS, FIELDS, AND MATERIALS	31
2.1 METHODS AND ETHICS: DEVELOPING AN ADAPTIVE AND ITERATIVE MIXED METHODS APPROACH	35
2.2 FIELDS: THE THREE EVENTSPHERES	39
2.2.1 <i>Oerol Festival 2017 (Oerol17): A Sacred Space for Theater</i>	41
2.2.2 <i>Serious Request 2017 (SR17): A National (Cross-)Media Event</i>	43
2.2.3 <i>Pride Amsterdam 2018 (Pride18): A Week Full of Events</i>	44
2.3 RESEARCH DESIGN AND MATERIALS	45
2.3.1 <i>Ethnographic Methods</i>	47
2.3.2 <i>Digital Methods</i>	50
2.3.3 <i>Visual Methods</i>	51
CONCLUSION	54
CHAPTER 3 TEMPORALITY: LIVING AND (P)RE-LIVING	55
3.1 THE NOW AS FUTURE PAST: EXPERIENCE, ANTICIPATION, LONGING, AND MEMORY	60
3.1.1 <i>Pre-Living: Creating Future Memories in the Now</i>	62
3.1.2 <i>Reliving: Personal Cultural Memory in Media Practices</i>	63
3.2 ESTABLISHING THE KAIROTIC NOW IN LIVE MEDIA PRACTICES	66
3.2.1 <i>In the Moment</i>	67
3.2.2 <i>After the Fact</i>	68
3.2.3 <i>Ephemerality</i>	70

3.3 THE KAIROTIC NOW AS SPECIAL MOMENT	73
3.4 THE STRUGGLE OF BEING THERE LIVE	75
CONCLUSION	80
CHAPTER 4 SPATIALITY: BEING-IN-PLACE	83
4.1 EMBODIED INHABITING OF SPACE	89
4.1.1 <i>Live Television and Streams: Witnessing at a Distance and Being on Screen</i>	92
4.1.2 <i>Visual Presencing: Showing That You Are There</i>	94
4.1.3 <i>Locative Practices: Placemaking Through Check-Ins, Location Tags, and Filters</i>	96
4.1.4 <i>Livestreaming: Gathering Live Witnesses to Witnessing</i>	99
4.2 WRITING (YOURSELF INTO) THE EVENT-SPACE	100
4.3 NAVIGATING PROXIMITY AND DISTANCE	103
4.3.1 <i>Being Near</i>	104
4.3.2 <i>In/Excluding the Far</i>	106
CONCLUSION	109
CHAPTER 5 SOCIALITY: INHABITING THE EVENTSPHERE	111
5.1 CONNECTIVE PRACTICES	116
5.1.1 <i>Sustaining Ongoing Conversations</i>	116
5.1.2 <i>Sharing What Matters</i>	118
5.1.3 <i>Performing (Social) Identity</i>	120
5.2 COLLECTIVE PRACTICES	122
5.2.1 <i>The Inner Circle: The Familiar Us</i>	123
5.2.2 <i>The Event-Crowd: The Historic Us</i>	126
5.2.3 <i>The Event-Public: The Affective Us</i>	128
5.3 STRATIFIED SOCIALITIES AND SOCIAL IDENTITY	130
5.3.1 <i>Inhabiting Fluid Circles of Sociality</i>	131
5.3.2 <i>Positioning Oneself as Ambassador</i>	133
5.4 ANTICIPATED (IN)VISIBILITY AND IMPLIED (NON-)AUDIENCES	138
CONCLUSION	143
CHAPTER 6 IMAGING LIVE INSTANCES: THE LOGIC OF PLATFORMED VISUAL PRACTICES	145
6.1 PLATFORMED IMAGING SHAPES EVENT PRACTICES	150
6.1.1 <i>Collecting and Collaging for Facebook</i>	151
6.1.2 <i>The Hunt for the Perfect Instagram Post</i>	153
6.1.3 <i>Fun and Messy Instant Imaging: Stories, Snaps, and Going Live</i>	155
6.2 TRULY BEING THERE LIVE: SEEING, PERFORMATIVE DISPLAY, AND AUTHORSHIP	157
6.2.1 <i>Seeing</i>	158
6.2.2 <i>Performative Display</i>	160

6.2.3 Authorship	165
6.3 IMAGING THE SITUATED LIVE INSTANCE: THREE POPULAR ANGLES IN PERFORMATIVE DISPLAY	167
6.3.1 The 360 or Panorama: “Look at This Amazing Situation”	168
6.3.2 The Selfie: “Look I’m Here, We are Here, We’re Having Fun”	169
6.3.3 First-Person: “Come, I’ll Show You What I am Experiencing”	171
CONCLUSION	174
CONCLUSION REALIZING INSTANCES OF LIVENESS: BEING NOW HERE TOGETHER	175
NEW TEMPORALITIES: THE KAIROTIC NOW	180
NEW SPATIALITIES: THE KAIROTIC HERE	181
NEW SOCIALITIES: THE KAIROTIC US	182
TRULY BEING THERE LIVE: THE AUTHENTIC LIVE INSTANCE AS PERFORMATIVE PRACTICE	183
REFLECTION ON METHODS AND LIMITATIONS	185
DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH	186
Academic Research in Media and Social Studies	186
Research for Innovation in the Fields of Media and Cultural Events	187
APPENDICES	191
APPENDIX A: OVERVIEW OF TIMES AND LOCATIONS OF OBSERVATIONS AND INTERVIEWS (TABLES 4–6)	191
APPENDIX B: DIGITAL METHODS PROTOCOLS	194
Oerol 2017 (Oerol17)	194
3FM Serious Request 2017 (SR17)	201
Pride Amsterdam 2018 (Pride18)	203
BIBLIOGRAPHY	205
SUMMARY BEING THERE LIVE: HOW LIVENESS IS REALIZED THROUGH MEDIA USE AT CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL EVENTS	216
SAMENVATTING ER LIVE BIJ ZIJN: HOE WE LIVE-EVENTS BELEVEN MET MEDIA	220

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1:	OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH METHODS USED AND HOW THESE COVER THE THREE ELEMENTS OF MEDIA PRACTICES.	36
TABLE 2:	OVERVIEW OF THE THREE STUDIED EVENTS: OEROL17, SR17 AND PRIDE18.	39
TABLE 3:	RESEARCH MATERIAL FROM ETHNOGRAPHIC FIELDWORK.	47
TABLE 4:	OVERVIEW OF OBSERVATIONS AND INTERVIEWS OEROL17.	191
TABLE 5:	OVERVIEW OF OBSERVATIONS AND INTERVIEWS SR17.	192
TABLE 6:	OVERVIEW OF OBSERVATIONS AND INTERVIEWS PRIDE18.	193
TABLE 7:	QUERIES USED IN VTE FOR OEROL17 DATA COLLECTION FROM INSTAGRAM.	194
TABLE 8:	SAMPLES FOR IMAGE PLOT PER DAY, OEROL17.	195
TABLE 9:	QUERIES USED IN VTE AND TCAT FOR SR17 DATA COLLECTION FROM INSTAGRAM AND TWITTER.	201

LIST OF FIGURES

This work includes many platformed images made by event-joiners. I have attempted to gain informed consent for the use of all of the incorporated images. For images that feature recognizable people, consent was given by the photographer (they were given the choice to be named or remain anonymous). This is also the case for images that were not shared on public profiles. For the other images, I have either gained consent, or anonymized the image by blurring names and sometimes faces. None of the images used in this thesis may be reproduced without consent.

FIGURE 1:	A KAIROTIC UNDERSTANDING OF LIVENESS.	22
FIGURE 2:	OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH PROCESS.	35
FIGURE 3:	EXAMPLE OF AN INSTAGRAM STORY BY AN INTERVIEWEE'S FRIEND WHO CAPTURED OUR INTERVIEW, PRIDE18.	38
FIGURE 4:	IMPRESSION OF OEROL FESTIVAL 2017.	42
FIGURE 5:	THE GLASS HOUSE AT SR17.	43
FIGURE 6:	FLY BOARDERS AND CROWD AWAITING THE CANAL PARADE, PRIDE18.	45
FIGURE 7:	REPRESENTATION OF DIFFERENT AGE GROUPS AMONG INTERVIEWEES IN THIS STUDY.	49
FIGURE 8:	EXAMPLE OF HOW AN INTERVIEWEE MAPPED HER MEDIA PRACTICES FOR NEARNESS TO SR17.	49
FIGURE 9:	DATA SETS COLLECTED THROUGH DIGITAL METHODS.	50
FIGURE 10:	EXAMPLES OF AUTOMATED ORDERING OF INSTAGRAM IMAGES IN IMAGESORTER.	52
FIGURE 11:	THE THREE VISUAL IMAGE NETWORKS FOR (LTR) OEROL17, SR17, AND PRIDE18.	52
FIGURE 12:	INDICATION, PER EVENT, OF (PUBLIC) ONLINE ACTIVITY MENTIONING THE EVENT.	59
FIGURE 13:	INSTAGRAM POST BY MAROLINE, PRIDE18.	63
FIGURE 14:	EXAMPLE OF A THROWBACK POST ABOUT OEROL17.	65
FIGURE 15:	IN-THE-MOMENT 360-DEGREE FACEBOOK POST BY VIVIAN, OEROL17.	68
FIGURE 16:	STILL FROM AN EVENT-JOINER'S FACEBOOK LIVE STREAM, SR17.	73
FIGURE 17:	"DANSEN BIJ EB", OEROL17.	74
FIGURE 18:	INSTAGRAM STORY EXPRESSING EVENT-JOINER'S EXCITEMENT ABOUT BEING ON THE RADIO, SR17.	75
FIGURE 19:	FACEBOOK POST MADE UPON ARRIVAL AT OEROL17.	86
FIGURE 20:	EXAMPLES OF INSTAGRAM POSTS PORTRAYING THE FERRY RIDE TO OEROL17.	90
FIGURE 21:	TWO UNIQUE PERSPECTIVES AS SEEN ON TV: AN EMOTIONAL MOMENT IN THE GLASS HOUSE (SR17) AND A CRANE SHOT OF THE CANAL PARADE (PRIDE18).	93
FIGURE 22:	INSTAGRAM POST SHOWING A PRIVATE LIVING ROOM AS SR17 EVENT LOCALE.	93
FIGURE 23:	EXAMPLES OF INSTAGRAM POSTS FEATURING SCREENS SHOWING SR17.	94
FIGURE 24:	JOYCE ON SCREEN, SR17.	94
FIGURE 25:	EXAMPLES OF VISUAL PRESENCING.	95
FIGURE 26:	VISUAL PRESENCING AT THE GLASS HOUSE, SR17.	95
FIGURE 27:	VISUAL PRESENCING BY BOUWE ON HIS WAY TO THE GLASS HOUSE, SR17.	96
FIGURE 28:	PRIDE18 EVENT-JOINERS WRITING THEMSELVES INTO THE EVENTSPHERE FROM HOME.	101
FIGURE 29:	INSTAGRAM POST FROM A CAMPGROUND, OEROL17.	101
FIGURE 30:	EXAMPLES OF PHOTOS OF BEACHES AND DUNES POSTED ON INSTAGRAM WITH "#OEROL17".	102
FIGURE 31:	THE THREE EVENT-COLLECTIVES.	123
FIGURE 32:	EXAMPLES OF INNER-CIRCLE GROUP PHOTOS FROM PRIDE18 AND OEROL19.	124
FIGURE 33:	INSTAGRAM STORY BY VERA, PRIDE18.	134
FIGURE 34:	A FACEBOOK PROFILE PICTURE WITH PRIDE FRAME.	136
FIGURE 35:	RAYMOND/MR LEATHER EUROPE AT THE "PRIDE AT THE BEACH" PARADE, PRIDE18.	142
FIGURE 36:	EXAMPLE OF HOW FACEBOOK ARRANGES MULTIPLE PHOTOS, OEROL17.	151
FIGURE 37:	COLLAGE CONCLUDING THE EVENT ON FACEBOOK, OEROL17.	152
FIGURE 38:	EXAMPLES OF INSTAGRAM POSTS FEATURING ONE OF THE "INSTAGRAMMABLE" INSTALLATIONS AT OEROL17.	153
FIGURE 39:	EXAMPLES OF INSTAGRAM POSTS WITH "#OEROL17" FEATURING THE FIELD OF FLOWERS.	154
FIGURE 40:	INSTAGRAM STORIES FROM THE EVENTS EXHIBITING THE FEATURE'S AESTHETICS.	156

FIGURE 41: EXAMPLES OF INSTAGRAM STORIES FROM SR17 AND PRIDE18 SHOWING THE UNREFINED VISUAL STYLE.	156
FIGURE 42: PEOPLE IN THE CROWD AT THE GLASS HOUSE DURING THE SR17 FINALE MAKING PHOTOS AND VIDEOS OF THE DJS' LAST MOMENTS IN THE GLASS HOUSE.	160
FIGURE 43: VISUAL PRESENCING: AN INSTAGRAM POST AT OEROL17 AND A FACEBOOK POST AT SR17.	161
FIGURE 44: IMAGES OF THE GLASS HOUSE FROM THE SR17 DATA SET.	162
FIGURE 45: EXAMPLES OF "ON THE ROAD" PHOTOS ON INSTAGRAM.	162
FIGURE 46: THE "BOAT CLUSTER" FROM THE OEROL17 VISUAL NETWORK AND THE FERRY ROUTE ON THE IMAGE MAP.	163
FIGURE 47: EXAMPLE OF A GROUP SELFIE, PRIDE18.	163
FIGURE 48: INSTAGRAM POST OF EVENT-JOINERS WITH ONE OF THE DJS IN THE GLASS HOUSE, SR17.	163
FIGURE 49: "I'M-IN-PHOTOS" USING OEROL17 WRISTBANDS.	163
FIGURE 50: "I'M-IN-PHOTOS" USING SR17 MERCHANDISE.	163
FIGURE 51: "I'M-IN-PHOTOS" FROM PRIDE18 USING RAINBOWS.	163
FIGURE 52: EXAMPLES OF PERSONAL PERSPECTIVES IN RAW INSTAGRAM STORIES.	166
FIGURE 53: DRONE SHOT OF "DANSEN BIJ EB" ("DANCING AT LOW TIDE"), OEROL17.	168
FIGURE 54: EXAMPLE OF A 360 STORY ON INSTAGRAM, PRIDE18.	169
FIGURE 55: SELFIE CLUSTERS IN THE VISUAL NETWORKS OF (LTR) OEROL17, SR17, AND PRIDE18.	170
FIGURE 56: RAYMOND (LEFT) TAKING A SELFIE WITH SOMEONE AT PRIDE18.	171
FIGURE 57: EXAMPLES OF FIRST-PERSON SHOTS AT PRIDE18 AND OEROL17.	171
FIGURE 58: INSTAGRAM STORIES BIDDING FAREWELL TO OEROL17 AND PRIDE18.	188
FIGURE 59: DATA ANALYSIS OEROL17.	195
FIGURE 60: IMAGE TIME PLOT FOR INSTAGRAM DATA SET OEROL17.	196
FIGURE 61: CLUSTERS IDENTIFIED IN THE IMAGE NETWORK FOR INSTAGRAM DATA SET OEROL17.	197
FIGURE 62: CLUSTER OF WRISTBANDS, OEROL17.	197
FIGURE 63: IMAGE NETWORK FOR INSTAGRAM DATA SET OEROL17.	198
FIGURE 64: IMAGE MAP FOR INSTAGRAM DATA SET OEROL17.	200
FIGURE 65: EXAMPLE OF IMAGE POSTED ON THE FERRY ROUTE TO OEROL17.	199
FIGURE 66: IMAGE NETWORK FOR SAMPLE OF 1000 IMAGES FROM INSTAGRAM DATA SET SR17.	202
FIGURE 67: IMAGE NETWORK FOR SAMPLE OF 1000 IMAGES FROM INSTAGRAM DATA SET PRIDE18.	204

INTRODUCTION

**RECONCEPTUAL-
IZING LIVENESS
FOR MEDIATIZED
CULTURAL
EVENTS: BEING
NOW HERE
TOGETHER**



INTRODUCTION

RECONCEPTUALIZING LIVENESS FOR MEDIATIZED CULTURAL EVENTS: BEING NOW HERE TOGETHER

Do you remember a cultural event in which you were fully immersed – a moment in which it felt amazing to be there live on the ground, or following it on television?

I remember how, as a child, I was allowed to stay up late to watch the Eurovision Song Contest on TV, in my pajamas on the couch, knowing that so many others across Europe were watching together with me. I remember, in 2009, being at a festival with friends, dancing in the open air and taking a group picture together that I still have and cherish. I remember July 2019, watching the final of the women's World Cup soccer on a large screen, being part of an enthusiastic crowd on the ground, sharing the most exciting moments, including my crowd experience, with others on WhatsApp. I have always been captivated, both professionally and personally, by such *instances of liveness*; fascinated by the intense desire one can have to "join in" as an event unfolds and by the crucial role media play in live event experiences. Ongoing mediatization and the acceleration thereof in the current global COVID-19 pandemic has made the topic of *liveness* even more compelling. In the past decades, processes of digitalization, converging media technologies, and the rise of mobile media, platforms, and apps have engendered new ways and means for constructing liveness: new materialities, new technological affordances, and new habits of media use. During the COVID-19 pandemic, limitations on face-to-face encounters and physical togetherness in (large) groups have underlined the importance of social and cultural events, ushering explorations of new mediated ways of live gathering, from family celebrations to worldwide concerts such as *One World: Together at Home* (2020). This study investigates how live instances take shape through media use at contemporary cultural events.

Liveness has been extensively theorized by media scholars, particularly as a phenomenon related to the medium of television (e.g., Feuer, 1983; Scannell, 2014; Vianello, 1985; White, 2004). Internet scholars have often chosen different vocabulary when studying how timing, temporality and real time(ness) is constructed within platformed environments (e.g., Bucher, 2020; Kaun & Stiernstedt, 2014; Weltevrede et al., 2014). This current study is an appeal for preserving the term liveness as it has developed

within media studies, and for building on and reassessing existing theories, as a means to better understand how our social world is constructed with and through media. Drawing on the work of Nick Couldry (2004a) it understands liveness as a constructed term, continuously changing shape as new media technologies become prominent. Since the 2000s, liveness has been theorized in light of the rise of digital connective media. Scholars have described liveness as an effect of mediatization (Auslander, 2012) and as continued connectedness through social media (Kumar, 2019; Lupinacci, 2021). Some have pointed out that liveness has become more performative (Bolter et al., 2013), others have argued that the dawn of new media technologies does not mean the end of live TV (Sørensen, 2016). Karin van Es (2017) has carried out an extensive study aiming to reconceptualize liveness for the social media era, in which she argues for studying “constellations of liveness”: the specific ways in which liveness is realized. Examining the actual situations in which liveness is established, I concur, is vital for understanding the role that media play in the sense of “being there live” within particular contexts.

Up to now, far too little attention has been paid to these actual instances of liveness and to the people being there live, especially in the context of cultural events in which it is a pressing matter at this time. Despite the rich theoretical literature on liveness, empirical studies on this topic are scarce. Van Es (2017) examines concrete constellations of liveness; however, her empirical focus lies on the construction of liveness within four specific media platforms, and the people involved are only incorporated for their user responses – that is, for how they explicitly evaluate the liveness of these platforms within these online contexts. An ongoing study by Ludmila Lupinacci (2021) resembles what this current study does, addressing the use of a range of social media and exploring how liveness is therein experienced by users, yet Lupinacci’s study is located in everyday media use and does not examine what happens at cultural events. Scholarship on social media and protests – which can be considered as live events – has contributed empirical work (Barassi, 2015; Kaun, 2016; Peeren et al., 2018). In his analysis of three different protests, for instance, Thomas Poell (2019) argues that in each situation “specific modes of liveness” (p. 8) are constituted. Alice Mattoni and Emiliano Treré (2014) propose using the intertwined concepts “media practices,” “mediation,” and “mediatization” for the study of media and social movements. These are concepts that strongly resonate with my research, as will be delineated in the theoretical and methodological frameworks outlined in my first two chapters.

In this thesis I address this gap by exploring the question of **how liveness is established in people’s practices of media use at contemporary cultural events**. This exploration provides insight into what is happening in practice at these events from the perspective of the people who join in live. It contributes both to practical knowledge of live media use at events and to our theoretical understanding of liveness. By addressing the role that media play in the construction of being there live at cultural events, it furthers our understanding of how our social world is constructed with and through media. The research question posed is pressing in the context of process-

es of mediatization and festivalization in the 2010s, and has become even more urgent as these processes have intersected during the COVID-19 pandemic, which has boosted mediated communication and impeded physical gatherings.

By addressing the societal impact of the pervasiveness of media, this study is situated in the academic debate about mediatization. It draws on Mark Deuze's (2012) work that asserts that we do not live with media, but in media. In contemporary society, Deuze argues, "[t]here is no external to media life" (p. x). Employing the concept of mediatization, media scholars have argued that all elements of society are increasingly co-constructed with media, as are the ways in which we form meaningful connections (Couldry & Hepp, 2017; Hepp, 2019; Hjarvard, 2013). Mediatization research extends theories on media logic (Altheide & Snow, 1979; Van Dijck & Poell, 2013), addressing how media logics permeate and transform everyday life (Altheide, 2018; Hepp, 2019; Krotz, 2018). Taking into account valuable critique on the concept mediatization – as totalizing, too media-centered and so amorphous that it leads to imprecise theorizing (Couldry, 2008; Deacon & Stanyer, 2014; Schulz, 2004) – this research project adopts mediatization as a sensitizing concept (Bowen, 2006; Hepp, 2019; Lunt & Livingstone, 2016) rather than as a definitive one. It is used to get "a general sense of reference and guidance in approaching empirical instances" (Blumer, 1954, p. 7). I do not aim to make broad theoretical claims about social transformations, but rather engage with the concept of mediatization as a backdrop against which I empirically examine how liveness is constructed in practice, to shed light on the particular "media-based transformation" (Couldry, 2008, p. 378) of cultural events. If, in this media-saturated society, live events are co-constructed with media, a new conceptualization of liveness is vital to understanding contemporary cultural events and designing those in the near future.

Dutch cultural events are particularly fruitful and relevant fields for the study of liveness. Firstly, festivals have become omnipresent in the Netherlands in the past decades (Respons, 2012; Van Vliet, 2012, 2019)². "Festivalization" was a prominent topic of debate in this country in the 2010s (BrabantKennis, 2018; Jongenelen, 2010; MMNieuws, 2013), and it is suggested that Dutch festival culture is internationally influential (Van Gijssel, 2019). At the time of writing – mid-2021 – the event and cultural sector is deeply impacted by measures against the spread of COVID-19, and is exploring ways to bring people together without physically gathering. Many cultural entrepreneurs and event organizers anticipate that online and hybrid events will be here to stay, also post-pandemic, and are looking for insights to inform their design of these events. Secondly, as the Netherlands has a high level of internet penetration, a high degree of social and mobile media use, as well as great coverage of broadcast media, Dutch cultural events in the late 2010s were highly media-saturated environments, providing perfect fields for the study of liveness as it is established in practice with and through media. In addition, these events are digital-physical spaces, in which mediated and physical practices are thoroughly entwined (see also Pink et al., 2016), and there-

² — Numbers differ, and it depends on which events are counted as festivals, but Festival Atlas counted 1,444 music, art, film and food festivals in 2018 (Van Vliet, 2019), for a population of approximately 17.2 million people (CBS, 2020).

fore provide rich fields for studying situated instances of liveness against the backdrop of processes of mediatization.

Intending to contribute empirical work to scholarship on liveness by examining actual instances of liveness at these events and the people who are involved in them, I have studied the media practices of event-joiners at three annual cultural events in the Netherlands: Oerol Festival (a festival for location-based theater and art, June 2017), 3FM Serious Request (a national cross-media fundraising event, December 2017), and Pride Amsterdam (a large Pride festival, July/August 2018). Taking a practice approach (Ahva, 2017; Couldry, 2004b), this multi-sited and multi-grounded study (Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010; Marcus, 1995) combines a core of ethnographic fieldwork³ – observations and interviews with 379 event-joiners – with digital and visual methods for researching online and offline event environments. Through an empirical focus on what people do and say in relation to media within the context of these three live events, it is possible to study specific constitutions of liveness, with attention for technological, societal, and institutional influences, as well as textual and visual forms and conventions, without being constrained by any one of these factors (Ahva, 2017; Couldry, 2004b; Schatzki, 2001). In order to consider the events as both physical and mediated spaces and study event-joiners' practices in both physical and mediated environments, the three events are approached as *eventspheres*. This term, introduced by Ingrid Volkmer and Florian Deffner (2010), describes the field of experiences, happenings, and media texts connected to an event through which it is discursively (re)mediated.⁴ By studying event-joiners' media practices in online and offline fields of these three eventspheres, this thesis intends to theorize, observe, analyze, and explain how media technologies and people commingle and co-shape live instances in practice.

As this project unfolded, I came to understand that, for event-joiners, being there live – whether online, via TV, or on the ground – denotes being “now here together.” Time, place, and the social soon emerged as recurrent themes in the research material from my ethnographic fieldwork, and the core argument in this thesis is that these three dimensions co-constitute liveness. Continuing this study with temporality, spatiality, and sociality as sensitizing concepts has revealed that event-joiners in the studied eventspheres constantly juggle now versus then, here versus there, and us versus them in their media practices. Situated instances of liveness appear to be the result of these mediatized dialectic negotiations: the now here together in relation to other times, places, and people. This thesis thus shows – on a theoretical level – that liveness is a construction involving three constituting facets: time, place, and the social. In addition, it exhibits – on a practical level – how instances of liveness as moments of now here together are realized in media practices. These empirical insights into the construction of temporality, spatiality, and sociality in the practice of contemporary cultural events adds to our understanding of processes of mediatization and the ways they impact society.

³ — This ethnographic fieldwork is not an ethnography in the strict anthropological sense, but rather an ethnographic approach to the study of media practices drawing from these methodological traditions. It stands in the ethnographic tradition of media and internet studies (see for instance the work of Ang, 1985; boyd, 2008; Hermes, 2005; Morley, 1974; Postill & Pink, 2012). The exact approach will be delineated in Chapter 2.

⁴ — Volkmer and Deffner use the term “(re)mediated” without referring to Bolter and Grusin's work *Remediation* (1999). They use the term to indicate that not only are events shared through media, but through this mediation meanings and perspectives are added to the event which influence and shape the event itself.

THE STRUCTURE OF THIS THESIS

In the first two chapters I will provide the theoretical and methodological frameworks for this thesis. As I took an iterative multi-grounded theory approach, the structure of this exposition does not follow the order in which research activities were carried out (Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010). The theoretical framework presented in **Chapter 1** is the result of a reiterative research process, going back and forth between theory, fieldwork, and analysis, each time bringing insights from one field to the next (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Thus, while this first chapter provides the theoretical foundation for the empirical chapters by elaborating my main argument in more detail, it also rests on findings from the field. **Chapter 2** argues for an adaptive and iterative mixed methods research design that combines ethnographic, digital, and visual methods to study practices of media use in the field. It will address how this approach was operationalized, justifying methods and choices for data collection and analysis as well as the selection of events and media studied.

The following three analytical chapters scrutinize the constitutive dimensions of time, place, and the social, revealing the specific ways in which liveness is established in each of these facets. Chapters 3–5 should be read as parts of a whole, as each of these facets is essential in constituting liveness; the temporal, the spatial and the social are not distinct features but rather thoroughly intertwined within live instances.

Chapter 3 addresses the temporal by examining how the right time – the now – is established in event-joiners' practices of media use through continuous dialectic negotiations with past and future. This chapter shows that mediated memories (Van Dijck, 2007) are inscribed in the live instance, as these moments are anticipated beforehand and treated as future memories. It explores how the conjunction of immediacy and durability in media technologies asserts nowness, and how temporal conventions of platforms shape event-joiners' practices. Further, it unveils the double bind of liveness by showing that the memorable moment is both *raison d'être* for instant mediation, while concurrently instant mediation affirms that moment as memorable. Finally, this chapter portrays the ongoing struggle between presence and liveness that event-joiners experience. This exploration of the temporal indicates that the meaningful instance of liveness is the memorable moment.

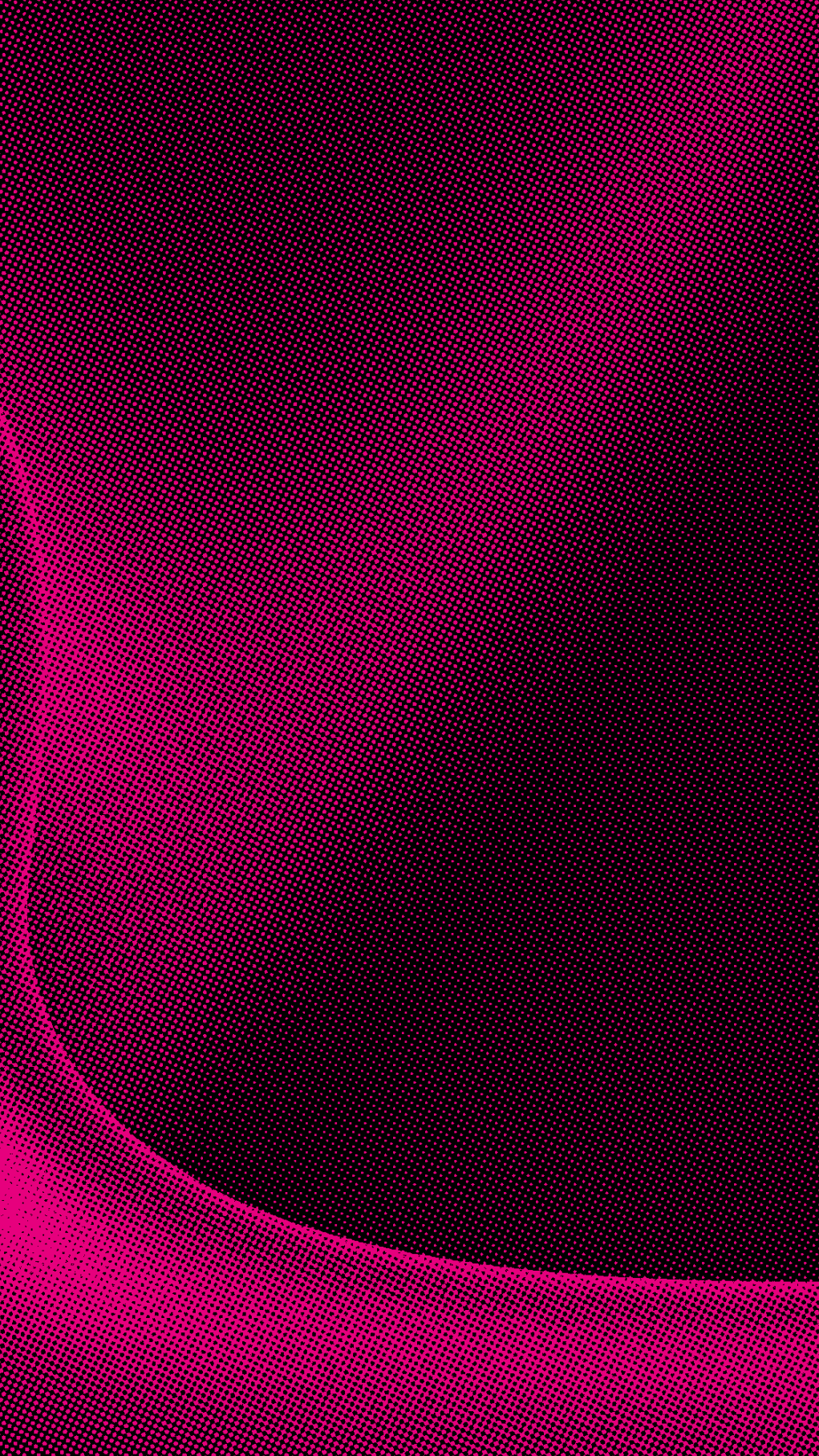
In **Chapter 4**, *spatiality* is taken up for analysis by scrutinizing how the right place – the *here* – is established in event-joiners' practices of media use through continuous dialectic negotiations with distant elsewheres. It shows that event-joiners inhabit space (Merleau-Ponty, 1945/1962) and establish the here through their practices of media use. The chapter focuses in particular on four types of live media practices: watching broadcast television or livestreams, visual presencing, locative practices, and livestreaming. Continuing to explore liveness's double bind, this chapter reveals that the various ways in which event-joiners inhabit space through different media technologies and functionalities are both about embodied

being-in-place (broadening the spectrum of event locales) and about creating the larger space of the event. By studying how event-joiners use various media technologies, features, and content, and what they say about this, I analyze how people enact and experience nearness and distance in the eventspheres. The analysis in this chapter shows that embodiment is vital for establishing the here of the live instance.

Chapter 5 revolves around *sociality*, as it examines how a sense of being together – the us – is established in event-joiners' practices of media use, through continuous dialectic negotiations with others within various social circles. It starts off with an exploration of the ways in which event-joiners connect to others inside and outside of the event, discerning their connective and collective practices. This shows that through their practices of media use, people concurrently join and help construct the event-crowd or public, a finding that furthers our understanding of the double bind of liveness. By regarding how event-joiners anticipate visibility and imply audiences for their content, it becomes apparent that their media practices exhibit stratified socialities which are often aligned with aspects of their performances of (social) identity.

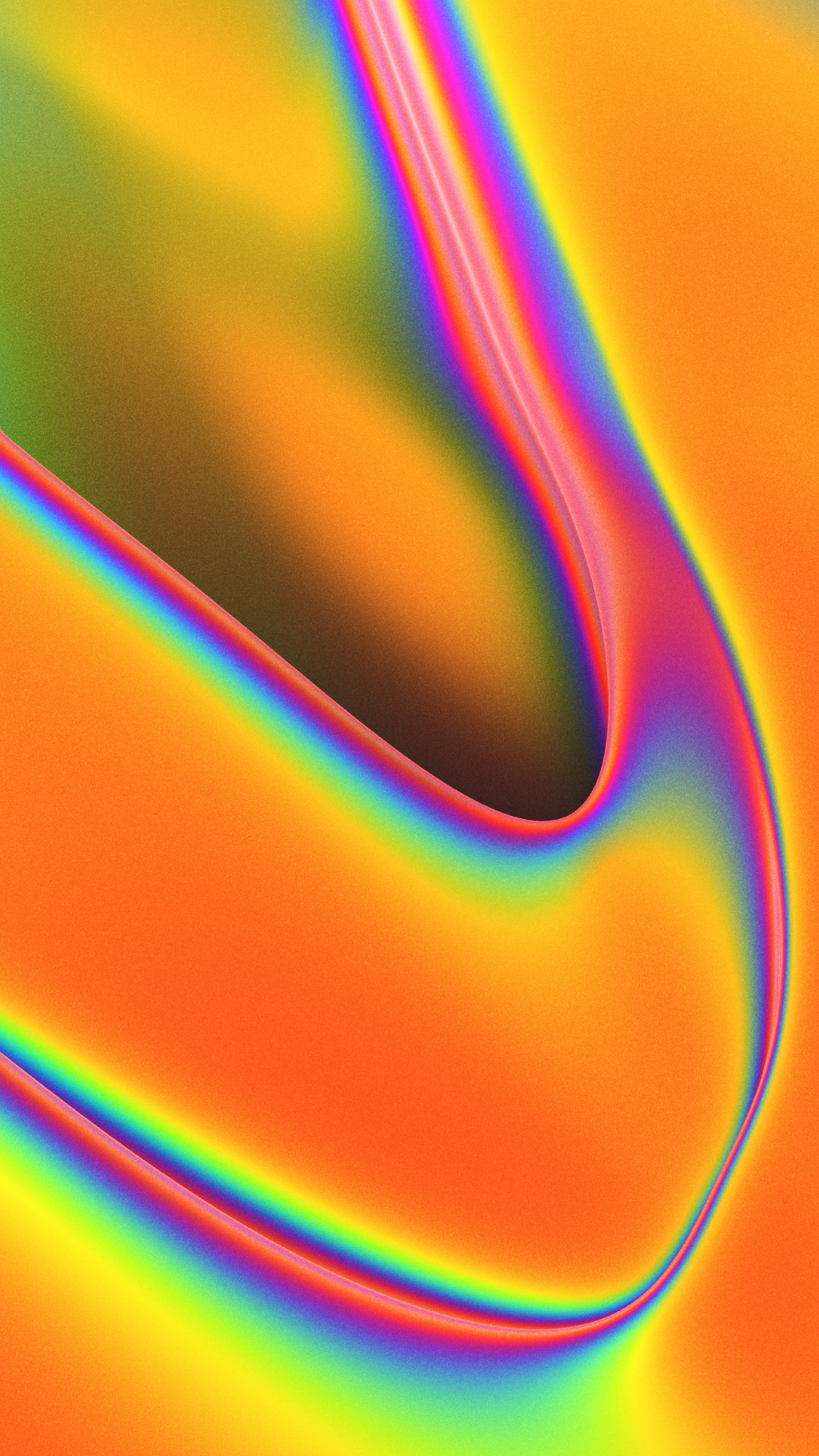
The final analytical chapter, **Chapter 6**, explores how being now here together – the live instance that is memorable, embodied, and aligned with one's social identity – is enacted in event-joiners' visual practices. As the vast majority of media content in the studied eventspheres consists of platformed images, both still and moving, analysis of these images and the way they are made and spoken about by event-joiners reveals more specifically how live instances are established by aligning event and platform environments. This chapter addresses how event-joiners' platformed visual practices shape their event practices, and how event-joiners' behavior at the events is shaped by platform-specific types of imaging. Further, the chapter examines how notions of authenticity – a recurrent theme throughout the thesis – and a sense of “truly being there live” are articulated through event-joiners' visual practices of seeing, performative display, and authorship. This chapter shows that event-joiners' visual media practices establish *distributed instances of liveness*: a plurality of unique temporal, spatial, and social configurations.

As a whole, this thesis challenges the assumption that liveness is merely mediated presence to an event that exists by and in itself; truly being there live at contemporary cultural events, as my analysis will indicate, is actively constructed in event-joiners' media practices. Instances of liveness are realized when event-joiners, through their media practices, inhabit the eventsphere by establishing memories, embodied experiences, and performances of (social) identity. Drawing on academic literature and my empirical fieldwork, I reconceptualize liveness as *a historically evolving practice of establishing instances of “now here together” through media practices which align physical event and mediated environments*. The analysis in my empirical chapters elaborates on how this is done, bringing forth not only this theoretical contribution, but also practical insights into live media practices and events that can inform the design of the media technologies and the online or hybrid events of the near future.



CHAPTER 1

THE PRACTICE OF LIVENESS



CHAPTER 1 THE PRACTICE OF LIVENESS⁵

This chapter will provide a review of extant conceptualizations of *liveness*, as well as scholarship on the notion of real time, media events, mediated presence, witnessing, and publics that is relevant for this study.

As will be shown, liveness has until now predominantly been theorized in relation to broadcasting (particularly television) and has not often been employed by scholars studying digital media. However, the frequent use of the term *live* in both everyday parole and platform discourse – signifying a variety of experiences and practices within eventspheres, both mediated and on the ground – indicates the versatility of the concept.

In the following sections, I will develop a theoretical framework that will help to reconceptualize liveness for contemporary mediatized cultural eventspheres. First, I argue that the concept of liveness is useful beyond the scope of broadcast media and I propose a conceptualization of liveness that helps expand and update existing theories. The second section will show the value of this conceptualization for theorizing a new understanding of events as eventspheres by reviewing theory on media events and on mediated presence. The third section advances my argument that liveness is established in event-joiners' practices of media use. Here I argue that these practices involve continuous dialectic negotiations within three constituting facets: time, place, and the social. I will elaborate on this conceptualization using the Greek concept of *kairos*. The final part of this chapter will propose a theoretical perspective for the study of liveness as practice in the eventspheres of Oerol Festival, 3FM Serious Request, and Pride Amsterdam.

⁵ — Parts of this literature review were published before in my (2015) article “#Stemfie: Reconceptualising Liveness in the Era of Social Media.”

THEORIZING LIVENESS BEYOND TV

Liveness was, and often still is, hailed as an ontological or technological feature of television. Being the first medium to combine moving images and sound with the possibility of simultaneity of event, transmission, and viewing, liveness seems inscribed in television's technological affordances. In the 1940s and 1950s, academics and industry professionals widely discussed TV's unique ability for allowing the viewer to "see from a distance": to bring world events into our personal space. The combination of home reception and immediate transmission powerfully inscribed immediacy and intimacy into the medium (Berenstein, 2002). Television extended the possibilities of radio, which was the first popular broadcasting medium to fundamentally change the media landscape by enabling people to be directly connected to global events from the privacy of their homes (Bartlett, 1995; Matelski, 1995).⁶

As the analysis of my research material will show, however, liveness is not simply a feature of technology. In making this argument, I draw on the work of scholars such as Raymond Williams (1975/1990) and Jane Feuer (1983) who addressed live television as both "technology and as a cultural form" (Williams, 1975/1990, p. 79). Both Williams and Feuer argued that the experience of immediacy in live television relies on the deliberate emphasis on "flow". Feuer pointed out that, even though by the 1980s most television programs were a collage of live and recorded sequences and most broadcasting was not strictly live, the aesthetic of most programs was based on the idea of liveness. Feuer maintained that liveness is an ideological quality of television composed of four notions: simultaneity, immediacy, authenticity, and unpredictability. Despite their grounding in analysis of a television program, this thesis will show that Feuer's notions remain valuable when broadening the technological focus beyond TV. In particular, the notion of authenticity – or the ideological linkage between *live* and *real* – is prominent in event-joiners' live media practices.

Similarly, Robert Vianello's (1985) work, while approaching liveness as specific to the medium of television, contributes valuable insights that remain relevant in a diversity of technological contexts. Vianello argued that the ideological power of television lies in the perpetual possibility of connecting to actual events which permeates all broadcasting and anchors television in "the real." Moreover, Vianello asserted that liveness should be understood "as an evolving historical practice" (p. 26), which leaves room for other technologies to perform this role in their own ways. This aligns with Jérôme Bourdon's (2000, 2020) argument that media history as a whole is driven by the effort to find technologies that bridge the gap between media users and events in the world. As my findings will show, this notion of perpetual connectivity underlies many instances of liveness in the studied eventspheres, through television, yet more often through a range of mobile technologies and platforms which are embedded in event-joiners' daily lives.

⁶ — A beautifully written example of this power of radio can be found in the novel *A Tale of Love and Darkness* where Amos Oz (2005) describes how his parents and neighbors gathered around the radio late at night to listen to the outcome of the UN vote (in 1947) concerning the partition of Palestine into an Arab and a Jewish state. From my own experience, I remember, on September 11, 2001, seeing two men sitting on a bench outside listening closely to the news on a small transistor radio.

By the beginning of the 21st century, the popularity of the internet and mobile phones portends that liveness is no longer exclusively connected to television and broadcasting. As Couldry (2003) argued, “[l]iveness’ – as the guarantee of actual connectivity to events of central social significance – is not declining, only finding new forms” (p. 98). By looking at it as a category in Durkheim’s sense, Couldry maintained that liveness is a sociological construct rather than a technological attribute of, or an ideology connected to, one dedicated medium. In the early 2000s, Couldry (2004a) conceptualized new – non-televisual – forms of liveness fitting particular online and mobile media practices of that time. While these specific forms were transient, and media practices changed thoroughly with the convergence of online and mobile media, the article’s core claim – that liveness is a construct that is “closely linked to media’s role in the temporal and spatial organization of the social world” (p. 360) – has held up. It has both shaped my understanding of liveness in the early stages of this research project, and prevailed throughout this study’s empirical fieldwork as the temporal, spatial, and social emerged as key themes in my fieldwork. Building on Couldry’s insights, Van Es (2017) approached liveness as “a construction shaped by [media] institutions, technologies and users” (p. 14). Van Es studied specific “constellations of liveness” in cases that included various online and social platforms as well as broadcast formats, demonstrating the merits and intertwinement of broadcast and social media in the construction of liveness. Both Couldry’s and Van Es’s work inform my approach to theorizing liveness as something which is established within varying specific contexts and practices of media use.

Phenomenological scholarship on liveness – which regards it as something that is realized in human experience – provides a crucial critical perspective in my theoretical framework. In his book *Television and the Meaning of “Live”* (2014), Paddy Scannell built on Heidegger’s claim that “the essence of technology is nothing technological” (as cited in Scannell, 2014, p. 93). Although focused on television, Scannell’s conceptualization of liveness does not rest on medium-specific qualities but rather on the combination of technological features and human expectations and experiences thereof. In his study of “digital liveness”, Philip Auslander (2012) similarly argued that liveness is established in people’s engagement with media technologies and content. Using Gadamer’s notion of the contemporaneous, Auslander asserts that the live experience involves hermeneutic work. A live broadcast or Instagram Story from an event is not in itself live, Auslander would argue, it becomes a meaningful live instance when it is experienced as contemporaneous: when it is “experienced and taken seriously as present” (Gadamer, 1975/1989, p. 124). Phenomenology offers a perspective to regard liveness beyond TV. Building on the works of Scannell and Auslander, this study does not disregard the influence of technology, but focuses on *people’s expectations and experiences* thereof – the way in which media technologies are used to *construct liveness*.

The concept of liveness, then, remains useful beyond the scope of broadcast media and provides a means to study how current media practices transform temporal, spatial, and social relations in the world. The work of Vianello (1985), Couldry (2004a), Auslander (2012), and others cited above inform how I have regarded liveness in this study: *as a historically evolving practice that hinges on the potential connection, through media, to events that matter to us as they unfold*. This theoretical conceptualization is necessary in order to understand how liveness is constructed in new ways within the contemporary digitalized media landscape, which consists of a diversity of converged media and social platforms, widely used on mobile phones. Rather than introducing new terms to fit these developments, my work argues for preserving this rich concept while also transforming it. Once dissociated from any specific type of media, liveness as an evolving practice provides a durable model to reflect on changes in the media landscape, whether in relation to older, newer, or upcoming media technologies and types of content. Moreover, using it to empirically study practices of media use in eventspheres can further our understanding of contemporary cultural events as they are permeated and transformed by media. Through the fieldwork and subsequent analysis of research material, I was able to further refine this conceptualization and will revisit it in the conclusion of the thesis.

1.2

THEORIZING LIVENESS BEYOND MEDIATED PRESENCE

In developing my theoretical framework, I also engage with research on the entwinement of live events and media. My review of scholarly work here focuses on topics and themes which my empirical work will also address: belonging, witnessing, historicity, audiences, mediated presence, and authenticity. My discussion of these topics here challenges the assumption that liveness is merely mediated presence to an event that exists by and in itself. My empirical chapters will show how these matters are constructed in live instances in contemporary cultural eventspheres.

This study draws on the seminal work on media events by Daniel Dayan and Elihu Katz (1992) – *Media Events: The Live Broadcasting of History* – who argued that liveness is not merely the technological reproduction of an event, but that the event is shaped by practices of media use that mesh media technologies, content, and human expectations and experiences. Focusing on large broadcast ceremonial events, Dayan and Katz assert that “[b]y superimposing its own performance on the performance as organized ... television becomes the primary performer in the enactment of public ceremonies” (p. 78). Television, the most prominent medium at the time Dayan and Katz were writing, articulates the importance of the event by interrupting regular programming and asking people to interrupt their daily routines for the live broadcast of an event (Dayan & Katz, 1992; Liebes & Blondheim, 2005; Vianello, 1985). These live broadcasts – or streams or live blogs in

current times – offer the audience a participatory role as witnesses to a unique moment in time while the event is taking place (Corner, 2004; Dayan & Katz, 1992; Katz & Dayan, 1985) and “witnesses are forever irreplaceable in their privileged relation” to the event (Peters, 2001, p. 718). By giving a sense of ceremonial participation, Dayan and Katz argue, these large media events articulate belonging as they connect people to a shared social reality and involve them in history as it is unfolding.

Where Dayan and Katz focus on planned ceremonies, others address liveness within breaking news events. Mimi White’s (2004) work on catastrophic media events – wars, assassinations, attacks, accidents, riots – argues that events such as these develop “through ongoing co-articulations of liveness and historicity” (p. 78). In a highly self-conscious way, media instantly develop historical narratives in their reflections on unfolding events; consider how often we hear reporters say that we are witnessing a historical moment. When following live breaking news events – whether broadcast or streamed – we often watch a continual stream of shaky low-quality images that do not necessarily give us any new information, just to give us the sense of being there live in this important moment (Katz & Liebes, 2007). Liveness is here constructed through the combination of images of the present and the historical narrative making them meaningful (Frosh & Pinchevski, 2017), often articulated through the epithet “live” depicted in the screen. This work, on both breaking news and on ceremonial events, thus shows that liveness relies as much on a sense of historicity as on the notion of immediacy.

With the arrival of the reality television genre and cross-media formats in the 1990s, a new type of media event emerged. These media events – like the global success format *Big Brother* (Endemol BV, 1999) – were not connecting audiences to grand historical, routine-disturbing world events; rather they provided live footage of the mundane everyday activities and social interactions of ordinary people (Lunt, 2004). The unpredictability of a soap opera setting without a plot, with non-fictional characters that the viewer could relate to, made large audiences watch hours of seemingly meaningless images live. Further, audiences were not only involved as witnesses in *Big Brother*; these first multi-platform media events encouraged viewers to participate by following the happenings in the *Big Brother* house every minute of the day, actively switching between the TV and the internet, exchanging information with other viewers and voting who should leave the house. Committed commentators, viewers, and voters were influencing *Big Brother*’s social reality, writing its storyline and plot, co-constructing the format and making it cohere (Roscoe, 2004; Rustema, 2000; Ytreberg, 2009). This element of active participation across platforms, Espen Ytreberg (2009) argues, extends liveness by providing the audience with a stronger sense of immediacy and involving audience members not only as viewers or followers, but as *participants*.

In the past two decades, further digitalization has resulted in the growing importance of user-generated content in all types of events, and consequently media and events have become even more entangled.

New practices of media use have engendered new ways of participating live, as audiences can add content to and influence the event. As Sangeet Kumar (2012) argues, in his analysis of the media coverage of the 2008 Mumbai attacks:

Far from unfolding at a distance and separated from those witnessing it, media events in a networked world are on a feedback-loop of relentless course correction in response to what is being reported. ... As each participant is also a veritable node in the media network, no event can unfold in isolation from its witnessing. ... The cause and the effect become intertwined in an inseparable swirl here. (p. 544)

Media events have thus become far more open-ended; they unfold over time in various places and social contexts, and their definite plot and meaning can only be constructed afterwards and is cocreated by audiences who can join in and shape the event in a multitude of ways. For this reason, as stated in the Introduction, this study uses Volkmer and Deffner's (2010) concept of *eventspheres*, which describes the field of experiences, happenings, and media texts connected to an event through which it is discursively (re)mediated.⁸ Also, the term *event-joiner* is deliberately used in this thesis to refer to the people who are part of the live eventsphere, integrating both event-goers on the ground and event-followers at a distance.

The media through which an event is experienced, shared, and envisioned are an integral part of the event(sphere): they co-constitute the live moment. When people join an eventsphere, they take part in shaping it. This is why, I argue, the concept of liveness is suitable for understanding how event-joiners, media, and events mutually shape one another in contemporary cultural eventspheres: it articulates the formative involvement of media in different ways of joining the event and in shaping the event itself. Liveness therefore goes beyond the widely theorized concept of mediated presence. Mediated presence, as Bourdon (2020) defines it, is "the sense of presence – despite physical absence – made possible by technology" (p. 1). Many scholars maintain that presence – in particular a sense of authenticity and immediacy – through media is realized by rendering the medium or act of mediation invisible (e.g., Bolter & Grusin, 1999; Lombard & Ditton, 1997). In instances of liveness, I argue, the medium and the act of mediation are not negated. While notions of authenticity, immediacy, and a sense of presence help to understand how media technologies realize the potential connection to events, liveness in contemporary cultural eventspheres – as my analysis will demonstrate – is an embodied and reflexive experience of joining in the event through a practice of media use.

Liveness articulates both being there and not being there: a hereness and nowness which is always accompanied with the sense of other places, times, and people, consequently multiplying the temporal, spatial, and

⁸ — I would like to thank Taina Bucher (2014) for pointing out the term *kairos* in her 2014 talk at the conference Social Media and the Transformation of Public Space. Although I had encountered the concept before, this talk inspired me to look at it more closely, recognizing that it could be very useful for my study.

social frames involved. Take a classic example of liveness concerning broadcast media: watching a soccer match on TV you simultaneously watch the game as it happens and see replays of the most exciting moments of time past; you are in your living room and in different places – through different camera perspectives – in the stadium; you are by yourself on the couch and in the social context of supporters of the team. Adding the smartphone and social media to this setting extends this even further. In current times, the expansion of media technologies and their embeddedness and habitual use in everyday practices has led to new forms of mediated (co)presence (Hjorth, 2013a; Ito & Okabe, 2005; Villi, 2015; Zhao, 2003). As Mirca Madianou (2016) argues there is an “increased awareness of the everyday lives and activities of significant others through the background presence of ubiquitous media environments” (p. 183). These diverse forms of mediated presence and ambient copresence have certainly further complicated the temporal, spatial, and social relations within the practice of liveness (see Cefai & Couldry, 2017; Richardson & Wilken, 2012; Urry, 2002b), and it is precisely this complexity that is an understudied area.

Taking liveness as vantage point helps to avoid one of the pitfalls of engaging with the concept of presence when researching mediatized events: when speaking about presence, one brings along a common-sense understanding that physical presence at an event on the ground is a more authentic presence than joining the event through media. Liveness challenges this understanding (see Bourdon, 2020; Scannell, 1996). Moreover, ongoing mediatization blurs the boundaries between mediated and unmediated presence even further. As Auslander (2002) claims, referencing Baudrillard’s concept of simulation, the live experience encompasses

an impossible oscillation between the two poles of what once seemed a clear opposition: whereas mediatized performance derives its authority from its reference to the live or the real, the live now derives its authority from its reference to the mediatized, which derives its authority from its reference to the live, etc. (p. 43)

It thus becomes obsolete to look for the more genuine presence when considering live event experiences. This is what makes the work of Feuer (1983) permanently invaluable: by arguing for the term *liveness* as opposed to *live* she emphasizes the construction of the live moment without making a real/unreal distinction.

Truly “being there live”, as my analysis will indicate, is actively constructed by event-joiners through their media practices. Whereas authenticity and constructedness seem contradictory, in the instances of liveness examined in this study these go hand in hand. Consequently, liveness involves two slightly distinct paradoxes. First, identified by Van Es (2017) as the “paradox of liveness”, there is a contradiction between the experience of the live moment as natural or not-staged, and the effort going into produc-

ing it (Gripsrud, 1998; Van Es, 2017). Second, these live instances hinge on the perpetual potential connection to unfolding happenings (Bourdon, 2020; De Vries, 2012; Vianello, 1985), and concurrently establish temporal, spatial, and social realities; event-joiners both tap into and create the eventsphere as “meaningful now-of-concern” (Scannell, 2014, p. 94) through their media practices. My empirical work will demonstrate that this concoction of authenticity and constructedness exists in live media practices of both event-joiners on the ground and those who join from a distance. Notions of authenticity are prominent in the interviews, often referencing media practices that involve “raw” and “unpolished” visual content that mirrors the sense of immediacy in the breaking news images discussed above. The analytical clarification of the two paradoxes distinguished here will aid the careful analysis of these practices and the precise theorizing of the notion of authenticity in this study.

1.3

UNDERSTANDING LIVENESS AS KAIROS: BEING NOW HERE TOGETHER

Whereas the sense of immediacy and the now is prominent in thinking about liveness, it should not be understood as a merely temporal construct concerning a specific measurable time or time span. Being there live, as analysis of my research material will show, is better understood through notions of the situated instance: the right time and the right place within a particular social context. As an analytical tool for regarding liveness as the situated instance, this study employs the Greek concept of *kairos*.⁹ Although it is often translated in terms of time(ing) – relative time as opposed to measurable or chronological time (*chronos*) – *kairos* refers to a moment in time and space (Rickert, 2007). In its earliest uses, the term referenced an opening in the context of archery and weaving: an opportunity or chance for the perfect move (C. R. Miller, 1994). *Kairos* concerns the qualitative, experiential instance: a moment that “involves total participation of being” (Kelman, 1969, p. 80), as the live instance does.

Employing the concept of *kairos* aids my analysis by incorporating the three dimensions of the live instance that emerged in the analysis of my fieldwork – the temporal, the spatial, and the social. Further, liveness as *kairos* fits this study’s practice approach (see Section 1.4), as it regards the situated instance as an organically occurring opportunity while concurrently addressing how this instance may be constructed (C. R. Miller, 1994). It leaves space for agency – the intervention, participation, and interaction of the event-joiner (Cocker, 2018; Papacharissi, 2015a) – without ignoring the formative influences of technological affordances and platformization. *Kairos* enables me to investigate the temporality, spatiality, and sociality of the live instance as these take shape in media practices. It also fits well with the phenomenological perspective chosen for this study, building on Scannell’s (2014) argument that liveness is “being-in-concern”, which can-

⁹ — I would like to thank Taina Bucher (2014) for pointing out the term *kairos* in her 2014 talk at the conference *Social Media and the Transformation of Public Space*. Although I had encountered the concept before, this talk inspired me to look at it more closely, recognizing that it could be very useful for my study.

not be understood when we investigate or measure the exact time or place of an existing thing. Instances of liveness are different from simply being there at a certain time.

Throughout this thesis, I argue that liveness is established in practices of media use, through which continuous dialectic negotiations take place within three constituting facets: time, place, and the social. Liveness can be seen, as shown in Figure 1, as the apex of a three-faced pyramid in which time, place, and the social form the three lateral faces. In live instances, being “now here together” is experienced through dialectic negotiations with other times, places, and people – negotiations which, I argue, are increasingly mediatized.

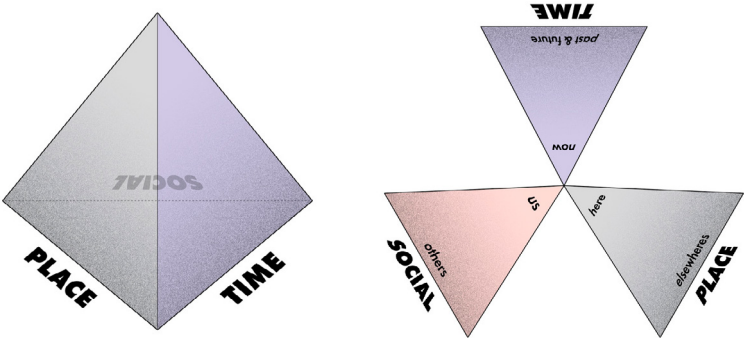


Figure 1: A Kairotic Understanding of Liveness (Design by Studio Another Day).

In the following three subsections, I will theorize these three dimensions to further conceptualize liveness as kairos. I will provide a brief overview of theoretical perspectives on how practices of media use transform temporality, spatiality, and sociality, forming the foundation for the empirical investigation of these facets of liveness in the analytical chapters.

1.3.1 TEMPORALITY: THE KAIROTIC NOW

Both general and academic understandings of liveness often center on the concept of immediacy and highlight, or rather glorify, the notion that media can bring instant information by displaying events as they are happening. Critical scholarship, as explored in the previous sections, however, has illuminated that absolute immediacy in live media practices is a myth. These live media practices – for example, watching the live broadcast of 3FM Serious Request, or sharing a live story on Instagram from Pride Amsterdam – rather enact a commitment to, or promise of, the live happening. The *kairotic now*, or the right time that is enacted in these live media practices, is articulated, as the previous section has discussed, in relation to history. Watching the live broadcast and sharing that Instagram Story are instances in ordinal time, in relation to a past and a future, or, as Scannell (2014) argues, moments when the “unfolding time of human history and the unfolding times of the living intersect” (p. 94).

This relational configuration of temporality becomes apparent when we regard how liveness is technologically articulated in relation to the possibility of recording (Auslander, 2012; Scannell, 2014), archiving, and storing (Kaun & Stiernstedt, 2014; Weltevrede et al., 2014). Live images – whether television broadcasts, Facebook Live streams, or Instagram Stories – exist as instant images in relation to times that have been and times to come. This is how they are embedded in their mediated environments, for instance becoming memories within their nostalgic platformed context (Niemeyer, 2014; Van Dijck, 2007), as I will explore in Chapter 3. Media shape the way we experience the now: the way we remember and anticipate it (Garde-Hansen et al., 2009; Hassan & Purser, 2007).

With changing practices of media use, enactments of liveness diverge: as techno-cultural forms put forward their own temporal structures (Coleman, 2020; Ekstrom, 2016; Ernst, 2013; Fornas, 2016), new digital media technologies afford new ways of constructing the kairotic now. Taking a multi-platform perspective, Ytreberg (2017) notes that mediatized events involve “a richer set of temporal layerings on a host of digital platforms” (p. 320). While liveness is a central concept used in theory on television’s power of immediacy, debates about temporality in the online and digital are often framed in terms of real time. Real time is computational and often organized in streams in which the user is both follower and participant (Berry, 2011). In recent years, an increasing body of research has been concerned with unpacking the ways in which different temporalities are reorganized and produced within platforms and apps (Kaun et al., 2016; Kaun & Stiernstedt, 2014; Weltevrede et al., 2014). Disputing narrow conceptualizations of live and real time, Taina Bucher (2018) argues that “algorithmic media ... are more about ‘right time’ than they are about ‘real time’” (p. 80) and therefore, Bucher argues, better understood in terms of *kairos*.

Chapter 3 engages with this theoretical framework as it empirically scrutinizes how the live instance is constructed as kairotic now in event-joiners’ media practices within the three studied eventspheres. It addresses how event-joiners enact the memorable live instance by, for example, sharing it ephemerally through a Facebook Live stream, keeping and displaying it as a post on Instagram, or experiencing it through deliberate non-use of media. By focusing on event-joiners’ media practices, it extends theories on media and temporality by empirically investigating how technological affordances and actual media use converge in the construction of the kairotic now.

1.3.2 SPATIALITY: THE KAIROTIC HERE

Liveness has been extensively theorized as an ideological construct in which spatial borders are diminished by media technologies and new understandings of near and far arise (Allon, 2004; Peters, 2001; White, 2004). Whereas this thesis fully adheres to the claim that media transform spatiality, it refines these theories by empirically investigating the intricacies

and particularities of this transformation in event-joiners' media practices. Chapter 4 develops the argument (introduced in the discussion of mediated presence in Section 1.2) that spatial distance is not so much reduced or dissipated in instances of liveness, but is rather enjoyed alongside a sense of closeness. The pleasure of connecting to distant elsewheres necessitates acknowledging the distance that is bridged. Being there as established in event-joiners' media practices – such as a check-in at Oerol, or a selfie in front of a rainbow flag during Pride Amsterdam – articulates embodied being-in-place in relation to many other places.

Several authors convincingly argue that mediated communication has led to a pluralized, layered experience of space consisting of a variety of specific places (Evans, 2015; Moores, 2004; Urry, 2002a). As people can connect to events live in myriad ways and in a multitude of places, current eventspheres feature a wide spectrum of event locales in which event-joiners have embodied event experiences within their direct physical environment (see Rakić & Chambers, 2012) and concurrently feel near to other distant places (see Giddens, 1990; Scannell, 1996). Moreover, another spatial layer is added to the eventsphere through event-joiners' constant communicative connections to others, whether physically near or far away. Since the growth of mobile locative connective media technologies in particular, Larissa Hjorth (2013a) argues, our sense of place is impacted by “a variety of modalities of presence (co-presence, tele-presence, net-locality)” (p. 111). In event-joiners' enactments of proximity and distance, as analysis in Section 4.3 will show, distant others are often perceived as more proximate than someone who might sit next to you.

Investigating spatiality in the eventspheres through the notion of the *kairotic here*, enables me to explore how instances of liveness are dialectically constructed. Live instances, Chapter 4 will demonstrate, are not straightforwardly emplaced. As event-joiners combine their presence in physical locales with that in various mediated environments, their spatial situatedness is multifarious and rests on the continuous navigation of proximity and distance: here and there. Embodied being-in-place in the studied eventspheres, as my analysis will show, is augmented by distant elsewheres and enacted through the alignment of physical and mediated presences.

1.3.3 SOCIALITY: THE KAIROTIC US

A sense of togetherness – the *kairotic us* – is vital to the live instance; without social contexts, potential mediated connections to unfolding occurrences are meaningless. Consider a CCTV camera or a webcam continuously streaming footage: the technology provides an instant connection to another place, yet without a social context the images these cameras capture have no significance. Therefore, the third constitutive facet of liveness that this study addresses is the social. Framing the social positioning of the live instance as the *kairotic us* directs attention to the continuous dialectics establishing it, and the role of media technologies therein. Chapter 5 examines

this socio-technological sociality, or more specifically the concrete *socialities* (Postill & Pink, 2012) that shape and are shaped by live media practices in the studied eventspheres.¹⁰

Live events promise a communal experience (Kumar, 2012) in which those involved are privileged. Moreover, we create events to have meaningful experiences (Scannell, 2014), as they are essential for social structure and connection in our lives (Sonnevend, 2017). Live media events in the broadcast era, Dayan and Katz (1992; 1985) argued, were largely driven by the desire to express belongingness and connect to a shared history. Several scholars argue that current platformed media practices annihilate the communal experience, as automated personalized flows and commercially driven algorithmic structures disperse the audience and undermine a collective narrative (Goldfarb, 2017; Katz & Dayan, 2017; Kaun & Stierstedt, 2014). Yet, although it is generally recognized that the media events that Dayan and Katz described in the 1990s were specific to the era of broadcasting (Frosh & Pinchevski, 2017), and that changing practices of media use transform sociality, the desire for belongingness and shared experiences is, I argue, still essential in contemporary live eventspheres.

The question then arises as to how social relations – the formation of audiences and publics – take shape through the functionalities of popular media platforms (Schulz, 2004). The rise of social media initially – between the early 2000s and 2014 – ushered in enthusiasm about the possibilities for bottom-up sociality (Castells, 2001) and their potential to create togetherness (Bakardjieva, 2003; Marino, 2015; Schrooten, 2012). Scholars have identified unifying practices in networked media by showing how hashtags function as performatives, creating ad hoc and ongoing publics (Bruns & Burgess, 2011) and affective ties that materialize within online and offline worlds (Papacharissi, 2015a). Zizi Papacharissi's (2015a) concept of "affective publics" hinges on belonging and expresses a kairotic open-endedness: a coming-into-being through the practice of using hashtags. With the ongoing convergence and mobility of media technologies, audiences and publics are increasingly fluid social circles functioning online and on the ground, formed along different social connections and happenings, sometimes coinciding or overlapping (Postill, 2008; Postill & Pink, 2012). In recent years – with the coming of age of connective sociality and growing scholarship on platformization – scholars have questioned whether connective platforms empower bottom-up sociality or rather form new, commercially driven, infrastructures and institutions that mold our social relations (Couldry & Van Dijck, 2015; Gillespie, 2017; Nieborg & Helmond, 2018).

Analysis of connective and collective media practices in Chapter 5 will show how the kairotic *us* is socio-technologically constructed in situated live instances. Regarding liveness as *kairos* established in event-joiners' practices of media use, enables me to empirically scrutinize concrete socialities in eventspheres as dialectic negotiations without placing power or agency with either the event-joiner or the medium, but rather acknowledging their entanglement in the continuous negotiation between notions of *us* and *others*.

¹⁰ — By using the plural term *socialities*, as proposed by John Postill and Sarah Pink (2012), I recognize the plurality of online and offline relations: the diversity of social connections and disconnections through the variety of media practices in the eventspheres.

This thesis contributes to existing literature on liveness through an empirical analysis of how live instances are established in *practices of media use* in contemporary cultural eventspheres. In regarding media use through the concept of practice, it builds on Theodore Schatzki's (2001) definition of practices as "embodied, materially mediated arrays of human activity centrally organized around shared practical understanding" (p. 11). By centralizing media practices as "entwined fabrics of technologies and people" (Lingel, 2017, p. 7) it breaches the digital/non-digital divide and steers clear of technological determinism and instrumentalism. This is why, despite its focus on the practice of media use, the term "user" is avoided for its connotation of "controller," whereby the media technology is turned into a tool. Further, whereas event-joiners are often part of audiences, publics, and communities, this study is deliberately not conceived through these concepts as these imply certain power relations and degrees of agency, despite them being analytically and empirically commingled (Livingstone, 2005). Concerning technology, this study draws on the growing theory about affordances of media technologies (Bucher & Helmond, 2017; Hutchby, 2001; Langlois, 2014), yet argues that people's behavior is not only the result of technological affordances: these technologies are also shaped by the way we interact with them, what we expect of them, and how we use them in practice (see Costa, 2018; Ellison & boyd, 2013; McVeigh-Schultz & Baym, 2015; Nagy & Neff, 2015). Through its argument that instances of liveness involve people in entangled relations with media technologies, this study advances theory on liveness as a techno-cultural phenomenon.

1.4.1 TAKING A PHENOMENOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

The entanglement of media and event-joiner in the examined practices is in this study conceptualized from a phenomenological perspective. I have developed my phenomenological framework via the work of Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1945/1962), who showed that through the habitual we can incorporate material artifacts into the self. In routinized practices, he wrote, we can "chang[e] our existence by appropriating fresh instruments" (p. 166). Merleau-Ponty gives the example of the walking stick which becomes part of the blind man's way of experiencing the world. Similarly, Don Ihde (1990) observes how eyeglasses become incorporated in our embodied experience of the world and Peter-Paul Verbeek (2008) describes how the ultrasound has changed cultural understandings of unborn children and their mothers (or, as language has shifted, pregnant women and fetuses). There are two consequences to this incorporation of objects or technologies into the self/body. First, they become naturalized: they are made so common that they become inconspicuous. Second, their use alters the way we experience the

world, and this is amplified by the concealing effect of habitual use. Both consequences thus reinforce one another.

By focusing on the particular relations between people and technologies, postphenomenology allows us to examine the ways in which technologies co-construct our experience of the world in everyday life (Rosenberger & Verbeek, 2015). Where Rosenberger and Verbeek focus mainly on the human-technology relation, I argue that, in relation to practices of media use, the importance of content is overlooked. To take Verbeek's example of the ultrasound (2008), it is not only the technology of being able to see and hear inside the womb that changes the relationship with or the conceptualization of the unborn child: the content of the ultrasound – the text, the shape and colors of the image, and the sounds, all designed in particular ways – also affect the experience. By appropriating the postphenomenological perspective for my study of event-joiners' practices of media use, I therefore extend it to incorporate both media technology and content (an extension that can be useful more broadly when studying processes of mediatization).

Whereas existing phenomenological theories of liveness typically regard it as perception or experience, and thus locate it in the audience, this study aims to provide a more intricate understanding of liveness as it is realized in practice in three contemporary cultural eventspheres. It takes up postphenomenological encouragements to focus on concrete situations (Rosenberger & Verbeek, 2015), and the call by Nick Couldry and Andreas Hepp (2017) for a materialist phenomenology of the mediatized social world. Using the term "materialist", Couldry and Hepp argue for empirical research: for a phenomenology that not only regards how the world appears, is perceived, and is interpreted, but also the materiality "*through which, and on the basis of which, communications today take place*" (p. 6). This study extends existing theories on liveness by taking this post/materialist phenomenological perspective, alongside a practice approach, which will be delineated in the next subsection.

1.4.2 TAKING A PRACTICE APPROACH

In this study, media practices in cultural eventspheres are regarded as composites of what event-joiners do with media technologies, the materials they use and make, and their understanding thereof. This approach is inspired by the tripartite model of activity, materiality, and discursive reflexivity proposed by Laura Ahva (2017).¹¹ Using a combination of ethnographic, digital, and visual methods, I have examined event-joiners' media behavior; the objects, content, tools, technologies, and places they use, consume, and produce in the eventspheres; and how they interpret and evaluate this (Ahva, 2017; Barnes, 2001; Couldry, 2004b). As the field "[is] the linchpin of the practice approach" (Schatzki, 2001, p. 11), I have designed this study as a multi-sited field study (Marcus, 1995) tailored to the eventspheres of Oerol Festival 2017, 3FM Serious Request 2017, and Pride Amsterdam 2018. The specific research design – fields, methods, ethics and materials – will be discussed in Chapter 2.

¹¹ — Ahva based her model on the work of Barry Barnes (2001), Schatzki (2001), David Stern (2003), and Couldry (2004b).

Taking a practice approach to the study of eventspheres has advantages at several levels. It enabled me to look past a single media technology or type of content and instead consider the range of media practices encountered during fieldwork. Further, it also allowed me to study the choices that event-joiners make to not use media in certain ways or at certain times (Couldry, 2004b). Moreover, as practice thinking undermines “the traditional individual-nonindividual divide” (Schatzki, 2001, p. 14), it suits my conceptualization of liveness as *kairos*, and as techno-cultural construction, acknowledging the thorough entanglement of people and technology without placing agency exclusively in one or the other. Regarding media as practice does not deny the value of studying media as texts or production economies, but rather shifts attention to “the open-ended range of practices focused directly or indirectly on media” (Couldry, 2004b, p. 117) to gain insight into the socio-cultural. Open enquiry into what people do with media, the materials they use, and how they reflect upon this, takes event-joiners seriously without claiming that their choices and actions are always conscious, reason-driven, or free from techno-cultural or socio-economic structuring.

My theoretical approach draws on what Pierre Bourdieu (1980/1990, 1979/1996) has described as the “logic of practice”. Bourdieu’s definition of practice – “[*(habitus)* (*capital*)] + field” (1979/1996, p. 101) – points toward the concept of “*habitus*” as a possible crux to understanding the complex structuring processes governing liveness (this move was inspired by Couldry, 2004a; Papacharissi, 2015a). *Habitus* invites certain behavior as logical within particular contexts. It produces a “common-sense world” (Bourdieu, 1980/1990, p. 58) in which certain experiences and the expression thereof in practices seem fitting, even obvious. It is the behavior that needs no explanation as it is expected within its context. My empirical chapters will argue that in mediatized eventspheres this context is multi-sited: event-joiners are concurrently embedded in physical and mediated environments.

In my interviews, this common sense becomes apparent, for example in words such as “just,” “naturally,” “of course,” and “simply”: idiom that implies that my interviewees regard their behavior as commonplace, and that media have become routinized and embedded in their everyday lives to such an extent that their behaviors, assumptions, and expectations concerning them are often covert or naturalized. However, this does not signify that event-joiners are unconscious or naive in their practices of media use; we will see in the analytical chapters that these practices can simultaneously incorporate unawareness and a critical stance toward media. Such an approach fits with Bourdieu’s conceptualization of *habitus* as “embodied history, internalized as a second nature and so forgotten as history” (1980/1990, p. 56): as the “real logic of action” (p. 57). By using the term “logic”, Bourdieu distinguishes *habitus* as a form of practical reason and differentiates his conceptualization of *habitus* from habits in the sense of mechanical knee-jerk reactions (Crossley, 2013). Consider, for instance, an event-joiner’s practice of livestreaming while in the crowd on the ground: although this is often done without extensive reflection beforehand, it is not a stimulus-response reflex.

Habitus, as Bourdieu conceptualizes it, provides a perspective for scrutinizing event-joiners' practices of media use that is open to the paradoxical elements of the deliberate and the routinized therein, as it transcends the dichotomies of conscious/unconscious, determinism/agency, conditioning/creativity, and individual/collective. The ambiguity of habitus, as Diane Reay (2004) argues, "fits in well with the complex messiness of the real world" (p. 438), and this is where I aim to take it: situating myself, as Bourdieu (1980/1990) encourages, "within 'real activity as such'" (p. 52). Taking a practice approach that builds on Bourdieu's notion of habitus and the logic of practice enables me to empirically examine live instances in the three studied eventspheres, scrutinizing how the kairotic now, here, and us are established through event-joiners' practices of media use.

CONCLUSION

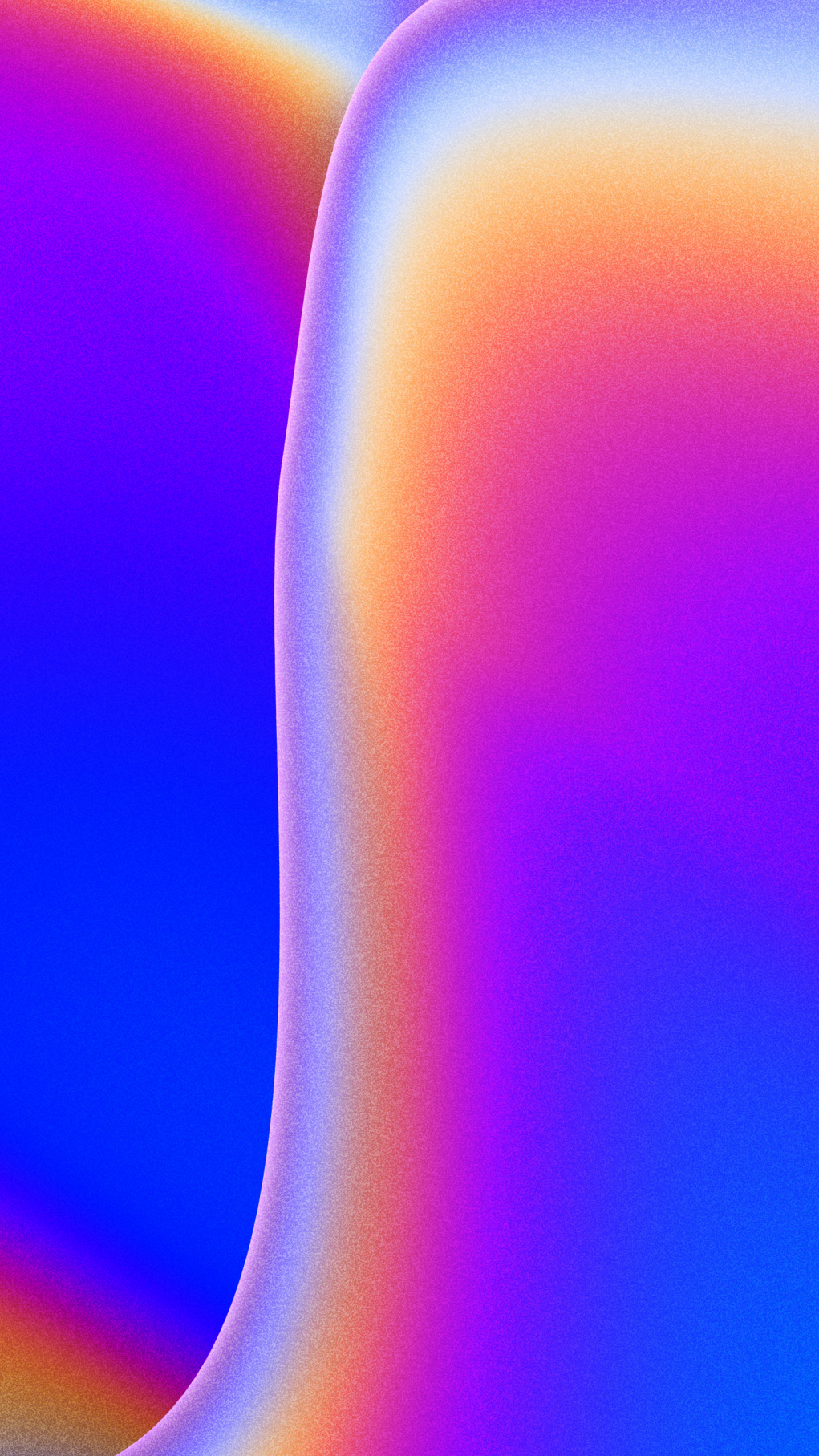
In this chapter I have taken the first steps in expanding on existing understandings of liveness, and developed a theoretical framework for an empirically grounded investigation of how liveness is established through event-joiners' media practices in contemporary cultural eventspheres.

By tracing theorization of liveness in media studies – revolving around topics such as immediacy, authenticity, belonging, witnessing, historicity, audiences and publics, and mediated presence – I have developed the theoretically grounded conceptualization of liveness *as a historically evolving practice that hinges on the potential connection, through media, to events that matter to us as they unfold*. I have argued that liveness is not mediated presence to an event that exists by and in itself; rather, the live moment is a situated instance in which the kairotic now, here, and us are socio-technologically constructed in relation to other times, places, and people.

In my four analytical chapters – Chapters 3 to 6 – I will continue this reconceptualization of liveness through the empirical study of event-joiners' media practices in the eventspheres of Oerol 2017, 3FM Serious Request 2017, and Pride Amsterdam 2018. This analysis relies on the (post/materialist) phenomenological perspective and practice approach developed in this chapter, drawing on Bourdieu's notion of habitus, and regarding what event-joiners do with media technologies, the materials they use and make, and their understanding thereof. The next chapter elaborates how this investigation was designed and carried out.

CHAPTER 2

METHODS, ETHICS, FIELDS, AND MATERIALS



CHAPTER 2

METHODS, ETHICS, FIELDS, AND MATERIALS¹²

This chapter delineates my research design, and explains decisions on methods, ethics, fields, and materials therein.

It explains how I have examined event-joiners' media practices as composites of behavior, materiality, and reflection (guided by the practice approach described in Section 1.4).¹³ As eventspheres encompass myriad media practices in which the live instance can be established — hashtag use, sending direct messages, taking selfies, and watching TV, to name a few — the empirical instances and sites for study are vast and numerous. Eventspheres comprise deeply entangled combinations of online activity on a wide variety of platforms (Madianou, 2015) and on-the-ground practices which are constructed within specific localities (Postill & Pink, 2012). To bridge the digital/non-digital divide, I — inspired by Jessa Lingel's (2017) argument for "networked field studies" and George Marcus's (1995) description of "multi-sited ethnography" — developed a research design to empirically study event-joiners' media practices in various online and offline fields within three eventspheres: Oerol Festival 2017, 3FM Serious Request 2017, and Pride Amsterdam 2018.¹⁴

Aiming to expand theory on liveness by empirically investigating situated live instances in these three eventspheres, this study is based on the analysis of extensive research material comprising observations in online and offline fields, interviews with 379 event-joiners, and large data sets of platformed visual content. Designed as a multi-grounded study (Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010), the project involved an iterative research process (see Figure 2) to enable interplay between theory, empirical observations, and analysis. Throughout this process, I recurrently reevaluated and refined research questions and methods.

¹² — Parts of the research design and methodological reflections as delineated in this chapter were published before in my (2020) book chapter "Live Event-Spaces: Place and Space in the Mediatized Experience of Events" and in my (2021) article "Being There Live: An Ethnographic Approach for Studying Social Media Use in Mediatized Live Events."

¹³ — As addressed in the Preface, this focus on event-joiners of the three events entails that their perspectives and practices are brought to the fore — as opposed to those of event organizers or people who might be critical of the events, or not involved in or aware of them at all. Most of the studied practices involve enthusiasm for the events, which is specific to these event-joiners and by no means a claim that holds for the general public.

¹⁴ — The concept of field studies offers a constructive way of studying practices of media use due to its openness to combining several fields and media technologies as opposed to demarcating specific case studies of platforms or field sites.

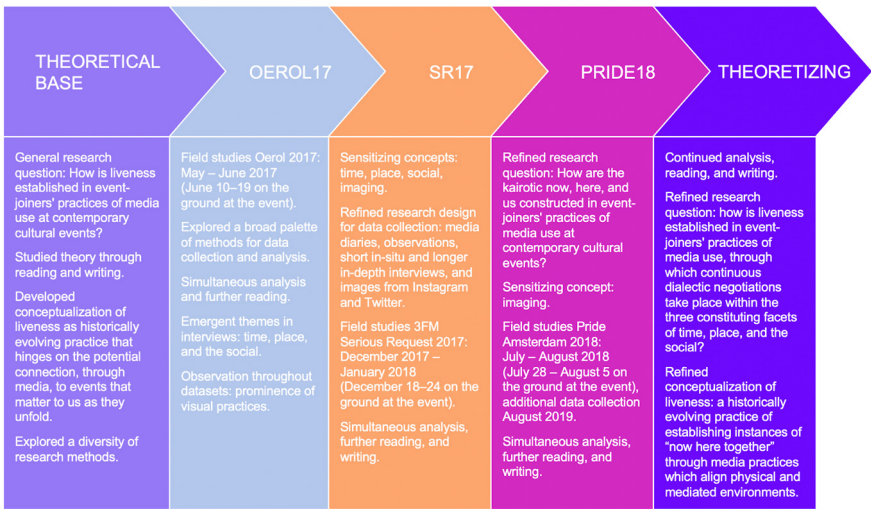


Figure 2: Overview of the Research Process.

In the following three sections, I elaborate on and justify this research design. The first section discusses the methodological and ethical considerations in designing this study. It argues that my adaptive and iterative mixed methods approach provides a rigorous and ethical way to research event-joiners' media practices. The second section introduces the three studied events. I describe the particularities of media use and the environments of each event, which, as I explain, informed the choices of data collection and analysis. The final section contains the concrete research design and delineates my research material and data sets, as well as my methods for gathering and analyzing this material.

2.1 METHODS AND ETHICS: DEVELOPING AN ADAPTIVE AND ITERATIVE MIXED METHODS APPROACH

Stepping into the eventspheres as a researcher to study event-joiners' practices of media use, I faced a significant challenge concerning both academic rigor and ethics.¹⁵ I needed a research design which was able to grasp the three elements of media practices – behavior, materiality, and reflection – both online and on the ground, and which was adaptive to concrete situations in hybrid digital–physical spaces. Within eventspheres much goes on under the radar in private, less visible places, both physical and digital. In my experience as event-joiner and user of social media platforms, I can easily move around in these places and frequently receive, share, and come across photos and videos of live event experiences. This content – such as a check-in on Facebook, a quick selfie shared through WhatsApp, or a short live video on Instagram Stories – comprises a large part of the eventsphere. Yet, while for the insider these practices are extremely visible, these are

¹⁵ — As methods and ethics are so thoroughly entangled in this study, I decided to consider them together in this dissertation, as opposed to writing separate sections (see Markham, 2006).

not easy to find for outsiders (see Highfield & Leaver, 2016). For one, due to restricted access to application programming interfaces (APIs), it has become increasingly difficult to gather content from social media platforms for research (Section 2.3.2 describes how this impacted the study). Also, the prevalence of ephemeral content and diverse forms of (semi)private communication on social media platforms further complicates this. The event content that is publicly available consists mainly of promotional material, livestreams from the organizers, or broadcasts from local or national networks, whereas event-joiners’ media practices – that check-in or selfie that I aimed to study – are often transient and largely enacted within semi-private chats or groups which are not publicly accessible.

Adapting to these demands and challenges, I developed a practice-based approach which combined ethnographic,¹⁶ digital, and visual methods (see Table 1). Through ethnographic methods – unstructured participant observations online and on the ground, and semi-structured qualitative interviews – I was able to get both an overview of which media practices were constitutive for event-joiners’ live experiences and insight into these media practices from the inside. Only through these methods could I study event-joiners’ reflections on their media use as well as their more ephemeral and private media behaviors and materials. Digital methods enabled me to study behavior and materiality in the public online components of the eventsphere, by providing ways of collecting, navigating, and analyzing posts from Instagram and tweets from Twitter in natively digital ways (Rogers, 2019a). Via visual methods the ubiquitous visual materials – images and videos – in the eventspheres could be scrutinized as compelling elements of meaningful practices.

Ethnographic methods	Digital methods	Visual methods
Materiality	Materiality	Materiality
Behavior	Behavior	
Reflection		

Table 1: Overview of Research Methods Used and How These Cover the Three Elements of Media Practices.

I argue that this mixed methods approach – that combines the outsider view with the situated one – provides unique insights into event-joiners’ practices of media use. The research design for this study adheres to Noortje Marres’s (2017) call for finding experimental and interdisciplinary ways of inquiry in society and technology, and fits well within a current academic shift in internet studies. Platform-driven changes, emergent digital practices, and recent reflections on rigor, ethics, and the societal value of digital research (Tromble, 2021) have led to reevaluations of research methods. For years, digital methods research – aiming to develop natively digital ways to research the digital (Rogers, 2019a) – predominantly revolved around tools for gathering and analyzing large data sets from online platforms. In the so-

¹⁶ — Section 2.3.1 includes a reflection on appropriating ethnographic methods for the study of media practices.

called post-API era researchers no longer have access to limitless amounts of data and consequently other avenues for data collection and analysis are explored (Bruns, 2018; Puschmann, 2019; Rogers, 2019a). Further, even if all data could be scraped, we should ask ourselves how useful these data are for what we aim to research. While digital methods can provide unique insight into elements of people's practices of media use, comprehensive research of these practices as they are embedded in eventspheres (or other contexts) requires the researcher to continuously critically assess and align data, research questions, and societal context (Marres, 2017; Tromble, 2021), and to ground findings through conventional offline methods and techniques (Domingo, 2015; Rogers, 2019a). The ethnographic approach and conceptual framework, developed within sociology and anthropology, offer ways to research practices as embedded and embodied (Hine, 2015). Ethnographic methods have been appropriated by media scholars since the 1970s to study a broad spectrum of media texts and platforms (see for example Abidin, 2016; Ang, 1985; boyd, 2008; Hermes, 2005; Morley, 1974, 1992). In recent years, in particular, the area of digital ethnography has been blooming (Delli Paoli & D'Auria, 2021), with researchers combining and adopting methods in new ways for the study of hybrid digital–physical fields.¹⁷

Combining automated analysis of large digital data sets with ethnographic attention to participants and the situatedness of moments also stimulates a conscious ethical stance (Fiesler & Proferes, 2018; Luka & Millette, 2018; Pink & Lanzeni, 2018). As Annette Markham (2006) argues, methods and ethics should be seen as thoroughly intertwined. Ethical research entails more than a checklist or approval from the ethics board of an academic institute:¹⁸ it is an ongoing process in which the researcher regards her accountability throughout all stages of the research project. For instance, whereas the study of digital material is by many ethics committees not regarded as research with human participants, the people whose material I examine are of course indeed human. Studying media practices with the proposed combination of methods enabled me to reflect on both methodological and ethical considerations throughout the work, constantly tailoring my approach to the specific research questions and contexts at hand.

These reflections often revolved around issues of visibility. I questioned which practices could be considered public, and which were private. Moreover, I wondered how I could look at both public and more secluded areas of the eventspheres while respecting event-joiners' privacy and autonomy. As Chapter 5 will show, event-joiners' practices of media use are aligned with various socialities which beget many levels of anticipated visibility. This complicates the researcher's standpoint, as without a clear public–private divide, the understanding of online parts of the eventspheres as public spaces is convoluted. Publicly visible content is often not posted with a wide audience implied, while more secluded and ephemeral content, which is difficult to capture for the researcher, can be intended to add to the public eventsphere. This requires the researcher to consider privacy con-

¹⁷ — See for instance the LSE Digital Ethnography Collective <https://twitter.com/DigEthnogLSE>.

¹⁸ — In accordance with the guidelines of the University of Amsterdam, I have obtained approval from the Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Humanities for carrying out interviews with human participants.

textually (Nissenbaum, 2011): to question in each specific situation whether it is right to capture public profiles and publicly shared content for research (Association of Internet Researchers (AoIR) & Markham, 2016; franzke et al., 2020), and how to go about observing more secluded areas. In this study, the ethnographic work, and particularly interviewing in the field, helped to identify and address these questions. While gathering content through digital methods and online observations, the event-joiners whose practices I was studying could not or were unlikely to see me. Conversely, while interviewing, I faced event-joiners in the field, and this encounter compelled me to take the experience and self-understanding of my interviewees and of myself as researcher seriously (see Keane, 2014). Being part of the three events on the ground helped me to recognize the inequality of not being as visible to them as they were to me (see Hine, 2015). In the field, you stumble upon ethical dilemmas, and the unevenness of the relationship between researcher and researched, by sensing hints of social unease within yourself and in the people you meet.

Being there live means facing the people you study openly, engaging in an embodied relationship between researcher and participant. Further, by participating in the three eventspheres I became a co-constructing element in them. Often friends of the people I spoke to started photographing, streaming, or snapping the interview, or interviewees wanted a selfie with me. I have encountered images of myself on the ground more

than once during my online observations and explorations of my digital data sets. I became part of my own field site (see Figure 3). Moreover, the eventspheres as they appear in this thesis are, as Sarah Pink (2009) asserts, “ethnographic places”: they are created by me and the tools that I have used (Amit, 2000; Gingrich, 2013). Section 2.3 will elaborate on my efforts to obtain representative data sets – by focusing on actual media practices, and through triangulation – yet the notion of *stepping into* the eventspheres as a researcher is somewhat of a fallacy.

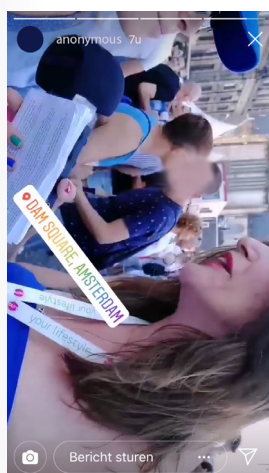


Figure 3: Example of an Instagram Story by an Interviewee's Friend Who Captured our Interview, Pride18.

2.2

FIELDS: THE THREE EVENTSPHERES

The three events selected for this study – Oerol Festival 2017, 3FM Serious Request 2017, and Pride Amsterdam 2018 – offered rich fields for gathering research material that is comprehensive concerning media use, is internationally relevant, and covers various event types, as Table 2 shows.

	Oerol Festival 2017 Oerol17	3FM Serious Request 2017 SR17	Pride Amsterdam 2018 Pride18
Type of event	Theater festival	National media event/fundraiser	Pride event
Dates	June 9 – 18, 2017	December 18 – 24, 2017	July 28 – August 5, 2018
Location	Terschelling (Dutch island)	Apeldoorn (midsize Dutch city)	Amsterdam (major Dutch city)
Visitors ¹⁹	50,000	500,000 visitors and 10,000,000 followers	Hundreds of thousands

Table 2: Overview of the Three Studied Events: Oerol17, SR17 and Pride18.

Since each of the eventspheres encompassed a distinct combination of used media – which I will refer to as their media ensembles (Hasebrink & Hepp, 2017) – studying practices of media use within all three sheds light on a broad range of media use, incorporating both networked and broadcast media. While the full range of media encountered in these studies was diverse – including radio; television; livestreams both by organization and by visitors; event-apps; printed newspapers; WhatsApp; Messenger; Instagram, both posts and stories; Twitter; Facebook; Snapchat; vlogs; diaries; and non-networked photography – some media were more prominent than others. This was in line with general mixed media use and trends in the Netherlands at the time of the study.

During the period of my fieldwork – spring 2017 until summer 2018 – the use of WhatsApp and Instagram was on the rise (Van der Veer et al., 2017, 2018) and the Instagram feature Stories, which changed the platform thoroughly (Leaver et al., 2020), was gaining popularity. In my analysis, this will become clear, as I approach Instagram posts and Instagram Stories as two distinct practices. Platform preference is largely dependent on age demographics. At the time of my fieldwork, Snapchat and Instagram were more popular among those under 20, whereas Facebook was leading in the group above 20 (Van der Veer et al., 2017, 2018). Visual media practices were prevalent among my interviewees. Instagram, Instagram Stories, Facebook and Snapchat were used to share images publicly or to targeted audiences. WhatsApp was by far the most used platform for sharing images, text, and audio within closed circles. Twitter was used by event organizers, performing artists, and commercial actors at the event, but was hardly ever mentioned by the event-joiners whom I interviewed. Nonetheless, Twitter is popular as an event-following and commentary medium (Rogers, 2019a), and as a

¹⁹ — Information on visitors and followers was provided by the event organizers and roughly verified through news articles. For context: the Netherlands had a population of 17,181,084 on January 1, 2018 (CBS, 2020). For Pride18 there are no records of the numbers of visitors, but in sum all events during the week might have attracted up to 1,000,000 visitors, with the peak at the Canal Parade: an estimate of more than 600,000.

second screen platform for televised content (Stauff, 2016). In the analytical chapters, Twitter is, consequently, scarcely addressed and only used for analysis concerning practices of media use in 3FM Serious Request, as this event leaned heavily on television and radio broadcasting (see Section 2.2.2). The relevance of broadcast media in cultural eventspheres varies greatly: at many small events it is not a factor at all; at others, such as 3FM Serious Request, it is pivotal. Consequently, in this study, social media practices are prominent, yet it will also become clear that broadcast and legacy media are not toppled but rather reshaped by and entangled with newer practices of media use. Generally, in the Netherlands, there is a demise in linear watching of and listening to broadcast media, especially among people under fifty (Bakker, 2019; Waterloo et al., 2019; Wennekers et al., 2016); however, in the case of special events – often big news²⁰ or sports events, but also televised cultural events such as the Eurovision Song Contest²¹ – live television is still very significant (Stichting KijkOnderzoek (SKO), n.d., 2021). The extensive and diverse forms of media use in the studied eventspheres provide ample opportunity to study those media which were prominent in the Netherlands at the time of the study.

While the studied events were organized in the Netherlands, they all have international relevance. Oerol Festival has an international outreach as Europe's largest location-based theater and art event; it operates within international networks and attracts both artists and visitors from around the world. 3FM Serious Request – despite directed at the Dutch public and being embedded in Dutch national broadcasting and a Dutch city – is a cross-media format that has been implemented in a total of nine countries worldwide. Pride Amsterdam, by far the most international of the three events, is part of the international organization InterPride, the global Pride movement, and the LGBT+ community. Because it is one of the world's top Pride events, it attracts many international visitors. While my findings cannot be simply extrapolated to apply to events elsewhere, I do believe that this selection of events and the Dutch context may add valuable insights exceeding the scope of these national fields.

The three events differ greatly from each other, creating varied fields for study. Diversity in programming and publics allowed me to go beyond one style preference, age group, or community to study a variety of people and places.²² Although all three events have several generic festival elements – being pre-planned events at a specific time and place that promise unique experiences that are set apart from everyday life (Van Vliet, 2012) – I did not select the typical kinds of large greenfield music festivals (such as the Dutch Awakenings or Lowlands, or Glastonbury or Roskilde outside the Netherlands) which are organized within restricted festival grounds built especially for the festival and usually lasting one day or a weekend. The cultural events selected for this study are all more integrated in existing meaningful places – the island of Terschelling, and the inner cities of Apeldoorn and Amsterdam –

²⁰ — For instance, government press conferences and television addresses by the prime minister in 2020 concerning COVID-19 and measures taken to stop its spread involved up to 9,464,000 live viewers (Stichting KijkOnderzoek, 2021) in a general population of 17.4 million (CBS, 2020).

²¹ — 8,628,000 live viewers of the last edition on May 22, 2021 (Stichting KijkOnderzoek, 2021), which was more popular than in recent years because it was organized in the Netherlands.

²² — Despite this variety, I do not claim that the studied events and event-joiners evenly cover all classes, (sub)cultures, ethnicities, and so forth. This empirical study is very much grounded in the specificity of the three events.

in which spatial and social references are richer than in a festival landscape, fully detached from daily life. Further, as two of the three studied events are connected to social causes, their scope is broader than amusement and escapism; this social context connects event-joiners to the world beyond the event, whether the larger outside world or their own everyday lives. Following media practices across all three eventspheres grants this study wider potential for the transferability of observations and insights to other mediatized (event) environments (Bryman, 2012; Lingel, 2017; Marcus, 1995; D. Miller & Slater, 2000; Postill & Pink, 2012). The sections below further elaborate on the particularities that each event adds to this study.

Lastly, practical concerns were also considered when selecting which events to study. Selecting longer events, lasting 7–10 days, provided appropriate time frames to gather rich ethnographic data as an individual researcher (see Gingrich, 2013), allowing for more rest and reflection during the event for both event-joiner and researcher, more room for exploring and participating in various sites, and more time for conducting observations and interviews. In addition, I selected events that enabled a balanced research plan with time for analysis and readjustments to the research design (see Figure 2 in this chapter's introduction). The selected events were well spread over time, with six to seven months in between; this allowed me to finish post-event data collection, do the first rounds of analysis, and prepare for the next case study. A final practical reason for my event selection was that these events were situated in the Netherlands and were familiar to me. This minimized time and costs for traveling and avoided language issues. As I knew these events quite well – Oerol Festival and Pride Amsterdam as a visitor, and 3FM Serious Request from TV – it was practically and culturally easy for me to get around, blend in, and participate in the field.

The following three sections describe each of the events, providing general information, and describing more of the particularities concerning place, publics, and media ensembles. While I have argued for approaching events as eventspheres, and do so throughout this thesis, the following descriptions will focus more narrowly on the events themselves.

2.2.1 OEROL FESTIVAL 2017 (OEROL17): A SACRED SPACE FOR THEATER

Oerol – Europe's largest festival for location-based theatre and art – has been organized every year since 1982. It takes place over 10 days in June on the Dutch island of Terschelling and attracts over 50,000 visitors (Oerol, n.d.). The festival features location-based performances – theater, dance, street theater, and music – and art and science installations which are staged all over the island: on beaches, in woods, dikes, barns, streets, and so forth, and in two festival areas with larger music stages (for an impression, see Figure 4). Visitors stay on the island, in a campground, lodge, or hotel, and bike to the various locations.

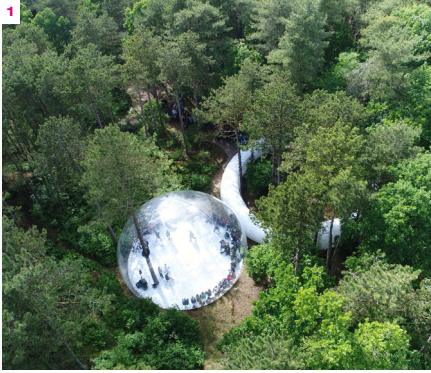


Figure 4: Impression of Oerol Festival 2017
(Photos: 1 by Jelte Keur; 2, 3, 4 by Moon Saris; 5, 6 by Nichon Glerum).



Oerol appeals to, roughly sketched, two types of publics. First, it attracts people with an active professional or leisurely interest in theater who come to see the larger theater performances and often schedule two or three of these performances per day. Second, there are those who come to Oerol mainly for the atmosphere, and who are generally less scheduled, as they like to wander the island to see what they encounter. Oerol attracts visitors of all ages, but the age range 45–54 is overrepresented. In general, the Oerol visitor is highly educated, more to the left of the political spectrum, and slightly more often female than male. Most visitors are Dutch, with many of them coming from Amsterdam or the festival’s home province, Friesland (Hermes et al., 2013). The festival has a very relaxed and open atmosphere, often referred to by my interviewees as “the Oerol feeling” or “the Oerol bubble.”

With its striking landscapes, performances, and installations, Oerol is visually very attractive, and photography, both platformed and non-platformed, is a prominent practice among visitors. Further, Oerol’s focus on location-based theater and the notion of the Oerol bubble make this event particularly interesting with regards to questions about place. The festival is strongly connected to the island of Terschelling, and Oerol visitors often consider the mainland, and their daily lives, far away. This entails particular enactments of time, place, and social relations, as well as many practices – using or deliberately not using media – intended to sustain the Oerol bubble. Many of my interviewees at Oerol mention constraining their media use at the festival for this reason, as well as because of limited WIFI and battery. Of the three events, Oerol is the most difficult to engage with live from a distance. There is a live broadcast from Oerol on national television, however its talk show format is more a reportage than a way of joining the event live.

2.2.2 SERIOUS REQUEST 2017 (SR17): A NATIONAL (CROSS-)MEDIA EVENT

3FM Serious Request is a fundraising event for the Red Cross, organized annually since 2004 by the Dutch national radio station 3FM in the week leading up to Christmas Eve. The 2017 edition attracted 500,000 visitors and 10,000,000 followers (Van Stuivenberg et al., 2018). 3FM Serious Request is inherently a media event: three radio DJs are locked up in a transparent studio – the Glass House (see Figure 5) – on a town square, where they fast and make radio 24 hours a day for a week. People are invited to join in the event by coming to the square, listening to the radio show, and watching live-streams online or live broadcasts on TV. The Glass House – in 2017 placed on the Marktplaats in Apeldoorn – provides a physical location, yet the event itself is spatially more distributed, since the main content of the event is



Figure 5: The Glass House at SR17 (Photo by Agency, CC0).

the 24/7 radio show and the live broadcasts and streams through which people join from their living rooms, offices, cars, and diverse other sites where fundraising initiatives are carried out. The DJs play requested songs for donations, interview people about their requests or fundraising activities, provide information about the fundraising cause, speak to people who donate money at the Glass House, and host guests (often famous Dutch singers, influencers, or television personalities). The TV broadcast contains hours of live footage from the Glass House, a talk show about the event, reports about the cause, reports on what is happening online, and reports about locally organized fundraisers. Additionally, on the square around the Glass House there are performances of popular musicians and other activities, such as “meet and greets” and games.

3FM Serious Request engages the general Dutch public: all ages, genders, ethnic and educational backgrounds are somewhat equally reached by the event through 3FM’s own media channels (Van Stuivenberg et al., 2018). The physical event at the Glass House attracts a younger and more local crowd: more than half of my interviewees at the square were under 25 and two-thirds under 35, and over half of them came from Apeldoorn or places nearby.²³ For many Dutch people, especially loyal followers of the event, 3FM Serious Request has become an annual Christmas tradition of coming together to perform a good deed. The event also builds on fan behavior, as fandom of 3FM, a DJ or an artist in the Glass House gets people involved. For locals, the event brings bustle to town, as the square is often crowded and has a party vibe (for a visitor’s impression of this see this YouTube video by Floris, 2017).

Regarding the event’s media ensemble, the high degree of broadcast media (radio and television) is most apparent. Of the three events, 3FM Serious Request is by far the easiest to follow live from a distance: people can join in through radio, TV, and live video streams 24 hours a day for the full week. As the event is so spatially distributed, it is particularly suitable for investigating various ways of being there live, differences between being on the ground and following at a distance, and the construction of *here* and *there*. Due to it being a highly televised national media event, 3FM Serious Request is the only event of the three in which Twitter plays a significant role in event-joiners’ media practices.

2.2.3 PRIDE AMSTERDAM 2018 (PRIDE18): A WEEK FULL OF EVENTS

Pride Amsterdam is one of the most popular Pride events in the world and is recognized by UNESCO as part of the Netherlands’ intangible heritage. Since 1996, it has been organized every summer in the city center of Amsterdam and the latest editions have attracted hundreds of thousands of visitors.²⁴ During nine days there are many larger and smaller Pride events in the city, such as debates in cultural centers and libraries, dance parties

²³ — I have defined “nearby” here as within a 45-minute drive by car.

²⁴ — There are no records of the numbers of Pride18 visitors, but in sum all events during the week might have attracted up to 1,000,000 visitors, with the peak at the Canal Parade: an estimate of more than 600,000.

in the streets and in clubs, movie nights at cinemas, fetish events in secluded clubs, talent shows and sport events in parks and squares, and activist marches in the streets. The main event of Pride Amsterdam is the Canal Parade, an exuberant celebratory procession of 80 themed boats on Amsterdam's canals that attracts so many visitors that the canals and streets surrounding it are packed (Pride Amsterdam, 2018; Pride Amsterdam & Spee, 2018) (see Figure 6).



Figure 6: Fly Boarders and Crowd Awaiting the Canal Parade, Pride18 (Photo by Bo Krook).

Pride Amsterdam attracts a very diverse public. The event has its roots in and many visitors from the LGBT+ community, however it also attracts many others. In conjunction with the event program, publics range from party-goers to activists. People travel from all over the world to Pride Amsterdam: of the people I interviewed on the ground during Pride, nearly 40% were not Dutch, coming from 17 countries worldwide. The diversity of people and sub-events at Pride Amsterdam makes the event impossible to categorize in any simple way, yet what stands out are the elements of party and the common emancipatory cause; I would therefore characterize Pride Amsterdam as celebratory and activist.

Media use at Pride Amsterdam is in line with general media use in the Netherlands: there is not one platform or channel that stands out. The Canal Parade is clearly the most mediated, through every digital platform as well as local and national television. Local television and radio also cover many other sub-events during Pride Amsterdam, although some of the sub-events are deliberately less mediated for privacy reasons. This leads me to the one noticeable difference in event-joiners' media practices at this event: as the topic of LGBT+ can be controversial, several interviewees noted that they are cautious about sharing their own attendance or photos of others online, for safety reasons or fear of judgment. It is therefore plausible that publicly shared images cover less of the full eventsphere than at the other events. Further, encountering this in the field has sharpened my awareness as a researcher to be cautious with material that I use for analysis.

2.3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND MATERIALS

Examining these eventspheres, which are constantly changing in a multitude of ways, demands an adaptive approach. The proposed mixed methods practice approach allows for this flexibility, as it employs methods which are situational, mobile, and experimental (Niederer, 2018; Postill & Pink, 2012; Rogers, 2019a). For this study I have iteratively developed three research designs that were tailor-made for the eventspheres, and flexible and open to revision (see Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Customizing and readjusting along the way has two main advantages. First, considering the specific

publics, locations, and prominent media (outlets, platforms, and content) at each event is essential for finding those practices that are most meaningful in creating live instances. Second, working in an iterative manner enabled me to constantly tweak the research design based on experiences in the field. Although I did make a research plan for each field before going into it – including plans for observation, topic lists, and queries – I kept a flexible mindset throughout my fieldwork, and readjusted research activities repeatedly (see Lingel, 2017; Markham et al., 2018), as the descriptions in the following three sections show.

Throughout the research process (as depicted in Figure 2 in this chapter's introduction) I intentionally went back and forth between theory, fieldwork, and analysis, and between the various sites, bringing insights from one area to the other (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). My *modus operandi* was inspired by grounded theory (Charmaz, 2014; Strauss & Corbin, 1998) in aiming to look at media practices in the field with an open mind and letting them speak instead of imposing theoretical frameworks upon them. However, grounding was not only done empirically but also theoretically and internally, and therefore my approach is better defined as multi-grounded theory (Goldkuhl & Cronholm, 2010). Interplay between theory, various fieldwork sites, and analysis was realized through continuous reflection on and regular revising of research questions and methods, using notes of my experiences, thoughts, and ideas during fieldwork, analysis, and literature study. Platform features, visual forms, feelings and intentions encountered in interviews, observations, and the digital data sets led to further reading and new topics for my interviews; concepts encountered in literature led to further questioning in the field. Further, I started analyzing the data while still conducting fieldwork, which helped me to notice emerging topics and categories that I could then use as sensitizing concepts (Bowen, 2006). Continuing analysis in the months after fieldwork, before designing the research plan for the next event, enabled me to bring new categories and questions into each field study. This research process resulted in the combined research material comprising observations in online and offline fields, interviews with 379 event-joiners, and large data sets of platformed visual content.

Having multiple methodological entries into the eventspheres strengthens this study's analysis through triangulation, grounding findings in more than one area. In the following three subsections I will explain my choices in data collection and analysis per methodology. This compartmentalization is somewhat artificial, as the study encompassed an interplay of these methodologies and intended to integrate rather than separate them, yet describing them separately here helps to clarify my concrete research activities.

2.3.1 ETHNOGRAPHIC METHODS

My fieldwork – comprising unstructured participant observations through online platforms and at event sites, and semi-structured qualitative interviews with 379 event-joiners (see Table 3) – forms the core of this study.²⁶

Oerol17	SRI17	Pride18
Online and offline observations	Online and offline observations	Online and offline observations
Short in-situ interviews	Short in-situ interviews	Short in-situ interviews
58 interviews with	59 interviews with	74 interviews with
93 participants	109 participant	117 participants
Longer in-depth interviews	Longer in-depth interviews	Longer in-depth interviews
10 group interviews with	5 individual interviews with	7 individual interviews with people
26 participants	followersat distance	who wereon a boat
1 individual interview	14 individual interviews based	7 individual interviews based
	on media diaries	on media diaries
Total of 120 participants	Total of 128 participants	Total of 131 participants

Table 3: Research Material from Ethnographic Fieldwork.

Whereas this material is extensive, my fieldwork did not entail prolonged immersion in a single field site, as many anthropologists consider a prerequisite of ethnography. Situated within the disciplinary context of media studies, and fitting my research aim to investigate how liveness is established in event-joiners’ media practices in cultural eventspheres, my research design strategically appropriated ethnographic methods adapted to my fields and research questions. Sustained immersion in a single field site does not fit the time spans of cultural eventspheres, nor the multi-sited nature of live media practices in these eventspheres. In my research design, I built on innovative methodological work that renounces the strict rule of single-site immersion and argues for multi-sited fieldwork (Amit, 2000; Gingrich, 2013; Marcus, 1995; Pink, 2009). Through my event selection, however, I optimized my time in the field. My familiarity with the events prior to this study made me enter these fields with knowledge and understanding that made it easier to participate right from the start. Further, selecting 7–10-day events (as opposed to more common one- to three-day events) with half a year in between created space within the period of fieldwork to critically reflect on my observations, as well as evaluate and reiterate my assumptions, analytical frames, and research activities in the field. Studying live media practices which are diffuse and continuously developing, within cultural events that limit the time available for fieldwork, requires adaptivity of and innovation in methods, and thus involves building methodology (see Abidin & de Seta, 2020; Pink et al., 2016; Postill & Pink, 2012). This is even more the case for this study as its topic coincides with the current ethnographic challenge to understand presence within entangled online and offline fields (Hjorth & Sharp, 2014). I discovered new ways to “follow the [practice]” (Marcus, 1995) in various field sites within the three eventsphere.

As is often the case in multi-sited fieldwork (Gingrich, 2013), my analysis in the following chapters relies more on interviews than on observations.

26 — Appendix A provides an overview of times and locations of observations and interviews.

Interpretation of media practices solely through observations is not feasible as you always miss part of the context: online observations do not grasp the practice within its physical locale, while on the ground you might see someone take a photo and then fiddle with their phone, but you cannot see the mediated environment in which this is done (see Cordelois, 2010). It is thus hard to observe what people are actually doing. My observations, however, were crucial to this study, as they provided a way of studying actual behaviors and materials within event and platform environments without depending only on the way event-joiners present these themselves (see Gingrich, 2013).²⁷ Observations were a good way to further familiarize myself with the specific event sites and online platforms studied – their particular places, activities, publics, visual styles, and platform features – and to get a general taste of the media use of event-joiners online and on the ground.

In the online observations – carried out on Facebook and Instagram before, during, and after the events – I observed what kind of content was shared where and in which particular ways and forms.²⁸ In my first rounds of observation on Instagram, I started following some event-joiners in order to observe their Instagram Stories. Since these stories are only visible for 24 hours, I did a round of observation there every day (during and the day after each event). The bulk of the observations on the ground were carried out during the first days of the events. Additionally, I returned to observing during peak moments of the events, during moments that differed from what I had seen before, and whenever I felt that I needed a more distanced view. Observations greatly benefited my interviewing: knowing what was going on Instagram, for example, I could easily understand interviewees' references to their activities on that platform and the material forms they used, which made it easier to talk about their practices in a reflective manner without them needing to explain their behavior. My observations also led to new lines of questioning or topics for my interviews.

Two types of semi-structured interviews were carried out in all three eventspheres: 192 short in-situ interviews (averaging 3.5 minutes) held at event sites with one to six people at a time (a total of 319 participants); and 44 longer interviews (averaging 30 minutes) carried out during and after the events with one to four people, but predominantly individually (a total of 60 participants), at the periphery of event locations or from home via video conference. The many different times and places of interviewing, and the extensive number of interviews, provide a rich spectrum of perspectives. A total of 379 people participated in the interviews: 120 in the Oerol17 study, 128 in the SR17 study, and 131 in the Pride18 study. Demographics varied per eventsphere, but in the full sample the gender division was roughly 60% female and 40% male, and the age range was 9–70 with about three-quarters between 18 and 44 (see Figure 7). Further, I deliberately included two specific types of interviewees tailored to the eventspheres alongside the general event-joiners: event-followers from a distance as part of SR17, and people who were on a boat in the Canal Parade at Pride18. All interviews were (au-

²⁷ — According to Andre Gingrich (2013), a study cannot be deemed ethnographic fieldwork if it does not include “at least a minimum amount of participant observation” (p 120).

²⁸ — I created a research profile on Instagram and Facebook to search for content and follow event-joiners during the event. The profiles contained information about the study and about me, including contact details. These profiles are still online: <https://www.facebook.com/onderzoek.liveness> and <https://www.instagram.com/livenesscomingtolife/>

dio) recorded for the purpose of analysis and accountability, and so that I could pay full attention to the conversation. These recordings were transcribed and coded in MaxQDA (2018).²⁹ Coding was performed using methodological tools from grounded theory: initial coding used in-vivo codes and coding with gerunds, focused coding, categorizing, and theoretical coding (Charmaz, 2014). However, I have not strictly followed the methodological procedures of grounded theory throughout, as this study does not aim to theorize exclusively on empirical grounds.

In interviewing, various procedures were followed, as Table 3 at the beginning of this subsection shows, aiming to address different aspects of the eventspheres. The short in-situ interviews provide insight into live media practices situated in the moment and at a specific site (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; D. Miller & Slater, 2000). In a participatory style of interviewing befitting the event on the ground – being with event-joiners barefoot in the sand at an Oerol17 beach party, or joining in the Pride Walk – I invited event-joiners who were actively using their smartphone to tell me about their practice in their own terms, using open listening techniques (Charmaz, 2014; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). The longer interviews offered room for more thorough and topic-led reflections on both specific media practices and broader media ensembles. At Oerol17, all interviews were carried out face-to-face during the festival and on the boat back the day after; for SR17 and Pride18 the longer interviews were carried out via video conferencing (with the exception of one interview at SR17 that was done face-to face).³⁰

In the latter two studies, two tools were used in the longer interviews. First, I incorporated media diaries, in order to be less dependent on my interviewees' memory and retrospective self-presentation in the interviews. Participants logged their media practices directly, or at least once a day, in individual WhatsApp chats.³¹ Second, I employed a mapping method developed by Uwe Hasebrink and Andreas Hepp (2017), adapted to address the experience of nearness to the event when joining it via various practices of media use. As a final portion of each interview, I asked interviewees to draw five concentric circles with the center being the event (see Figure 8), purposefully

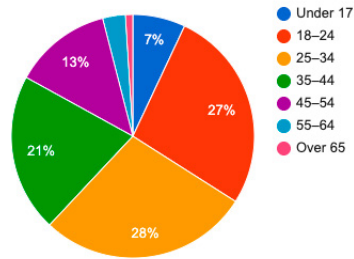


Figure 7: Representation of Different Age Groups Among Interviewees in This Study.

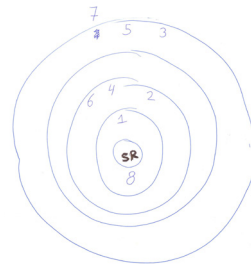


Figure 8: Example of How an Interviewee Mapped her Media Practices for Nearness to SR17 (Drawing by SR17-Interviewee).

²⁹ — Most transcriptions were done as a freelance job by students of the Amsterdam University of Applied Sciences (AUAS). All transcriptions were checked by me during coding (I only corrected content, not spelling mistakes).

³⁰ — See Appendix A for an overview of all dates and locations of interviews.

³¹ — Participants were recruited via my personal networks and the pages and accounts of the events, and by direct messaging people who were active on the event's Facebook page. As compensation for their participation, interviewees received a gift card or a donation to 3FM Serious Request (€10 for interview; €20 for diary and interview), funded by the AUAS. Three reasons governed my choice for WhatsApp as a diary tool. First, participants and I were familiar with it and felt comfortable using it. Second, logging could be done in text, image, video, and spoken message, and participants could easily capture and share their mobile practices via screenshots. Third, its form as a chat made it easy to send reminders to log and to ask short clarifying questions immediately, and the chats/diaries could be easily exported to text files to keep for analysis and archiving.

keeping the definition of *the event* abstract to let the participant fill in this concept. Subsequently, I invited them to position their practices of media use during the event – aided by their diaries – to demonstrate how near to the event these brought them. Incorporating this mapping technique into the interviews stimulated interviewees to think out loud about placement while drawing, which enabled us to discuss nearness more elaborately and bring compelling paradoxes to the surface.

2.3.2 DIGITAL METHODS

Complementing the ethnographic fieldwork, digital methods tools – specifically tools developed within the Digital Methods Initiative at the University of Amsterdam (Rogers, 2019b) – were used to study behavior and materiality located in the public online components of the eventspheres. The ability to collect large amounts of material from the eventspheres, and to navigate and analyze this in natively digital ways, offers a more structural sense of what is happening online. The selection of tools and platforms for data collection was guided by the studied media practices, my research questions about them, and contextual ethical considerations (Markham et al., 2018). For instance, although I looked for and experimented with automated ways to capture prominent semi-private and ephemeral practices, predominantly in WhatsApp, Snapchat, and Instagram Stories, I have not found expedient tools to ethically do so. Further, Facebook, one of the main platforms used in cultural eventspheres in the Netherlands at the time of my fieldwork, is not included in my digital methods data sets as I have not found a tool that can collect data from Facebook Events, nor access particular practices of event-joiners, such as check-ins at or tags of the event.³² This is partly due to restricted access to APIs that has made it increasingly difficult to gather platformed content for research (Bruns, 2018; Rieder, 2018), which also impaired my data collection from Instagram, as I will explain below.

My navigation through research objectives and tool limitations resulted in digital data sets from Instagram for all events, and from Twitter for SR17 (see Figure 9). The Instagram data sets comprise posts – images and metadata – collected using Visual Tagnet Explorer (VTE) (Rieder, 2015).



Figure 9: Data Sets Collected Through Digital Methods.

From Twitter, tweets – texts, images and metadata – were scraped with the Twitter Capture and Analysis Tool (TCAT) (Borra & Rieder, 2014).³³

This figure exhibits three main differences between the data sets. First, I used data from Twitter only for SR17. Initially I did collect data for all events via TCAT, yet I decided to disregard the data sets for Oerol17 and Pride18, as

³² — Netvizz (Rieder, 2013) seemed the most promising, but was not designed to gather the type of data I was seeking.

³³ — Appendix B contains the full protocols for automated data collection and analysis.

they predominantly contained content from event organizers, performing artists, and businesses. Second, location was not a suitable query for all three events: whereas Terschelling and Marktplaats in Apeldoorn were saturated by the events during Oerol17 and SR17, searching Instagram posts from Amsterdam during Pride18 would turn up too many non-related posts. Third, due to API restrictions VTE did not well as well after the fall of 2017. This resulted in limited Instagram data sets for the latter two eventspheres: for SR17, I could only perform one hashtag search, and for Pride18 I was not able to run a query until 2019, and harvested limited results.

Although these limitations restricted my possibilities for grounding the analysis through digital methods, the study was not seriously hindered, as I used these digital data sets primarily in an exploratory manner, complementing and feeding the core ethnographic work. Experimenting with various forms of analysis – some automated, yet most involving manually sifting through the databases – enabled me to explore what was happening in the eventspheres and provided hints as to where to direct my attention in the field, theory, and analysis.³⁴ As with the observations, these analyses provided contexts for understanding what people had told me, and revealed practices that informed interviewing or coding of the interview material. I could distinguish recurrent behavior in hashtag use, tagging, moments and locations of posting, and I had a rich data set for visual analysis. For example, examining the data sets for time of posting brought insight into when the eventspheres were most lively on Instagram and Twitter. Further, regarding location, for instance, plotting these data on a map showed where posts were made and where the eventsphere was located within these platforms. While these types of analysis provide glimpses of the temporality and spatiality in the eventspheres, researching time and place in these digital data sets is not straightforward. For one, many tweets and posts do not include metadata on location. Further, as will be addressed in Chapter 4, platformed location is more than the GPS metadata collected. Additionally, for questions about both time and place, the lack of an automated way of distinguishing content that is shared in-situ from posts and tweets shared after the fact is a major complicating factor in digital analysis. Automated analysis of digital data sets did thus not provide the close look needed to better understand how the kairotic here and now were constructed in event-joiners' practices of media use; it did, however, grant me new perspectives that complemented and informed the ethnographic fieldwork and analysis thereof.

2.3.3 VISUAL METHODS

Considering the omnipresent platformed images in the three eventspheres, I have employed visual methods to scrutinize how live instances are *imaged* by event-joiners.³⁵ In my analysis, visual methods are blended with ethnographic and digital methods in order to analyze images not as isolated objects, but as material components of media practices which are deeply em-

³⁴ — As Appendix B shows, I have explored and experimented most with material from Oerol17, which informed the rest of this study and influenced choices in the use of digital methods for the other events.

³⁵ — This is the focus of Chapter 6.

bedded in event and mediated environments. This mix of methods – studying the platformed images themselves through automated and manual analysis, observing image-making and sharing online and on the ground, and speaking to event-joiners about their imaging – enabled me to regard images as situated, and to examine their differing meanings at their different sites, both physical and platformed (see Murdoch & Pink, 2005; Niederer, 2018; Pink, 2021; Rose, 2016). Scrutinizing these material components of event-joiners’ visual practices is crucial to understanding how live instances are mutually shaped within platformed and event contexts.

This study incorporates both automated and manual visual analysis, the first often to inform the latter. The automated analyses were carried out with the large data sets from Instagram and Twitter to study patterns in the vast amount of visual content from public parts of the eventspheres. Two different methods were used. Through ImageSorter (Pixolution, 2012) the data sets per event were explored for repeatable aesthetics. ImageSorter works well to order and browse large image data sets: it provides an overview of the images, which you then can order by name, time posted, color, or visual simi-

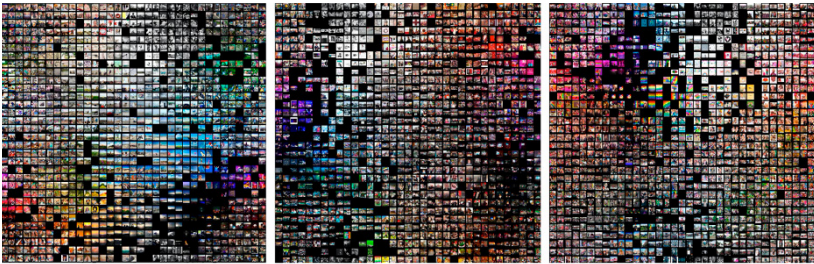


Figure 10: Examples of Automated Ordering of Instagram Images in ImageSorter (LTR: Oeroll17, SR17, and Pride18).

larity (see Figure 10).

The second method concerned automated content analysis. For this, three visual image networks (Ricci, 2017; see also Venturini et al., 2014) were produced using large samples of the data sets (see Figure 11). Images were labeled for what was depicted in the images using Memespector (Rieder et al., 2018) to access Google’s Cloud Vision API for automated image

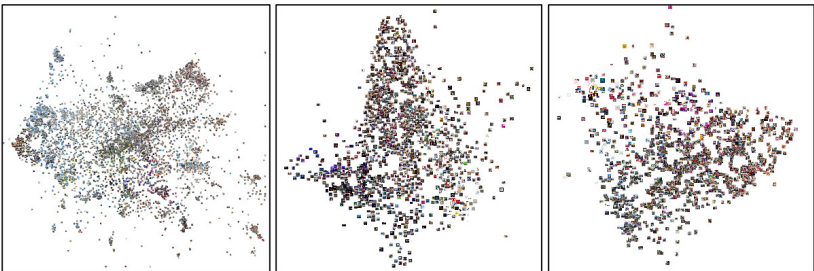


Figure 11: The Three Visual Image Networks for (LTR) Oeroll17, SR17, and Pride18.

recognition.³⁶ Subsequently, using the Force Atlas 2 algorithm in Gephi (Gephi Consortium, 2012), a network analysis was conducted of the labels generated by the Vision API, clustering content that was similarly annotated, after which the actual images were inserted in the network visualization.³⁷ This resulted

³⁶ — For a comparison of popular vision APIs for research practices see Mintz and Silva (2019)
³⁷ — As the protocols in Appendix B show, these network visualizations were produced in cooperation with Lauren Drakopoulos, Donato Ricci, Emile den Tex, Andre Mintz, Marloes Geboers, and Carlo De Gaetano.

in three visual image networks (one for each event). These image networks are a unique visual way of scrutinizing visual practices within the eventspheres, as they present new ways to approach the material, by mapping clusters of similar content based on automated content analyses, and enabling the researcher to examine individual images or clusters thereof more closely. By studying large clusters more closely, recurring components, ways of portraying, logics of figuration, forms, frames and perspectives, and visual tropes can be distinguished (Highfield & Leaver, 2016; Rose, 2016).

The manual visual analysis involved close analyses of images from a variety of platformed contexts – Instagram, Instagram Stories, Facebook, and WhatsApp. These images were taken from the Instagram data sets, collected while observing Facebook and Instagram Stories, and donated by interviewees. This analysis was guided by Gillian Rose's (2016) criteria for critical visual methodology and the empirical focal points of this study. Close analysis adds insights about images as meaningful materiality, as it explores meaning-making in the image itself, while also considering the sites of production and audiencing. Through basic compositional and semi-otic analyses, the image's technological, compositional, and social modalities were examined to understand how being "now here together" is enacted in these visual practices.

CONCLUSION

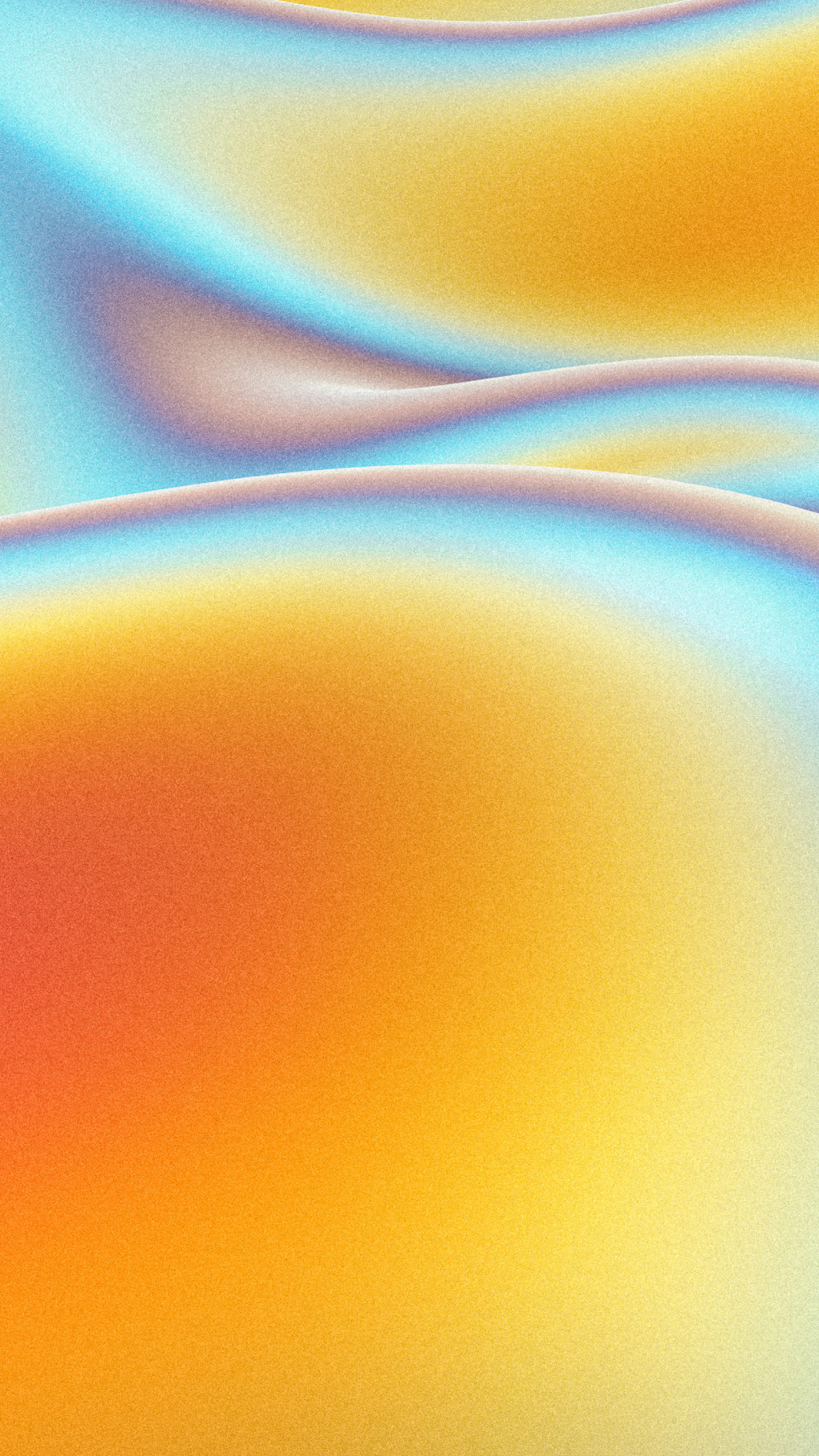
In this chapter I have discussed my choices of methods to use, ethics to abide by, fields to focus on, and materials to study.

Yet I also want to acknowledge that the practice of research is often messier than the research design implies, especially when working iteratively and combining fields of research and methods. My ethnographic fieldwork – being there live, online and on the ground – was fun and challenging. It involved dealing with hindrances, social unease, and iteratively learning which research settings work well (for example, realizing at the scene that peak moments of the live event are the worst settings for interviewing, as people want to experience that moment and not reflect on it with a researcher); it was stimulating to be immersed in these settings, have great conversations, and meet amiable people.

Although this study does not claim to provide the complete picture of the eventspheres, combining methodologies and data sets helps to widen the perspective beyond limitations of single-site observations, tools for automated data collection, or the sample of interviewees. Further, the richness of my research material – hours of observations, interviews with 379 event-joiners, and over 15,000 platformed images – provides a thorough base for examining event-joiners' media practices. The following analytical chapters will primarily draw on my ethnographic material, frequently enriched with insights from digital and visual analyses, to scrutinize the behaviors, materials, and reflections which construct event-joiners' practices of media use at Oerol17, SR17 and Pride18.

CHAPTER 3

TEMPORALITY: LIVING AND (P)RE-LIVING



CHAPTER 3

TEMPORALITY: LIVING AND (P)RE-LIVING

At Pridel8, I met Isabella (34), who was dancing by herself and actively using her smartphone. She tells me that she instantly shares photos via various platforms with her gay friends in several places in Europe. “Some of them has been */sic/* here 11 years ago with me” Isabella explains, “so it’s kind of like re-sharing the memory that I am here again.”

In Isabella’s words we see all three constituting facets of liveness come together: the temporal, the spatial and the social. Yet, what stands out particularly is that Isabella describes her live experience as being there again, creating a meaningful live instance that draws on memory through sharing photos with friends. This convoluted configuration of the live moment – the *kairotic now* – is the focus of this chapter. The chapter will explore the temporality of the live instance and argue that, for event-joiners, this is enacted in media practices that revolve around memory.

Due to the growing pervasiveness of media, the now is increasingly accompanied by awareness of a variety of other moments: the moment that your friend sees your message in WhatsApp; the algorithmic time that makes your post pop up as a memory on Facebook; the moment that you are back at work, looking at that photo and remembering the fun you had. Live instances are always connected to the idea of reliving these moments at a later time. Further, we often envision them beforehand, as we know what we are stepping into and what our Instagram post from the event could look like. Live instances at cultural events are therefore experienced and enacted both at the time of the event and within the various time frames produced by the media technologies that we use.

This chapter aims to provide insight into the continuous dialectic negotiations between present, past, and future in the media practices through which event-joiners enact the *kairotic now*. In one way, then, this chapter answers Emily Keightly’s (2013) call to investigate the “multiple

and various temporalities which are supported, shaped and performed through mediated cultural life” (pp. 55–56). It aims to empirically explore – through examining event-joiners’ practices of media use – how media and time transform each other, to paraphrase José van Dijck (2007, p. 21). This venture builds on existing scholarship that asserts that the mediated now is never an absolute now, but rather a constructed nowness that depends on conventions and affordances of media technologies. Different technologies shape this now in different ways; whereas televised liveness revolves around notions of immediacy and simultaneity, as Feuer (1983) maintains, social media platforms each have their own algorithmic paces and times (Bucher, 2018; Kaun & Stiernstedt, 2014; Weltevrede et al., 2014). Digital platformed environments afford users the ability to follow and actively participate in real-time streams (Berry, 2011), to join in “what is happening right now” (see Coleman, 2020; Hassan & Purser, 2007). We can simultaneously search for a house, see the first pictures of our cousin’s baby, get the news about an airplane crash, and share a memorable festival moment; yet, as these examples show, real-time messages are all stills in time, as they are moments that have actually already passed (Rushkoff, 2013). Live instances in cultural eventspheres are situated within these technological contexts, yet they are not confined to them.

In this endeavor to understand how the now is established in event-joiners’ practices of media use, a kairotic understanding of the now (as delineated in Section 1.3) is helpful, regarding it not as an absolute now measured in clock time, but rather as the opportune time. As each media practice is a unique manifestation of the kairotic now, the temporal configuration of the eventsphere can be considered a malleable multilayered temporal flow of moments. Live instances are established in practices of media use that align the physical event locale and diverse mediated environments, blending temporal frames from both

habitats. Concurrently, these various temporalities cohere, and a pliable time frame is created in which the eventsphere is more or less lively. It starts (sometimes even months) before the actual event, peaks during, and then tapers out a while after the event. In the case of annual events – especially those with a loyal group of event-joiners, as the three studied events are – the eventsphere could be considered to be a yearly cycle of alternating periods of inactivity and vitality (see Figure 12).³⁸ So, while a photo of yourself at the event is perfectly timed when posted in the moment, it can also work

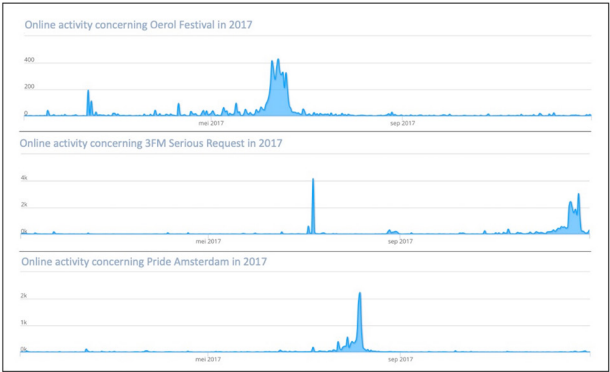


Figure 12: Indication, per Event, of (Public) Online Activity Mentioning the Event (Coosto, 2018).

³⁸ — Note the differing scales: top scale in Oerol17 is 400,000; in SR17 4,000,000; and in Pride Amsterdam 2,000,000.

very well months before or after the event on the ground. Often such postings are done in relation to an occasion, such as buying a ticket for the event, or the announcement of performing acts. Yet, a post can be well timed even at seemingly random times – for instance, a sunny Oerol17 picture shared out of longing on a rainy day, or a photo of yourself at SR17 two months later to express how proud you were to be there. Through these practices – which are fostered by the algorithmic temporal structures of popular platforms oriented toward personalized timing and nostalgia (Bucher, 2020; Garde-Hansen et al., 2009; Hoskins, 2009; Niemeyer, 2014) – longing and memory are enacted, and time in the eventsphere is shaped.

In the following four sections, this construction of the kairotic now in the eventsphere is scrutinized by analyzing event-joiners' media practices within the eventspheres of Oerol17, SR17, and Pride18. First, I will examine the role of anticipation, longing, and memory in the experience of the live instance, considering how current forms of mediated memories (Van Dijck, 2007) are inscribed in live media practices. The second section takes a techno-cultural position, scrutinizing how technological affordances of immediacy and durability coarticulate nowness in event-joiners' media practices. The third section considers the instances in which liveness is established, and finds a double logic operating, whereby memorable moments are positioned as those which are worthy of instant mediation, yet instant mediation is simultaneously what makes moments memorable. The final section builds on the first three and explores event-joiners' struggles with being in the present and their articulations of the *authentic now*, balancing media use against deliberate non-use.

3.1 THE NOW AS FUTURE PAST: EXPERIENCE, ANTICIPATION, LONGING, AND MEMORY

Was Erlebnis genannt werden kann, konstituiert
sich in der Erinnerung. (Gadamer, 1975, p. 63)

Although we might call them “happenings,” cultural events do not just happen. These extraordinary moments that we experience and capture are created to be extraordinary moments – to be historical – whether in the story of a nation or another larger collective,³⁹ or in the story of one's life. As Scannell (2014) argues, we “arrange to give ourselves experiences in order to have them” (p. 187) and “occasions always come with an ontology of expectations” (p. 181). “The event WANTS to be an historic occasion,” as Katz (2017, p. 9) writes. The huge broadcast media events of royal weddings, funerals, and inaugurations that Dayan and Katz (1992) use as examples in their work, are concurrently meant to be experienced live and to produce enough material for history books and documentaries; the television director creates live footage and hopes for – and often stages – that great shot that can be

³⁹ — Placing yourself in the story of a collective is further explored in Chapter 5, as is the sociality behind posting (posting as sharing) that is frequently mentioned in this chapter.

endlessly repeated to relive the moment. A royal couple does not just decide to kiss on a balcony: media events are carefully scripted. Events develop as the now in live media practices is established by placing new content within an existing (historical) narrative.

Live instances are memorable moments: noticeable experiences that are singled out because they will be commemorated as a distinct temporal unity – as an event – standing out from the stream of daily experiences. These are the moments that we anticipate and that will become our memories. This section investigates these moments – as enactments of the kairoic now through media practices – and finds that the past, present, and future are negotiated within them through the enactment of experience, anticipation, longing, and memory. I will build on Van Dijck's (2007) concept of "mediated memories," which she defines as "the activities and objects we produce and appropriate by means of media technologies, for creating and recreating a sense of past, present, and future of ourselves in relation to others" (p. 21). This study shows that it is in media practices – composites of behavior, materiality, and reflection (see Section 1.4) – that experience, anticipation, longing, and memory become enmeshed. Following Van Dijck's argument that "memory is not mediated by media, but media and memory transform each other" (p. 21), I consider how changes in media technology over the last decade – and the resulting transformations in practices of media use in cultural eventspheres – have ushered in altered ways of remembering and anticipating. Furthermore, I argue, through current live media practices, memory, anticipation, and longing are increasingly inscribed in the live experience itself.

Live media practices enact the now and create future memories. Most of my interviewees tell me that they feel the need to capture their live experience – to keep a tangible memory of the moment. As became clear in my interviews and observations, this capturing is often done visually, in photographs or videos made, most commonly, with camera applications on smartphones or camera functionalities within connected applications such as WhatsApp, Instagram (Stories), Snapchat, and Facebook. As Lucia (52, Oerol17) explains, *"it's to keep the things that you have experienced. The moment will never return, but it was a moment that you really enjoyed, so this [photo] is like a memory with visual support."* This reflects Nancy Van House's (2011) argument that "images are seen as memories made durable" (p. 130). Moreover, for many of my interviewees, platformed images are crucial memory tools. As Eduard (42) says, pondering what it would be like if there had been no photos or posts or other social media content from his attendance at Pride18, *"it would feel like [pause] like I missed it. ... If the only thing that remains is my memory and there is nothing beside that, then [pause] well, then it is [pause] less being there than when sharing it on social media."* Practices of making and sharing platformed images in the eventspheres are largely driven by this desire to keep memories and can thus be regarded as mediated memory work (Lohmeier & Pentzold, 2014) that is situated in digital platform and physical event environments.

3.1.1 PRE-LIVING: CREATING FUTURE MEMORIES IN THE NOW

When stepping into an eventsphere, people know what they are getting into, as they have seen these events take place in various forms and through multiple media outlets and platforms. They know what the event looks like on TV or Facebook, how mediated memories of it are shaped on various platforms, and how different perspectives are articulated through media content. Through this knowledge of events and platforms, event-joiners can have a helicopter view of the event while they are in it; they can regard their personally experienced present within the broader context of the eventsphere, not uncommonly leading to various degrees of scripting their own event practices. My interviewees tell me that they hope for, and often stage, a great shot of their live experiences. For instance, Nina (20) staged a photoshoot with her friend in a flower field at Oerol17. *"I really wanted a nice picture... as memory. ... When I step off the boat [arriving at Oerol17] I think: it would be nice if we have a good picture,"* Nina explains. Media-saturated cultural eventspheres are cocreated by event-joiners with forethought of their future memories and histories. In my interviews, so many participants refer to their future selves looking back, emphasizing the importance of creating future memories and shared historical moments through their live media practices. The future is thus incorporated in the kairotic now that is established in their practices of media use.

Moreover, due to event-joiners' experiences with previous eventspheres, their familiarity with the typical content therein, and their anticipation and longing beforehand, they often already envision their live media practices before joining the event. Live media practices in eventspheres are pre-shaped by memory, anticipation, and longing. Many times, my interviewees speak of themselves as directors who know very well how the eventsphere will unfold, when to have their camera ready, and which photo to take – just as the TV director who catches that great shot during a live broadcast. In that sense eventspheres are premediated, and, as Richard Grusin (2010) argues, liveness revolves more around futurity than around real time. This is not to say that the future is predicted and fixed. Grusin argues that premediation envisions possible scenarios in a similar way as video games are designed. By remembering previous experiences, anticipating, and longing, event-joiners envision the eventspheres and their practices therein, yet they do not exactly know how the eventsphere, and their own content, will play out. As Kumar (2012) has pointed out, eventspheres are open-ended. Event-joiners know that it is only when the full event has passed – and maybe even only when main "scenes" have been rerun and photos have been discussed with friends and commented on by followers – that the full picture and meaning of the event will settle. This indefiniteness, or sense of unpredictability (see Feuer, 1983), I argue, augments event-joiners' media practices with the sense of liveness. The open-endedness of the unfolding event and the knowledge of the temporal layers therein invite the event-joiner to participate in various meaningful kairotic nows which co-

shape the eventsphere. Event-joiner's live media practices thus bring both past and future into the present.

During Pride18, I interviewed Diane (28) and Maroline (33), who posted the picture shown in Figure 13 on Instagram just before embarking on a boat for the Canal Parade, the highpoint of the event. Both were very excited to be part of the parade. As I spoke to them, it became apparent that they knew very well what they were stepping into. They had seen the parade before in previous years, standing on the shore or watching it live on television. They knew the key moments of the event, and what kinds of images are shared. And now they were living the moments that they had seen so often before from other positions, on the ground, on television, or online. Now, embarking on a boat themselves, they reenacted the image that they had of it. Living the event then becomes reliving a mediated memory. It is this conjunction of past, present, and future that establishes the kairotic now. Being in that premediated moment – placing yourself in the images you have seen of past editions of the event – enhances the moment.⁴⁰

Diane and Maroline here exemplify what I encountered often in my interviews, especially in the larger and more intensely mediated eventspheres of Pride18 and SR17: “being there live” is established in the commingling of the present experience with the memory, anticipation, and longing which is enacted in premediated practices. My interviewees take the pictures that they planned to take: a selfie in front of the Glass House studio in SR17, or when about to embark on the Canal Parade in Pride18. Often these images maintain a tradition, as examples throughout this thesis will show, such as taking a group picture on the beach at Oerol every year. These live media practices enact the present moment and are concurrently oriented toward past and future. These are practices of *nowstalgia*, as Ezequiel Korin (2016) would argue, in which the anticipation of future nostalgia motivates the creation of – often visual and platformed – media content. The kairotic now is established in these live instances through dialectic negotiations of present, past, and future.



Figure 13: Instagram Post by Maroline, Pride18.

3.1.2 RELIVING: PERSONAL CULTURAL MEMORY IN MEDIA PRACTICES

The entanglement of past, present, and future in live media practices also becomes apparent in the ways these practices foster reliving. Often visual practices in the eventsphere – making, keeping/deleting, sharing, and editing images – incorporate an anticipated reliving of the event moment; as we share our favorite moments, they become our treasured memories (see Garde-Hansen et al., 2009; Korin, 2016). Many people that I spoke to at the three events told me that without a picture, their day and event experience

⁴⁰ — This also leads to particular practices of enacting here/place, which will be addressed in Chapter 4.

would not be complete: they were very aware of the fact that they wanted to have something, somewhat like a tool, to relive the event at a later moment. As Milly (51, Oerol17) describes:

[If I wouldn't have a picture] I wouldn't have anything to look back on when I get home, to re-experience, you could say. It has been so beautiful and then you just want to experience that again at home. And not only the week after, but also, for example, a year later, that you think: oh, that time, that was so beautiful!

Photos as mediated memories are crucial to the live experience of the event, so much so that most interviewees cannot envision the event without them.

Further, media technologies and platforms influence the way event-joiners capture and keep moments for reliving. Many of my interviewees refer to concrete media technology environments or platforms when they reference reliving: they tell me how they deliberately look up Oerol photos on their phone in the winter to recall a bit of the sunny island vibe, or look through their posts of last year's Pride on Facebook when looking forward to the upcoming event. For instance, Kirsten (18, SR17) explains:

I sometimes look at photos in [Snapchat] Memories to look up what I did last year around the same time, and then I share them again. I enjoy looking back. I really like traditions and I love to look back to fun stuff we did in the past. I find that really important, I don't know why but I really enjoy doing that.

Social media accounts are often used as (photo) archives to provide an overview of personal special moments (see Kaun & Stiernstedt, 2014). As Vincent (38) told me at Oerol17: "I also use Facebook for myself to look back once in a while at all the stuff that I have done. And then this will show up: hey Oerol, awesome, I was there." Capturing and posting is often done for the purpose of keeping this kind of log or journal: for writing one's own personal history. This was prominent in my conversation with Kyle and Ally (both 25) at Pride18:

Kyle: the reason why I post is ... also I love going back. I've traveled to so many countries, I love going back every once in a while, to my profile on Instagram and seeing, you know, just reflecting on all the places I have been to and the memories. Like, that's what I do. It's kind of like eh... a time capsule for myself.

Ally: Yes absolutely! It is almost like a [pause] scrapbook on your phone.

Kyle: Yeah, it is easy to do that, you know. Because before I was like, you know, taking the photos and you put them in a box or scrapbook. Now this is much easier, you know, to [pause] kind of make that time capsule of your life.

The way that Kyle and Ally describe their practice as a kind of scrapbooking is telling: they actively construct their personal cultural memory (Van Dijk, 2007) as they might have done in a scrapbook in a time before Instagram.

The logic of platforms seems to promote reliving: the interplay of present and past. Consider, for instance, the nostalgia in online user cultures such as *Throwback Thursday* (Highfield & Leaver, 2016; Niemeyer, 2014). Throwback posts, often no longer connected to Thursdays, are a common way to express longing for the past and to rekindle the excitement, positive feelings, and laughs of past moments (see Figure 14 for an example).⁴¹ As Annemarie and Marije (33 and 27, SR17) explain:

Figure 14: Example of a Throwback Post About Oerol17.



Annemarie: Throwback, yes, for sure. Then you experience it again, right? [laughs] You briefly look back to erm [pause] the moment that you have experienced. And then you share that again, and then again reactions. Yes, that's fun, for sure.

Marije: Sometimes things from the past can make you very happy. That you browse through your photos and videos, and that you get that feeling back again. That it made you very happy, or very joyful. Looking at those pictures can sometimes give you a very good feeling again for a bit.

Annemarie: Happy moments, yes for sure [smiles].

In some cases, people actively look up or post content to relive an event; at other times, platforms incite reliving by actively pushing old content through their algorithms. Many interviewees mention this algorithmic remembering afforded by platforms and take the expectation thereof into account when posting in the moment. As Anne-Maud (27, SR17) tells me:

Often you get this notification from Facebook of something that you posted a year ago and then I look at it again. I like that, it makes me go, "oh, do you remember," you know? It's fun, often it's the fun moments. ... It makes me proud, because my life is good at the moment.

⁴¹ — This was demonstrated recently in the Netherlands, when people started sharing throwback posts of previous events during the festival season of 2020 that was cancelled due to COVID-19.

From their reflections, it becomes clear that many of my interviewees have grown accustomed to the algorithms of platforms doing some of the remembrance and narrative work of weaving their content into personal and collective cultural memory. For many of my interviewees, such as Maroline (33, Pride18, see Figure 13), this is a reason to directly post in the moment: “next year I’ll get reminders from Facebook of what I did last year around that time, that is great to re-experience it. Like, ‘oh yeah, last year we were here’.” This anticipated reliving again indicates how thoroughly entangled past, present, and future are in the live media practice. Pre-living and reliving – anticipation, longing, and memory – are integral to the kairotic now established in media practices.

3.2 ESTABLISHING THE KAIROTIC NOW IN LIVE MEDIA PRACTICES

The integration of anticipation, longing, and memory into live media practices is constituted through an interplay of technologies and people (see Coleman, 2020; Lingel, 2017; Niemeyer & Keightley, 2020). The design and functionalities of many media platforms assert and afford the intertwining of past, present, and future in the kairotic now, each in its own way. In a similar manner as television does memory work through commentators positioning live footage in a historical context alongside endless replays of memorable moments (Scannell, 2014; White, 2004), digital platforms each have their own ways of featuring old content as meaningful now, often in the form of “on-this-date media” (Humphreys, 2020). For instance, as Anne-Maud (27, SR17) and Maroline (33, Pride18) referenced, Facebook frequently prompts users to share memories by displaying old pictures on anniversary dates. Even Snapchat, which is characterized by its ephemeral content, introduced Memories (in 2016) so that users can save their snaps and easily access and share them at a later moment. The kairotic now seems technologically articulated in relation to the possibility of recording (Auslander, 2012; Scannell, 2014), archiving, or storing (Weltevrede et al., 2014); it is technologically constituted, to paraphrase Anne Kaun and Fredrik Stiernstedt (2014, p. 1159), through the dialectical combination of immediacy and durability.

This section analyses how the kairotic now is established in live media practices of event-joiners in the studied eventspheres, with a focus on social media practices. It builds on conceptualizations of mediatized time and the temporal affordances of platforms – drawing from scholarship on technological constructions of temporality in digital environments (Bucher, 2020; Humphreys, 2020; Kaun & Stiernstedt, 2014; Pentzold, 2018; Weltevrede et al., 2014) – yet remains committed to this study’s focus on the interaction between platforms and their users in media practices. To clarify, *live media practices* refer to the creation and sharing of content within the unfolding eventsphere, establishing the kairotic now. I demarcate this analytically from the practice of sharing “old” content, long after or before

the event, with the intention of communicating anticipation, longing, and memory. As my analysis will reveal, the kairoitic now in these live media practices is pliable, active, and multiple. It synthesizes various temporal layers, such as those distinguished by Katharina Niemeyer and Emily Keightley (2020): “the historical time of popular [or event] culture and the repetitive time of remediation, the synchronic time of communication on social media, the chronological and dialogic time of the FB [Facebook] timeline, [and] the autobiographical time of users” (p. 1658). It engages with “‘the now’ as happening,” as Rebecca Coleman (2020) describes it, that is “both immediate and ongoing, instantaneous and expansive” (p. 1689). The pliability of time in the eventsphere, however, is not boundless. The opportune time for these live media practices is determined by conventions that depend on the type of content, the technology used, and our expectations thereof, as well as algorithmically personalized timing within platforms, or what Bucher (2020) calls “the ‘kairologic’ of algorithms.” In the following three subsections I will analyze practices of sharing content in the moment and after the fact, and I will devote attention to the use of ephemeral content, to explore temporal logics and the differing blends of immediacy and durability in event-joiners’ live media practices.

3.2.1 IN THE MOMENT

For many event-joiners, sharing content in the moment – as opposed to after the fact – is the ultimate expression of the kairoitic now. This timing most logically aligns the live moment in event and platform contexts, and fosters the intertwined notions of authenticity and witnessing.⁴² In these live instances, the unfolding time of the event, the lived moment of the event-joiner, and the algorithmic present intersect, converging into a live moment that seems logical or natural as opposed to “just random posting” (Lorenzo, 29, Pride18). As Marco (26, Pride18) says, “**this is what is happening now, you know.**” Due to this perfect timing, audiences are expected to understand that the event-joiner is part of the unfolding event, and the post needs no or little explanation. Often in-the-moment posts are quickly shared, with no or only short captions, and often just a single hashtag or location.

Many of my interviewees maintain that the closer in time to the actual moment of experience, the more “real”⁴³ a post seems: instantly shared content is deemed to be more authentic than after-the-fact posts. For instance, Charissa (36, Oerol17), who likes instantaneous sharing through Instagram Stories, explains that this is “**because it shows the exact time, so that people know that it is really like it is,**” and Milou (18, SR17) says that “**the day after ... it would feel less real to me.**” Here we encounter the conceptual tie between *live* and *real* that I addressed in Section 1.2. The practice of sharing content in the moment cultivates the myth of immediacy, attributing to media technologies the power to portray “reality in the raw” (see Berenstein, 2002; Lunt, 2004). Furthermore, the notion of authenticity is often used as a label

⁴² — See Section 1.2 for my theoretical discussion of authenticity and witnessing.

⁴³ — While I will analyze these conceptions as notions of authenticity, and the term authentic is also often used by my interviewees, the Dutch word *echt* – meaning “real”, “truly”, or “genuinely” – was most often used by my interviewees when addressing these notions.

of value for in-the-moment content; the in-the-moment ontology of a post governs its appraisal. As Matthew (34, Pride18) states:

You can tell when it is [posted] the day after and you still appreciate it, but you know it wasn't like an instant moment. And there is something really, it feels different. [pause] I always respond more positively to something which is closest to the actual moment. Strangely.

Matthew's use of the word "strangely" implies that he is not certain why he values content in this way, yet he mentions authenticity frequently in the interview. Notwithstanding the common (re)articulation of the myth of immediacy by my interviewees, they do not necessarily naively and fully believe it (see Bolter & Grusin, 1999). Moreover, as will become clear in the analysis of my research material throughout this chapter, the kairotic now is established as authentic now in myriad practices of media use, both instant and elongated.



Figure 15: In-the-Moment 360-Degree Facebook Post by Vivian, Oerol17.

For a large portion of the content shared in the eventspheres, in the moment is not merely the most logical time to post, but the only time to post, as the post's value hinges on its status as an enactment of witnessing. Consider Vivian's (27, Oerol17) reflection on her practice of instant posting on Facebook: "**now in the moment it feels like a moment to share, but I wouldn't share this picture [Figure 15] later tonight.**" Instant posts are generally not the best images or texts in

terms of quality; most often this material comprises raw images portraying scenes that would otherwise be quite boring.⁴⁴ Yet, posting this content becomes meaningful as practice of witnessing. In-the-moment content in cultural eventspheres positions both the maker and the viewer as witnesses, and thus articulates being there live in the unfolding eventsphere.⁴⁵

3.2.2 AFTER THE FACT

The kairotic now is not only enacted through in-the-moment posts in the studied eventspheres: the perceived logic of in-the-moment posting is only one synthesis of the temporal structures of the event on the ground, the event-joiner's personal experience, and the platforms that they use. As I have argued in Chapter 1, the current breadth and pervasiveness of media technologies and media logics engender open-ended eventspheres that of-

⁴⁴ — Chapter 6 will discuss the visual aspects of these images in more detail, including their lesser quality and the link between raw, unpolished materials and authenticity.

⁴⁵ — How notions of witnessing shape liveness in the studied eventspheres is further analyzed in Section 3.3 – where I will argue that it differentiates the kairotic now from day-to-day experiences – and throughout Section 4.1, where I explore witnessing in four particular live media practices.

fer various forms of continuity (see Ytreberg, 2017) in which there are many opportune moments to share content. In many cases, content that enacts being there live in the unfolding eventsphere is not instantly shared.

Many of my interviewees share content at the end of the day, as Anne-Maud (27, SR17) explains: “when I have some time to myself. I look back at my day and then decide if and what I want to share.” This time to reflect and select before posting is a common practice. A group of friends at Oerol17 tell me that they even actively review the photos of the day together before sending them on to others: “We let our experiences sink in, discuss them a bit, and then in the evening we sit down with a drink and look at the pictures that we took that day. And then we do share them.” Posting after the fact gives event-joiners the opportunity to reflect on their experiences, let them become meaningful in a larger context, and select content that they feel manifests the meaningful kairotic now. This reflexivity, I argue, is of considerable importance in the practice of liveness, and commonly overlooked in scholarship which focuses on the notion of immediacy. It is not necessary to share content instantly for it to establish the live instance: for my interviewees, the kairotic now is established in the interplay of being at the event and reflecting on the event.

Depending on the intention in posting, the platform used, and the degree of selection and reflection they prefer, the timing of my interviewees’ live media practices range from seconds after the moment to after they get home. The question then arises when a post can still establish the live instance: when it is still the opportune time to add to the unfolding eventsphere. Eva (24, Pride18) quite explicitly discusses this in our interview, held three days after the event:

I just always [post] the same day, and then it is closed for me. [It is generally accepted that content can be posted] max 2 days after or so. But if someone would still post something now, like “oh, last week was so much fun,” then I would still like it, and I would probably grab my phone to rewatch some stuff like “yes, it really was fun.”

Eva references a cut-off point when the practice of posting transforms from a live practice establishing the kairotic now to a memory practice. Although the exact timing differs slightly per person, Eva’s analysis reflects the general timing that I have encountered in the eventspheres. This timing exhibits a continuous aligning of the various contexts of live media practices: the time of the event on the ground, the event-joiner’s personal experience of time, and temporality as constructed in the platforms at use.

Many platforms structure their features so that non-instantaneous posting is deterred, as John (36, Oerol17) explains:

If I would have a pretty photo of a sunset, I would still post it an hour later, but the day after it would just be silly to do so. You could wait for the next sunset, but I find that dumb, so I never do that.

Short intervals between the moment of content creation and posting are preferred; missing the right time would even make the practice “silly,” and “faking” timeliness the next day is “dumb.” My interviewees seem to have an intuitive understanding of timing in the platforms they commonly use, yet there are no exact parameters for demarcating it. Further, event-joiners can create delayed or elongated nows (Coleman, 2020) through the use of captions expressing longing, memory, or anticipation, and hashtags such as “#throwback” or “#latergram” (Highfield & Leaver, 2016). Timing in the eventsphere is thus pliable and active, yet posts made longer after the fact are dependent on these captions, check-ins, or hashtags to bridge the time gap and explain the relation to the event. While in-the-moment posts are often only accompanied by a location, a single hashtag, a one-word caption, or nothing at all, in after-the-fact posts these features are elaborately used to incorporate the posts into the eventsphere.

3.2.3 EPHEMERALITY

The introduction of platforms and functionalities for ephemeral content, such as Snapchat and Instagram Stories,⁴⁶ has added new dimensions to the deliberation between posting in the moment and after the fact. Moreover, this new distinction in platform cultures between permanence and transience has solidified a duality inherent in the kairotic now: the *experiential now versus the now as future memory*. Whereas the experiential now is not only practiced by sharing ephemeral content, the rise in possibilities to do so has made the two forms more explicit.

As this section will exhibit, ephemeral posting involves a strategically established timing for spontaneous in-the-moment posting. This becomes apparent when we consider how the use of Instagram has changed since the introduction of the Stories feature in 2016. Within a year, a significant divide had emanated between adding a photo or video that remains in your feed (a post) and adding a photo or video that only your followers can see for 24 hours (a story). In my interviews and online observations it became clear that Instagram Stories is used much more for the instantaneous sharing of raw images, of both extraordinary and everyday moments. Consequently, because this ephemeral space for raw and in-the-moment content was created, the character of the feed also changed, even though nothing noteworthy changed in the technological functionality of posting. The new contrast with stories frames the feed as a permanent showcase

⁴⁶ — Since March 2017, Facebook also has a Stories feature, yet all stories encountered in my fieldwork were placed on Instagram and Snapchat. As each platform is distinct, each Stories feature is too. Notwithstanding their platform-specific traits, in this section, stories are addressed as a category of content with the common quality of ephemerality.

that is meant only for the most beautifully photographed highlights of our lives. This is apparent in Vareen's (20) account of her use of these different features while on a boat in the Canal Parade in Pride18:

I post [my photos] instantly, well, I share it in an Instagram Story, so it will be gone after 24 hours. And then at home I will select which ones to actually post. Because on Instagram you post stuff that you often want to keep for a long time. ... In Instagram Stories I post anything that I want because it will be gone in 24 hours anyway.

The post and story should be considered as different practices, entailing distinct temporalities: as it takes time to pose, select, retouch, and apply filters, the Instagram post has become more reflective and typically posted after the fact, whereas stories are more impulsively shared in the moment.

The difference between a post – on Instagram or Facebook – and a story – on Instagram, Facebook, or Snapchat – is rooted in concerns about visibility in three ways: for whom, where, and for how long the content will be visible. First, many of my interviewees who use social media personally, and not in a professional manner, only make their stories visible to a small group of friends or followers, while their posts are visible to a larger group of friends, family, colleagues, and also people they do not know in person. This determines the need for careful reflection before sharing: if content is only seen by a few people, the potential consequences of harmful content are less grave, thus it is less risky to post in the moment.⁴⁷ Second, while stories are not included in one's personal feed, posts are (semi)permanently featured in event-joiners' feeds or timelines, shaping their profiles, which makes it important to think about the combination of visible images and what the aggregate of images conveys.⁴⁸ Again, this requires more time for reflection and selection in the practice of posting. Third, the factor that most impacts timing in the practice of liveness, as the next paragraphs will address, is the fact that stories are typically only visible for 24 hours.⁴⁹ These three concerns about visibility demonstrate that the temporality involved in posts and stories is a socio-technological synthesis of immediacy and durability/transience.

The transience of stories means that these features generally feel safer, less out in the open, and are therefore more inviting to in-the-moment content, establishing a now that revolves around what is experienced at that moment. As Milou (18, SR17) explains:

⁴⁷ — This aspect of visibility and audiences will be further addressed in Chapter 5.

⁴⁸ — These aesthetic standards will be further discussed in Chapter 6. Concerning the shaping of profiles, Chapter 5 will exhibit that user profiles have become less prominent in platforms in the past decade, yet they are still something that event-joiners consider when posting.

⁴⁹ — There are, however, ways of keeping them, and in the past years Instagram has developed the possibility to keep a selection of stories as "highlights" on your personal page.

I don't post anything on Facebook. I like to share what I am doing at that moment, but a week later no one needs to know what I did last week. On Snapchat I have a small group of friends who are interested in what I am doing in the moment.

These stories enact the live instance in a transitory manner and, because they do not last, my interviewees worry less about what this might lead to or mean for the future. This is why Eric (44, Oerol17) prefers them for sharing fun festival moments when under the influence of alcohol: “you know that it won't haunt you. ... Clearly there is the desire to share the moment, but you are afraid of the consequences. Then Snapchat is a good fit.” For many of my interviewees, the lack of durability lowers risk, making stories a safe space.⁵⁰ This assessment of risk relates both to situations that might have actual harmful consequences – such as a stalker knowing the places you go to, or a potential employer encountering a photo of you drunk at a festival – as well as less grave risks, such as not looking your best or bad image quality. The practice of posting ephemeral content is more lighthearted, instantly sharing experiences without thorough reflection. Because stories disappear again, they “allow you to be more impulsive” (Walter, 27, Oerol17). The practice of sharing event experiences in stories thus establishes an experiential now.

The experiential now, however, is not a void in which event-joiners behave rashly without the risk of content surfacing at an inappropriate later moment, but rather a distinct navigation of immediacy and durability/transience. This becomes apparent in my interviewees' practices that deal with the ephemerality of stories as a problem: since the content disappears from the platform, the captured pictures are “lost” after a day. Yet, none of my interviewees walk out of the event without any durable content, as the wish to capture future memories, addressed in the previous section, is also prominent. Sometimes they use other platforms or features for this memory work, but the in-the-moment content created through their stories often articulates their event experiences well, similar to the snapshot as compared to the staged photo. My interviewees thus tell me that they screenshot or otherwise save their stories to keep them as durable mediated memories. And, perhaps as a response to these cultures of use, platforms have introduced features – Snapchat Memories, Instagram Stories Highlights and Stories Archive, and Facebook Story Archive – to keep this content for longer. Consequently, live instances established through ephemeral content, despite hinging on the immediacy of the experiential now and technological transience, also involve technological durability and the now as future memory.

⁵⁰ — This safe space is similar to what danah boyd (2007) distinguished in her analysis of the role of social network sites in the life of teens – “providing teens with a space to work out identity and status, make sense of cultural cues, and negotiate public life” (p. 120) – yet in the social network sites boyd studied, content is permanent or persistent instead of transient. This notion of creating secluded social spaces through social media is explored in more detail in Chapter 5.

3.3

THE KAIROTIC NOW AS SPECIAL MOMENT

When asked about their live media practices, event-joiners consistently emphasize that these concern moments that are extraordinary and meaningful to them. As Kyle (25, Pride18) voices, “it is a special moment to be here.” This might be an obvious observation, yet its prominence in my interview material steered me toward further scrutinizing the kairotic now as special moment. This section elaborates on how these special moments are constructed through event-joiners’ live media practices, particularly examining the role of witnessing therein. By establishing the kairotic now in their practices – such as livestreaming on Facebook, sharing Instagram Stories, and watching television intensely – event-joiners gain the communal experience of being part of a momentous happening.⁵¹

As I have argued in Section 3.1, memorable moments stand out from the stream of daily experiences: typically, something out of the ordinary happens, and daily routines, including media routines, are interrupted (see Caldwell, 2000; Couldry, 2003; Vianello, 1985). Whereas many day-to-day media practices are highly routinized, and content therein is often mundane, it is in these special moments that media technologies seem to come to life, and that content – often similarly mundane in shape and style – becomes meaningful as live content (see Liebes & Blondheim, 2005; Lunt, 2004). The analysis of the live instance as special moment in this section shows a double logic in event-joiners’ live media practices: only special moments or happenings are worth instant mediation, and, conversely, instant mediation makes the moment, happening, or content special.

The kairotic now as special moment is entwined with witnessing: in day-to-day experiences we do not speak of the people involved as witnesses, this position is created when something extraordinary happens. The dialectic intermingling of past, present, and future resulting in the kairotic now – composed of envisioning the moment, experiencing it, and reflecting upon what it might mean in personal stories or histories – also positions the event-joiner as witness. By being there live the event-joiner gains the privileged position of witness in the moment and the future privilege to say “I was there when X happened” (Peters, 2001). Xander (43), a loyal Serious Request fan, voices this sentiment: attending SR17 was important to him as it would be the last time 3FM Serious Request was held in its “traditional” form. Xander wanted to be present at the last Glass House in the history of the event, and describes himself as “one of those idiots who livestreams on Facebook even though there is no need for that because everyone sees it on TV.” As Xander says, there is “no need” for his livestreaming: the content he produces does not show anything that the omnipresent television cameras at SR17 do not capture; it is of much lesser quality than the professionally created content, and he does not have a large audience (see Figure 16 for an example

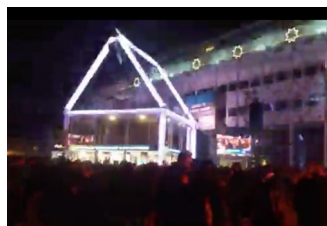


Figure 16: Still from an Event-Joiner’s Facebook Live Stream, SR17.

⁵¹ — In this chapter the focus lies on the temporal; Chapter 5 will address the sociality – collectivity, audiences, publics, sharing, and social ties – involved in these special live moments.

of content that was livestreamed by an event-joiner at SR17). Rather, this live media practice positions Xander as an eyewitness, articulating the moment as meaningful and establishing the kairoitic now.

The special moments established in my interviewees' live media practices are concurrently extraordinary and typical: they stand out from their everyday routines and situations, yet are typical enough for the content to be understood as part of (the history of) the eventsphere. Each eventsphere has its own routines, traditions, typical moments, and places, such as the Glass House in the example above, which is an extraordinary site for a town square in daily life, yet the most familiar scene at SR17. In that sense, eventspheres incorporate disorder and order, the extraordinary and the familiar. The order and familiarity of the eventsphere enables the

event-joiner to position herself in it (as analysis in Chapters 4, 5, and 6 will further address), and by creating or consuming content that is typical for the specific eventsphere, my interviewees experience, create, join, share, and capture the vibe of the unfolding special moment. For many of my Oerol17 interviewees, "Dansen bij Eb" ("Dancing at Low Tide"; see Figure 17) – a dance party on a beautiful beach – was one such special Oerol moment.



Figure 17: "Dansen bij Eb", Oerol17 (Photo by Moon Saris).

Elisabeth (52), references this scene, which she filmed for Facebook, as both extraordinary and exemplary of her Oerol experience:

I was filming because I really like the atmosphere here ... the entourage is so great. ... When you walk toward this and see the amazing atmosphere ... [For a caption] I was thinking of "it is magnificent again at Oerol." ... I actually don't post much but I find this really special.

Getting involved in this special moment – this scene which is extraordinary, yet typical for the event – through posting a video on Facebook instigates and articulates the experience of the live instance.

Notwithstanding this rationale of the special moment as reason behind live practices, many of my interviewees also refer to their use of media as affirming or validating the importance of the moment. This exhibits a double logic in the live instance. Taking a photo or video, with or without sharing it through social media, affirms the special moment (see Van Dijck, 2007). As Lenny (28, Oerol17) says about taking a group selfie with friends, "you actually affirm: 'oh guys, I really like this moment.'" Whereas Lenny describes this as a communicative and social practice, others mention that taking a picture brings awareness to the moment. Sue (31, Oerol17) depicts it as a mental pause, taking a frame of time to appreciate and really look at the experience at hand "cause we're always in a hurry the whole time, right. So, I would say it's the pause." Two friends who I met at Oerol17 say that taking a

photo “makes you more aware of how beautiful it is” (Dick, 61) and that “it’s an affirmation of the moment” (Theodora, 53). Mediation thus affirms the specialness of the moment, while concurrently the special moment is the motive behind mediation.

When regarded as a causality dilemma, the kairotic now as special moment seems a chicken and egg problem; however, considered from the logic of practice it becomes clear that it is these ongoing negotiations of seeming opposites that construct the live instance. It is in this interplay between event-joiners and media technologies that special moments are established. Media networks and platforms also assert and afford live instances through the ways in which audiences and users are addressed, and by emphasizing the extraordinary moment. Chapter 1 discussed how television is framed as a provider of liveness, while the medium simultaneously reaffirms the importance of *live* (Feuer, 1983; Vianello, 1985). With newer platforms, we can discern a similar ideological construction of live media technology, for example, in the claim of Snap Inc, the company behind Snapchat, that their “products empower people to ... live in the moment” (Snap Inc., n.d.), or Instagram’s original mission to “capture and share the world’s moments” (Isaac, 2016).⁵² While platformed media were predominant in the three eventspheres, the prominent role of radio and television at SR17 demonstrates that it has not been superseded as live media technology that defines the special moment; rather, broadcast and social media have become strongly interlaced. Consider Margot’s (44) experience: “I was lounging on my couch on a Saturday morning watching *Serious Request* and then suddenly I saw myself [laughs]. I did take a picture of that and shared that on Facebook.” Many interviewees speak of this experience of seeing yourself on screen or being on the radio as a special moment, and, as Margot’s account exemplifies, this experience then in itself becomes a live instance to capture and share (see Figure 18): a kairotic now established in live media practices.

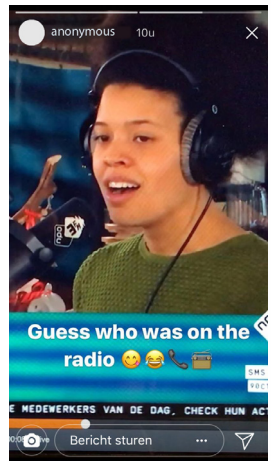


Figure 18: Instagram Story Expressing Event-Joiner’s Excitement About Being on the Radio, SR17.

3.4 THE STRUGGLE OF BEING THERE LIVE

For event-joiners, the importance of the special moment in their live media practices confronts them with the choice between mediation and non-mediation. As these instances are unique and not to be missed, event-joiners need to balance their use of media technologies which are concurrently conceived as affirming and as distracting. This section explores this tension between mediation and non-mediation in relation to the live instance, expressed by many participants as a struggle to experience a moment fully while also capturing it as future memory. As Femke (38, Pride18) words this:

⁵² — Interestingly, this statement changed around 2018, now being “bringing you closer to the people and things you love” (Instagram, n.d.).

I do want to take a photo of it to be able to look back at it later, but on the other hand I find it regrettable because then for a little while at that moment you miss the moment. ... Capture it in your heart, just experience it now instead of continuously having to take pictures. It distracts.

Whereas, as highlighted throughout this chapter, my interviewees use media to affirm and enhance their live experience, they simultaneously often express that their live instances would be more “real” without mediation, and that their media use can obstruct the authentic experience. As Milou (18, SR17) explains:

I try not to spend too much time on making videos, because after a while you lose the real atmosphere or so, the actual moment itself. ... [Capturing and sharing] is done more for later ... But I think that the moment itself is better experienced if you have fun together and don't think about what to photograph.

Milou here references the “real atmosphere” – the authentic now – being impaired by taking videos, as capturing invites a temporal focus on future memories at the expense of attention to the present. Also, in her reflection on the authentic experience of the present, Milou implies the notion of quality time – “having fun together” – as non-mediated (see Pentzold et al., 2020).

The deliberate non-use of media in favor of the authentic now was mentioned by interviewees in all three eventspheres, yet most prominent at Oerol17 and among those on boats in the Canal Parade at Pride18.⁵³ Interviewees expressed that they prefer to go offline or minimize their smartphone use during the event, or parts of it, to carve out time for the presumed “pure” experience of these special moments (see Sutton, 2017; Syvertsen & Enli, 2019). Commonly, interviewees use the word “live” to describe these “media-free” practices, saying they intentionally put away their phone because they “just want to experience it live.” Building on the theoretical notions of “deep recursivity” (Couldry & Hepp, 2017) and “the paradox of dis/connectivity” (Hesselberth, 2017), I argue that these “authentic” live instances are co-shaped by media: these experiential nows are established in the practice of deliberate non-use of media.

Navigating this in practice is not always easy and straightforward for event-joiners, and many of my interviewees note that they at times experience this as a struggle. For instance, Milly (51, Oerol17) tells me that this “conflict is... constantly there,” and that she “would almost – although I wouldn't really dare it – leave it all [camera, smartphone] here [in their lodge]. But I would also... regret that, you know.” Walter (27, Oerol17) also refers to this balancing as a struggle:

⁵³ — These two event environments both stand out as unique physical live experiences. Also, in both these contexts there is a stricter etiquette on smartphone use, and more practical hindrances (bad internet connections and limited battery). See Section 2.2 for more information on the events.

I have had the thought ... “I am not grabbing my phone right now because I want to enjoy the moment.” But well, I actually have had the thought about the picture so... So, then I am in that moment occupied with the thought of not taking the picture because I want to enjoy the moment. It is sort of an internal struggle.

The actual act of mediation does not have to take place; the photo is conceived even though it might never be taken, and the mere thought of capturing the moment can feel as a move away from the actual experience. My interviewees’ internal deliberations exhibit dialectical negotiations in live media practices, whether resulting in mediation or in intentional non-mediation.

These negotiations become discernible when observing and speaking to event-joiners about how they practically combine memory-making and experiencing in the live instance. For example, often my interviewees describe capturing in the moment, but sharing (preferably shortly) after the fact, utilizing less eventful moments during the event – toilet breaks, standing in line for a drink – for sharing. John (36) tells me that he “sort of toys” with this in his Instagram use at Oerol17:

Sometimes I share because I like to share that moment. At other times, I am really looking for that beautiful picture because I feel like sharing something nice. And sometimes I leave it, because I just find it beautiful and then I think, why should I share it? I am now right in that atmosphere – in that bubble – that I really enjoy and I shouldn’t step out of that in order share it.

These practices demonstrate the continuous alignment with various flows in live media practices (see Ytre-Arne et al., 2020): the flow of the event on the ground, and the algorithmic flows of various platforms.

Many of my interviewees express their perception of media use hampering the authentic now by making references to the screen. For instance, Tessa (18) deliberately limited photographing at Pride18 because she “want[ed] to remember it, and not from a little screen. Because then you watch the screen to see what you are recording, and I just want to see it directly instead of the pixels on my screen.” The screen works as a tangible metaphor to express this sense of technology standing in the way of the authentic experience. Whereas the screen often remains transparent or unnoticed in day-to-day routinized media use, on the ground during these special moments it frequently becomes visible as a barrier between the event-joiner and the moment, taking away from immersion in the authentic experiential now.⁵⁴ Further, Tessa’s use of the word “remember,” as opposed to “experience,” indicates that this concern for experiencing the authentic is

⁵⁴ — Section 6.2.1 will further explore the articulation of the authentic now through the notion of seeing without screen.

connected to how she envisions remembering it. In the first section of this chapter, I argued that media practices in the eventspheres can be regarded as mediated memory work that is situated in digital platform and physical event environments. Considering how my interviewees describe the tension they experience between mediation and non-mediation in the live instance, it becomes apparent that they continuously contemplate what would be the right way to experience and remember the authentic now. As Tom and Anna (both 23, Oerol17) explain:

Tom: *When you wake up [the next day] it's nice to watch your videos, but if you then try to remember what the evening was like [pause] then you don't necessarily remember that moment.*

Anna: *No, because at the time you were busy trying to capture that cool moment to be able to say "Look what I did yesterday!" But in the end, I think that you actually just missed it because you're so focused on capturing it.*

Whereas images can function as durable memories, as argued in Section 3.1, Tom and Anna here point out that the act of imaging also impairs their memory of the authentic now. Both the experiential now and the now as future memory are particular realizations of memory.

As evident in the words of Tom and Anna, many of my interviewees speak of the present in a reflexive manner from the perspective of the future: the kairoitic now is realized as future past. Their situatedness in both physical event environments and digital platforms makes event-joiners constantly navigate various temporal foci. Jesse (23) tells me that he purposely did not take any photos during the Pride Walk – an activist march for worldwide LGBT+ rights that is part of Pride18 – because he

wanted to participate for the experience and [taking] photos is something that you do to remember. This is for the moment itself. ... When I take a photo, it is a memory and I don't want to see it as history, I want to see it as the moment itself.

Whereas Femke, Tessa, Tom, and Anna refer to the way they want to remember the moment – from the heart, from experience, not from a screen – Jesse expresses that non-mediation helps him to better experience the moment, as the act of photographing invites reflexivity and active negotiation of various temporalities. In that sense, his practice of non-mediation enables him to experience the moment, to be in the present, and realize the authentic now.

The ambiguity in my interviewees' live media practices demonstrates that negotiations of mediation versus non-mediation play an important role in establishing the authentic now. The special moment provides the rationale for both using and deliberately not using media technologies.

Further, the notion that a special moment can be “missed,” either when using media to capture it or when not capturing it at all, I argue, indicates that the prominence of media technologies in the studied eventspheres requires event-joiners to juggle, or struggle with, various coexisting temporal foci. It is precisely in the, sometimes uneasy, negotiation of the dual desire in the live instance – for immediacy in the sense of unmediated experience of the present, on the one hand, and capturing for reliving in the future on the other hand – that the kairotic now is constituted.

CONCLUSION

The kairotic now is established in live media practices through which event-joiners position themselves as witnesses to a memorable moment that is constituted through dialectical negotiations between past, present, and future.

These live media practices incorporate myriad technologies, content, and actions, including deliberate non-mediation, leading to a multitude of temporalities for event-joiners to navigate as they live through anticipation, longing, experience, and memory, often all at once. Their live instances are convoluted as they are situated in both physical event locales and platform environments that afford differing temporal orientations, and thus augment the now with other times. Event-joiners (are challenged to) actively realize the authentic now as mediatized experience by deploying and tweaking technological features to fit their experiential notion of being there live.

This shows that the notion of the authentic now is aspirational. In their initial reflections, many of my interviewees seem to distinguish between the “real natural world” and the “artificial platform world,” maintaining the notion of a special moment unfolding which they can decide to mediate or not. Yet, their deeper reflections and full media practices reveal these worlds to be more thoroughly interwoven. Extending the arguments of Feuer (1983) and Scannell (2014), I contend that there is no singular true happening in these eventspheres separate from mediatized witnessing, but rather a plurality of unique live instances.

The memorable live instance has to be seized: it has to be brought “into full presence” (Auslander, 2012) by taking that picture or carving out smartphone-free time, to not miss the chance of being a witness. This chapter has identified two distinct timings in which the kairotic now is established. Firstly, it depicted the impulsive and transitory now – the experiential now – established in live media practices that amplify the experiential memorable instance, such as in-the-moment sharing and streaming, ephemeral content, and deliberate non-mediation. Secondly, there is the more reflective and lasting now as future memory, articulated in practices such as posting on Instagram or Facebook. In practice these two types of kairotic timing are often entwined, and often both result from deliberation on how an instance should be memorized, yet this analytical distinction helps to clarify differing claims and practices of being there live

without one devaluing the other. Being there live is an enactment of the kairotic now, whether impulsive and transitory or reflective and lasting.

My exploration of instances of liveness as established in event-joiners' live media practices in Oerol17, SR17, and Pride18 will continue in the next chapter with a focus on spatiality, the *kairotic here* that is articulated through continuous dialectic negotiations with distant elsewheres. The chapter will investigate how various media technologies, features, and content are used by event-joiners to enact and experience nearness and distance at the event, and to articulate the embodied sense of authentic being-in-place as a witness.



CHAPTER 4

SPATIALTY: BEING-IN- PLACE



CHAPTER 4

SPATIALITY: BEING-IN-PLACE ⁵⁵

When arriving by boat ... you see the island approach, and in that moment, I think: "Yes, wonderful!" And then I have a photo and I say [on Facebook]: "Oerol, yes, beautiful things." And that has to go [on Facebook] immediately, because then I am just totally [pause] you get excited by it [clenches fists] I want to share that immediately. (Simone, 62, Oerol17)



Figure 19: Facebook Post Made Upon Arrival at Oerol17, by Simone.

Arriving on Terschelling for Oerol17 has a special feel to it. You enter a place in which you know that you will be surprised and touched – by unique theatrical performances and installations, by special encounters with other visitors, and by the majestic landscapes of the island. The sensation of leaving the mainland behind and stepping into the atmosphere of the festival evokes that special “Oerol feeling.” As Monica (50), a returning Oerol-visitor, explains, “I always feel it when I am there ... For a whole week I don’t think about anything else, I am really only there on the island.” Being in this “Oerol bubble” makes the mainland seem far away. You are simply there on the island. But are you really? From the boat you post a photo of your view on Instagram: “#Oerol17 here we come!” A video story on Snapchat shows your friends that you are entering the

port. When landing on the island, a WhatsApp message comes in from a colleague wishing you a good time. And on your way to the campground, you stop to photograph the familiar view of the beach for your friend who cannot be there. These anecdotal examples illustrate that we are never simply *here*; even at an event such as Oerol17, organized within the geographically confined space of a small island, mediatization leads us to be here, there, and everywhere all at once.

Media play an important role in the experience of place. This in itself is not new: just consider how the map and the telescope have changed our experience of where we are in relation to other places. The rise of digital and connective mobile media, however, does shape these relations in specific ways. On the one hand, similar to ideas about older media technolo-

55 — This chapter is partly based on my (2020) book chapter “Live Event-Spaces: Place and Space in the Mediatized Experience of Events.”

gies diminishing spatial borders (Allon, 2004; Berenstein, 2002; Feuer, 1983; White, 2004), digital connective media are hailed for their potential to create proximity and bring people together despite physical borders and distances. These media technologies have, especially in their early days, been theorized as placeless: as belonging to an online virtual world not connected to any material place, with platforms acting as hubs that connect people regardless of where they are located (Castells, 1999; Meyrowitz, 1985). On the other hand, again similar to theories on older media technologies (Moores, 2000; Morley, 2001; Scannell, 2014), scholarship has shown that situatedness in place is crucial in media practices. This strand of thought has particularly gained attention with the growth of mobile locative media (de Souza e Silva & Sheller, 2015a; Saker & Frith, 2019; Hjorth, 2013a). This chapter will demonstrate that both these conceptualizations of mediatized spatiality are constitutive to the understanding and enactment of the *kairotic here*⁵⁶ in the studied eventspheres; that event-joiners' live media practices both unify – by diminishing spatial borders and creating a shared event-space – and diversify – by mediatized *placemaking* in a diversity of event locales.

This chapter scrutinizes how the *kairotic here* is constructed within contemporary eventspheres, by studying event-joiners' live media practices. It will argue that the *kairotic here* should not be understood as a singular event-place which event-joiners connect to through media; rather, event-joiners establish a plurality of unique event-places within the eventsphere through their situated live media practices. The chapter progresses scholarship about media and spatiality, and reappropriates ideas on mediated presence, as delineated in Chapter 1. The analysis will build on the concept of social space – space as it is continually constructed through the social relations brought to a place by the actors in it (Lefebvre, 1974/1991) – as well as on ideas of space as pluralized, layered, or elasticized by media (Evans, 2015; Moores, 2004; Scannell, 1996; Urry, 2002a; Waite, 2020). Further developing my argument that liveness conveys both being there and not being there – its “hereness” always accompanied with the sense of other places – this chapter considers how event-joiners' live media practices enact embodied being-in-place, dialectically negotiating the *kairotic here* through articulations of proximity and distance. Engaging with the rich academic corpus on locative media (e.g., Barreneche, 2012; de Souza e Silva & Sheller, 2015b; Evans, 2015; Tuters & Varnelis, 2006) – “media that know your location and make such information meaningful” (Farman & Frith, 2016, p. 140) – I scrutinize how event-joiners inhabit myriad event locales through practices such as posting selfies or checking in on Facebook. Further, through analysis of my interviews with both event-goers on the ground and event-followers at a distance, I explore how relations between the here and other places are complicated by various forms of mediated presence through which distant others and elsewhere seem near (Hjorth, 2013b; Madianou, 2016; Meyrowitz, 1985). By focusing on their practices of media use, I aim to demonstrate how event-joiners navigate and create multilayered event-spaces through their enactments of embodied being-in-place

⁵⁶ — This understanding of liveness as *kairos* is articulated in Section 1.3.

and articulations of proximity and distance. Extending the work of Yi-Fu Tuan (1977), I will conceptualize these event-spaces as constantly moving and developing, comprised of the live instances – “pauses,” in Tuan’s words – created through media practices that transform locations into event locales. This conceptualization shows how I differentiate between *place* and *space* in my analysis: place is considered as the concrete event locale which is constructed through the embodied inhabiting of space, the pause, or the spatial situatedness of the live instance; space denotes the metaphysical conceptualization of the event-space: the spatial realm of the eventsphere as a whole.

The three eventspheres provide interesting fields for the empirical study of placemaking, as they are, each in their own way, distinctive with respect to their spatial organization. Oerol17 is closely tied to the physical space of the island of Terschelling, whereas SR17 – designed as a media event – is spatially very distributed. The event environments of Oerol17 and Pride18 – the island of Terschelling with its majestic landscapes and the popular city of Amsterdam – invite touristic media practices. The location of SR17 is less popular in a traditional touristic sense, yet visiting the Glass House is, for many SR17-goers, a kind of pilgrimage, as they have seen it so often on national TV (see work on media tourism, e.g., Bolderman, 2020; Waysdorf & Reijnders, 2017). In addition, its large broadcast component makes SR17 suitable for the study of live media practices of witnessing at a distance. The dissimilarities between the three eventspheres, in both their spatial organization and media ensembles, engender a diversity of media practices through which event-joiners enact the kairoitic here.

In the first section of this chapter, the importance of spatiality in live media practices will be explored, building the argument that these practices are forms of embodied placemaking through which event-joiners “inhabit space” (Merleau-Ponty, 1945/1962). The section addresses the enactment of being-in-place in various media practices, such as the use of locative features and “visual presencing” (Meese et al., 2015; Richardson & Wilken, 2012). It further theorizes how these practices position event-joiners as witnesses within the eventsphere, adding a spatial perspective to the temporal outlook on witnessing discussed in Chapter 3. The second section will build on this idea of the embodied inhabiting of space, and demonstrate that these practices of media use are constitutive of the event-space. This section focuses on the realization of the constantly developing event-space that is comprised of live instances situated in event locales. The third section examines how proximity and distance are articulated as demarcations of the event-space, particularly in practices of (deliberate non)communication with distant others. The analysis presented in this chapter shows that the kairoitic here in the studied eventspheres is diverse and pliable. Live instances are unique and situated spatial configurations established through media practices – moments of embodied placemaking that align physical and platformed environments – which together shape a constantly moving and developing event-space.

4.1

EMBODIED INHABITING OF SPACE

“Being there” is a prominent theme in my research material: many of my interviewees find it important to show where they are and position themselves in specific event locales through their live media practices. Lorenzo (29, Pride18) even tells me that he “need[s] social media to have that elementary feeling of being there.” In our in-depth interview, he seems apologetic about this: he finds it problematic that social media play such an important role in his experience of being-in-place as, he judges, being in a physical place should be enough. Yet, when reflecting on his media use at Pride18, Lorenzo realizes that “if I would be present without sharing that anywhere, it would feel different.” Lorenzo’s account exhibits both that media are integrated in the experience of being-in-place, and that there is judgment associated with this that is rooted in a belief that non-mediated presence is more authentic or real. Although every event-joiner navigates this in her own way, my research material shows that event-joiners’ live media practices commonly articulate being-in-place. Further, building on the phenomenological work of Merleau-Ponty (1945/1962) – who maintains that “we must ... avoid saying that our body is in space,” but rather recognize that “it inhabits space” (p. 161) – I argue that event-joiners inhabit space *through* their media practices. Appreciating the wide range of media practices within the studied eventspheres – including deliberate non-mediation – I focus here on the importance of embodiment for understanding mediated placemaking, proposing that the body “anchors in place” through media practices in the eventsphere.

Being-in-place is an embodied experience that is “multisensory, corporeal and active” (Rakić & Chambers, 2012, p. 1613), as the post (Figure 19) and quote from Simone at the beginning of this chapter exemplify. Through her live practice of posting on Facebook, she places herself in a specific physical locale with sensate, affective, and cognitive experiences. Simone references the sensory experience of the physical event surroundings in both her post – sharing a point-of-view shot of Terschelling, and mentioning the environmental elements of sea, sun, and wind – and in our interview, when she reflects on posting. She even clenches her fists when recounting the experience. This sensate Oerol moment – the boat trip to and arrival at Oerol17; seeing, hearing, and feeling the sea, the wind, and Terschelling – is mentioned in nearly all of the longer interviews I held on the island and is prominent in my Instagram data set (see Figure 20). This, I argue, demonstrates that the body is not obliterated in these media practices; rather, it serves, in the words of Gail Weiss (2003), “as a narrative horizon” (p. 26). The body is the fundamental part of the materiality of the media practice (Ahva, 2017), and it is through the embodied experience that place in the eventsphere is concurrently experienced and created. Throughout the three eventspheres, embodied experiences of specific locales were frequently mentioned by my interviewees: smelling the sea while dancing barefoot on the beach at Oerol17, seeing the Glass House at SR17, feeling the sun and



Figure 20:
Examples of Instagram
Posts Portraying the
Ferry Ride to Oerol17.



wind when openly celebrating outside in Pride18. As Lois (17, SR17) says, “then you feel it, and you smell it, and you taste it, and everything.” In my interviews, these sensory experiences are frequently associated with notions of authenticity: it is, in the perception of my interviewees, the embodied being-in-place that constitutes truly being there. It is a common assumption, also underlying Lorenzo’s self-judgment described at the beginning of this section, that this authentic embodied being-in-place denotes being “media-free.” However, I aim to demonstrate in this section that media use plays a crucial role in the inhabiting of space, and that event-joiners’ live media practices are forms of embodied placemaking.

Through their live media practices event-joiners construct event locales as meaningful places in the eventsphere, by articulating connections to distant times, places, and others. As Gretchen (57), who was staging a photo of herself with her friends at an event location at Oerol17, said, “I like that I can show it to my husband when I come home, because he knows this place, we enjoy coming here. ... I find that very important.” The familiarity with a place that Gretchen notes here is recurrently mentioned by my interviewees. For instance, many interviewees express that SR17 became more special or enjoyable to them when it was organized in a nearby or familiar town. As Maya (43), comments, “it feels like home ..., because it is so close by.” Further, familiarity with the event locale is also often rooted in what Nigel Thrift (2003) calls “image space.” As Thrift argues, places are constituted through the vast number of images we have seen of them before we have even been there. This is particularly the case for SR17 and Pride18, large events that are well-known to the general public due to extensive broadcasting and social media presence. Consequently, many of my interviewees express their excitement about being at places that they have seen before through media. Consider Varen’s (20) description of being on a boat in the Canal Parade, the most televised event location at Pride18:

*That you are then really wearing the T-shirt,
and that you really can share photos that you
are truly on it [the boat] instead of only wat-
ching it. So, then you experience it for real. Then
you can also share it, share your own experience
and that feels more real.*

Note the many references Varen makes to the real – to truly being-in-place – alongside mentions of taking photographs and sharing this experience through social media. In this account it becomes clear how broadcast images (constituting place) and platformed images (providing the opportunity to share one’s own perspective) intertwine to affirm the sense of an authentic experience of being there.

For many of my interviewees, this placemaking through practices of media use is deeply routinized behavior and thoroughly embedded in the event experience. Interviewees often note that, before I asked them about it, they had never thought about it, they just do it. As Jen (29, Oerol17) says,

“I find it important that people know that I am here, I guess. ... You never really think about that, but now that I do, I do find it important.” The sharing of being-in-place in the eventsphere, referenced by Jen and others quoted in this section, is not about communicating the exact coordinates of where you are,⁵⁷ but should be understood as placemaking in social practice (Lefebvre, 1974/1991): as inhabiting space and creating place as a “meaningful existential locale” (Evans, 2015, p. 145). It is positioning yourself spatially in relation to other times, places, and people, which creates the meaningful event locale. This is done through a diversity of media practices – incorporating practices of following, capturing, and sharing through various media devices and features.

In the next four subsections, I will address the inhabiting of space and the establishment of the live instance through four live media practices which are prominent in the studied eventspheres: watching broadcast television or livestreams, visual presencing, locative practices, and live-streaming. In the previous chapter, I argued that witnessing differentiates the kairotic now from day-to-day experiences; the following four subsections demonstrate how event-joiners position themselves as witnesses and create the kairotic here through these particular live media practices. In relation to all these four practices, the interviewees’ reflections frequently include an apologetic stance similar to Lorenzo’s. When reflecting, interviewees often sense the importance of their media practice for placemaking, yet find that there is no particular rationale behind it. These are not rationally and carefully thought-through actions, nor unconscious behavior; rather they are the result of the logic of practice, the “common-sense world” (Bourdieu, 1980/1990, p. 58) created by the mediatised habitus.⁵⁸ As practices overlap and entwine, these four distinguished categories are not exclusive, yet by analyzing these specific practices separately I aim to provide insight into the particular interplay between event-joiners and media technologies in the embodied inhabiting of space.

4.1.1 LIVE TELEVISION AND STREAMS: WITNESSING AT A DISTANCE AND BEING ON SCREEN

TV is still an important part of live instances in larger cultural events such as SR17 and Pride18, my findings indicate, although its place and meaning has changed with the changing media landscape and its entwinement with platformed media practices. Live broadcasts provide the event-joiner with a privileged position in the eventsphere as “witness at a distance.” The professionally organized camerawork and directing at SR17 and Pride18 enables the event-joiner at home to see angles of the event that are difficult to witness on the ground, such as a close-up of an emotional radio DJ inside the Glass House at SR17, or a crane shot of Pride18’s Canal Parade (see Figure 21). Via these live broadcasts and streams the event-joiner gets both unique close-ups and an overview of the event that the witness on the ground lacks. For instance, my SR17 interviewees often expressed how difficult it was to

⁵⁷ — This is notwithstanding logistical communication, which is also common in both daily life and the eventsphere.

⁵⁸ — For a more elaborate explanation of how my work is based on the work of Bourdieu, see Section 1.4.2.

follow what was happening in the Glass House – which most of them consider the core of the event – when they were there live on the ground. Some would even rewatch the hours they spent at the event on television when they got home. This “classic” type of mediated witnessing – theorized notably by Dayan and Katz (1992), Scannell (1996) and John Peters (2001) – is still pertinent to larger televised events, yet is re-configured by growing possibilities of (re)watching on demand, livestreaming through various channels and apps, and the commingling with other media practices.

Through these practices of watching broadcast television or livestreams, a multitude of sites of reception are added to the eventsphere. This is particularly noticeable in my research material from SR17: as many people join this event partly or solely from a distance, I noticed many private spatial contexts – cars, couches, living rooms, and so forth – functioning as event locales (see Figure 22). As Hetty (49) tells me:

For me it [SR17] is just at home on TV. The weather is gray and then I really enjoy it. I also have a little Christmas tree. So, for me it is also a bit of the feeling of Christmas in these dark days.

Hetty places SR17 in her home and describes her experience of the atmosphere of the event as a very domestic one. Many of my interviewees use – often sensory – descriptions of specific elements of their domestic space when they depict joining SR17 as “witnesses at a distance”: the comfort of being on the couch with a warm blanket and their family members close, the excitement of rushing home while following the event on the radio in the car, or the sense of it being constantly there in the background while they do their daily activities, such as ironing or homework. These accounts reflect embodied being-in-place, and my interviewees experience this as truly participating in the event (see Scannell, 1996). As Anita (48) describes watching SR17 on TV with her family: “we are all fully engaged [laughs]. I find it wonderful. ... You see the people [at the Glass House] enthused, cheering, etc. [laughs] We cheer along.” Joining the eventsphere as “witness at a distance” turns your living room into an event locale, a kairotic here deeply entangled with other event locales. This was evident in my online observations and Instagram and Twitter data sets: whereas the typical image of a cultural event would depict large crowds or a group of friends on a festival ground, in the SR17 eventsphere, images of domestic event locales are manifold.



Figure 21: Two Unique Perspectives as Seen on TV: An Emotional Moment in the Glass House (SR17) and a Crane Shot of the Canal Parade (Pride18) (Credits NPO).



Figure 22: Instagram Post Showing a Private Living Room as SR17 Event Locale.

The many platformed images of (television, tablet, phone, and laptop) screens in the SR17 eventsphere (see Figure 23) are notable, as such

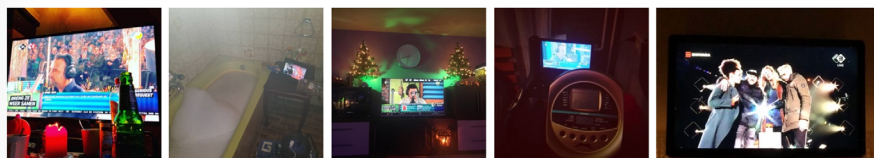


Figure 23: Examples of Instagram Posts Featuring Screens Showing SR17 (Photo 1 by @supersassefras; 3 by @josbeerens; 4 by Lisette Rozenberg).

images are uncommon for cultural events, and generally rare, especially on Instagram. Whereas I indicated in Section 3.4 that the screen can be

a tangible metaphor for technology impairing the authentic now, visualizing the screen in these live media practices establishes the kairoitic here through the enactment of witnessing at a distance. Moreover, event-joiners do not only position themselves as witnesses in front of the screen:



Figure 24: Joyce on Screen, SR17.

they also inhabit space in the eventsphere by getting *on screen*. Joyce (38) shows me a picture of a television screen in which she can be seen in the crowd in front of the Glass House, taken by a friend who noticed her when watching SR17 on TV (Figure 24). She tells me that it makes her happy to “be seen.” And Pif (22), whom I noticed

filming the large screen next to the Glass House on which the television broadcast is shown, was capturing that her boyfriend was on TV speaking to the DJs at that moment on the other side of the Glass House. When I asked her why she was filming this instead of the actual scene, she explained, “well... he is on TV, so you have to show that, right? A bit of showing off your man, that does add to it.” By being on screen, event-joiners inhabit space in the eventsphere in a manner that extends their physical presence in the event locale. The kairoitic here is then established by aligning physical presence and, in this case, television screen presence.

4.1.2 VISUAL PRESENCING: SHOWING THAT YOU ARE THERE

Throughout the three eventspheres, the most prominent media practice event-joiners use to position themselves in event locales is “visual presencing” (Meese et al., 2015): showing that you are there by sharing images through digitally connected platforms. Many of the images in my Instagram data sets – selfies taken at a Pride18 event, first-person shots of a festival location at Oerol17, and couch point-of-view shots of living rooms with SR17 on TV (see Figure 25) – can be seen as practices of visual presencing, essentially articulating being-in-place. These practices are also prevalent in day-to-day life, yet in eventspheres they become meaningful in a particular way: they not only position someone in a place, they position the event-joiner as witness in an event locale. Their situatedness in the unfolding live

event makes these located photos significant among the daily stream of images, in a similar way as Tamar Liebes and Menahem Blondheim (2005) argue that live broadcasts do in the stream of daily television programming. In the previous chapter, this was apparent in event-joiners' reflections about the importance of visually capturing special moments of liveness. Here I take a closer look at how, in these practices of visual presenting, space is inhabited through the platformed image that incorporates both the bodily self and the recognizable physical event environment.

By showing that they are there, through these platformed images, event-joiners articulate truly being there – the authentic kairotic here.⁵⁹ Many of my interviewees express that visual presencing is a way of proving that they are there. For this validation of being-in-place, event-joiners often use landmarks – specific places that are recognizably part of the eventsphere. As Seth (26, Oerol17) explains, “everybody knows the Walvis [a pub] and the Groene Strand [an event location], so then that is what you photograph.” This use of landmarks and event locales typical for the particular event is frequently mentioned in my interviews and notable in the recurrent locales in both my observations and data sets from Instagram and Twitter. Significantly, often visual presencing is done upon arrival. For instance, the first thing Wendy (44) and her son did when they arrived at SR17 was to take a selfie together in front of the Glass House that they could share when checking in at the Facebook event, to “quickly capture that you were there.” The common practice of visual presencing upon arrival portrays how pivotal this content has become in the experience of joining the event-space. As Rose (48) describes, taking a group picture with her friends during their first moments at Oerol17 articulates that “we have arrived.” These images have become performative acts (see Bolter et al., 2013): live media practices meaning that one has arrived in the eventsphere. Further, as many of these images are shared through social media platforms, these performative acts are simultaneously carried out in the physical event and the platform environment, enhancing the live instance by aligning these two contexts.

At SR17 and Pride18 – both events connected to a good cause – visual presencing takes on a specific meaning as it enacts veritably contributing to the event's cause. Again, often specific event landmarks are incorporated in these images, proving presence and active support. In SR17, for example, the well-known elements of the Glass House – the mailbox for donations and the microphone for speaking to the DJs – are prominent (see Figure 26). For my

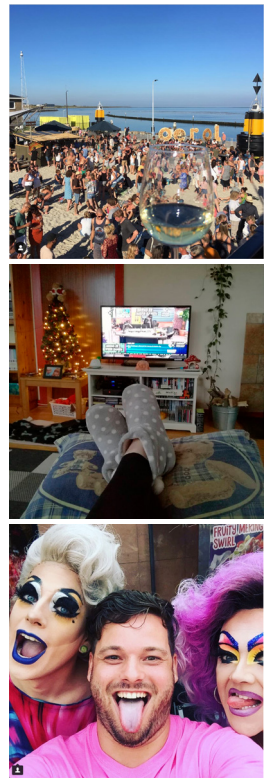


Figure 25: Examples of Visual Presencing (by Tineke Grootenboer, Oerol17; Anonymous, SR17; Ephraim Beks, Pride18).



Figure 26: Visual Presencing at the Glass House, SR17 (by The Dutch Dragons).

⁵⁹ — In Section 6.2 I discuss this notion of truly being there through imaging in more detail, and maintain that authenticity is articulated in event-joiners' visual practices in terms of seeing, performative display, and authorship.



Figure 27: Visual Presencing by Bouwe on His Way to the Glass House, SR17.

interviewees, having a photo of themselves there positions them not merely as witnesses, but as contributors to the event and the connected cause. Visual presencing in SR17 and Pride18 positions⁶⁰ the event-joiner as a supporter, raising money at SR17 and awareness at Pride18. At SR17, some of my interviewees mention that they take these images as proof for those by whom they were sponsored in their fundraising activity, showing that they made it to the Glass House to put that money or check in the mailbox. For others, these images serve as evidence of the effort they made. For instance, Bouwe (39), who drove a kids' scooter all the way from Bolsward to the Glass House (a trip of 125 kilometers on a cold day in December), tells me that the pictures he and his friends shared along the way (see Figure 27)

express **“here we are, we are truly on our way,”** showing people **“that we are truly doing it.”**

Practices of visual presencing are performative acts of embodied being-in-place, yet, concurrently, these live media practices articulate the kairotic here as a place of importance. As many of the previous examples show, event-joiners proudly express their being-in-place in the event locale, either as contributors to a good cause or to show off the fun they are having. In that sense, these practices produce distant others: those who are not there. Not uncommonly, visual presencing is done with the intention of inviting distant others in or making them jealous. As Vincent (38) says, **“I like to share that, so that people will think ‘okay, he is at Oerol, nice... I should also go next year,’ or ‘fuck! Shit! I missed it!’”** These platformed images thus also function as invitations, and as performances of distinction, showing others that they are not there;⁶¹ they establish the kairotic here as “the place to be.”

4.1.3 LOCATIVE PRACTICES: PLACEMAKING THROUGH CHECK-INS, LOCATION TAGS, AND FILTERS

The use of locative media offers a third common way in which media technologies and event-joiners commingle to position the event-joiner in the eventsphere. Since the dawn of the smartphone, the pervasiveness of locative media – generally defined as “media that know your location and make such information meaningful” (Farman & Frith, 2016, p. 140) – has led to extensive scholarship on the topic (Barreneche, 2012; de Souza e Silva & Sheller, 2015b; Evans, 2015; Farman, 2012; Hjorth, 2013b; Tuters & Varnelis, 2006). While there is a wide range of locative practices, I focus in particular on practices of place attachment (Özkul, 2015; Schwartz, 2015), as referenced by my interviewees. I will consider particularly how event-joiners employ locative media to create place as “meaningful existential locale”

⁶⁰ — The topic of raising awareness will be explored in more detail in Section 5.3.2, where I consider how event-joiners position themselves in the event as ambassadors.

⁶¹ — This element of distinction is closely related to the performance of social identity and will be discussed further in that context in Chapter 5. In this current chapter it will be picked up again in Section 4.3.2 as articulating the distant other.

(Evans, 2015, p. 145) in the eventsphere, sharing “their memories and understandings of those places, along with the physical coordinates” (Özkul, 2015, p. 102). These practices are intertwined with platform functionalities, such as the location filter in Snapchat, check-ins on Facebook, and location tags on Instagram, Instagram Stories, Snapchat, and Facebook. In doing so, this study contributes to existing scholarship on locative media by empirically examining how these practices articulate both physical and networked locations (de Souza e Silva & Sheller, 2015a) in the eventspheres. Moreover, my analysis will show that through the embodied inhabiting of space in these locative practices, physical event environments and digital platform contexts are aligned in the live instance.

For many of my interviewees, these locative practices go hand-in-hand with visual presencing: location filters, tags, and check-ins are typically attached to a photo or video. As Gillian (29, Oerol17) says, “[location] then goes with it, with the photo [on Instagram]. I don’t really contemplate this or anything. You just get the choice to do so.” Gillian thus follows the affordance of the platform to add a location to her post, as many interviewees tell me they quite routinely do. Nevertheless, interviewees’ reflections also show these practices to be meaningful and to articulate their sense of being-in-place in the eventsphere. As Mathilde (25, SR17) says, adding a location to her Instagram post tells everyone that she was at the Glass House, “even though this is also visible in the photograph.” Despite being an avid user of the location feature in Instagram, Mathilde found it difficult to explain the added value of it. “It sounds very stupid to say that it then seems more real or official,” she says, “because you are there or you are not there.” When rationally reflecting on her media use, Mathilde, as many of my interviewees do, bases her reasoning on the assumption that physical non-mediated presence is more authentic or real. Yet, if we challenge this assumption and consider what might “sound very stupid” but is nevertheless experienced, the location tag on Instagram seems to emphasize Mathilde’s embodied position at the Glass House. It establishes the kairotic here by asserting her physical being-in-place within her platformed presence on Instagram. This is, to use the words of Merleau-Ponty (1945/1962), not merely done as articulation of

a determinate position in relation to other positions or to external coordinates, but [as] the laying down of the first co-ordinates, the anchoring of the active body in an object, the situation of the body in face of its tasks. (p. 115)

This anchoring, I argue, is often carried out in platform contexts through the use of locative features; the use of these features enables event-joiners to fully embody the live instance by aligning their physical and digital presence.

This alignment establishes the sense of truly being there – the authentic kairotic here – that is particularly strong in live locative practices. Adding pictures to Snapchat with the geofilter of SR17, for example,

is especially enjoyable because “you can only add that filter when you are here,” as Emiel (24) explains. The spatial and temporal limitations of this geofilter lend it a sense of authenticity and exclusivity, as only the privileged event-joiners who are actually there at that moment can use it. Further, by applying the geofilter, Emiel’s photos – a picture of the Glass House and a selfie with his sister – are added to Snapchat’s stream of content related to SR17 and the square in Apeldoorn. His images become visible to others in the physical area, those who also use the SR17 filter, and those who tap into the location via the Snapmap. For Emiel, this adds to the experience of being there: he is not only *physically here* at SR17, but also in the *networked here* of SR17 on Snapchat.

Whereas locative functionalities across platforms are all designed to afford the performance of being-in-place, they each do so in their own specific ways. In some platforms, location is determined by GPS coordinates or mere geographical toponyms, yet often more descriptive locative categories are provided, such as the name of the event or venue. These locative functionalities are thus not merely technological features, but also expressive pieces of content. On many platforms, event-joiners are presented with the choice of which location to bring to the fore in their post. For example, Mathilde and Emiel are simultaneously in Apeldoorn (town), at the Marktplaats (square), at SR17 (event), and at the Glass House (event location), and could choose any of these locations for a post or story. Gillian, who says, as quoted above, that she does not “really contemplate” whether to use location, does deliberate on which location to choose:

The Betonning [festival location] was not a given option [laughs], so I did West-Terschelling [town]. ... West-Terschelling was the second option. ... I am in West[-Terschelling], so I found West the logical choice. Oerol [also a given option] is the whole island, but we were in West. If Betonning would have been an option I would have chosen that.

This reflection shows that each location provided by the platform has a different meaning for Gillian; each summons different associations and understandings, leading to a personal logic to her choice. As Seth (26) points out, his choice of location often coincides with wordings of being-in-place outside the platform: “before we went we also said ‘we are going to Oerol.’ ... If we would’ve gone a week later we would’ve said ‘we are going to Terschelling.’” Analyzing these quotes together shows that the perceived logic differs per person: whereas the location Oerol is more fitting for Seth to express that he is not only on Terschelling but also at Oerol17, for Gillian, “Oerol” denotes the whole island and thus lacks specificity of location. Further, as Gillian addresses, the locations provided by platforms are not always sufficient or in line with how event-joiners would themselves articulate being-in-place, which some event-joiners solve by using hashtags to express where

they are. Thus, whereas locative features are constitutive of the meaningful kairotic here in eventspheres, it is in the mesh of personal and platform logics, and often through the use of a combination of platform functionalities, that event-joiners inhabit space.

4.1.4 LIVESTREAMING: GATHERING LIVE WITNESSES TO WITNESSING

The final notable practice through which event-joiners in the three eventspheres position themselves as witnesses and create the kairotic here is livestreaming. Livestreaming involves instantly sharing audio-visual material online while creating it, without editing or montage. The significance of this practice, as my analysis will show, revolves around the idea of having live witnesses to one's own experience as a witness at the live event. Although this practice is, compared to visual presencing and locative practices, less pervasive in these three eventspheres, livestreaming is on the rise due to a vast expansion of streaming possibilities in many forms and on various platforms. The large social media platforms Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter all provide the option to livestream, as do video platforms such as YouTube and Vimeo. The most well-known livestreaming platform at the moment is Twitch, which is predominantly used for gaming/esports, but has increasingly diverse content, including streamers going outside in various environments.⁶² The COVID-19-driven lockdowns and physical distancing practices implemented in 2020 also boosted the popularity of livestreaming. Studying this media practice thus sheds light on a developing trend. Further, many features which are commonly used in the studied eventspheres – such as Live Stories on Instagram, Facebook and Snapchat – have elements of, or can be used for, livestreaming. The livestreaming practices encountered in the studied eventspheres were all conducted through Facebook and Instagram.

Through practices of livestreaming, event-joiners establish the kairotic here by adding a layer of witnessing to the “classic” understanding of mediated live witnessing in events (Dayan & Katz, 1992; Peters, 2001):⁶³ it invites distant others, as witnesses at a distance, to the event-joiner's witnessing on the ground. By creating this extra layer of witnessing, the livestreamer reifies her being-in-place, as the act of streaming distinguishes her from the watching “witness at a distance.” Both are (or can be) present in time, yet only the streamer is truly there in time and place (see “sorts of witnessing” in Peters, 2001, p. 721). This emphasis on place is apparent in the pleasure Xander (43, SR17) takes in being in the position to livestream scenes from the event on the ground. He envisions his Facebook friends thinking “gosh, Xander is there, and gosh he is truly standing there, and he is there you know,” and to Xander “that is precious.” The repetition in this statement reveals that his being-in-place – “Xander is there” – is pivotal in his practice of livestreaming.

While live television broadcasts and streams involve event-joiners as live audiences – hinging upon simultaneity of happening, content pro-

⁶² — The livestream platforms and features named here are those relevant to the Dutch context; worldwide there are many more.

⁶³ — See Sections 1.2, 3.3, and 4.1.1 for exploration of the notion of witnessing in this study.

duction, and content consumption (Gripsrud, 1998) – in practices of livestreaming by event-joiners on the ground this threefold simultaneity is less crucial. Often these streams do not involve many, or even any, people watching live, and on most platforms the livestream will remain available to watch after the fact. Whether these livestreams have in-the-moment viewers is not significant, it is the performative act of live-sharing one's privileged position in the physical event environment that is crucial for the livestreaming event-joiner. Whereas the practice of livestreaming in other fields (e.g., gaming and activism) may have a range of other meanings and purposes, for event-joiners such as Xander, it revolves around the pride of being-in-place as a witness in the eventsphere on the ground. Through livestreaming, event-joiners gather (live) witnesses to their own witnessing.

Further, the practice of livestreaming, I argue, makes Feuer's notion of unpredictability relevant in a new way. The event-joiner does not know exactly what will happen on screen – not in the “classic” manner as viewer, but as producer or author of the content. In many in-the-moment practices – such as posting a selfie on Facebook or a short video in Instagram Stories – event-joiners can glance at the content before sharing it: they can do some quick edits, or decide to discard it if it did not turn out as they wanted. Livestreaming, however, entails content being shared directly, without the possibility to edit, filter, or discard; it is possible to delete the video of a livestream, but the people who were watching live have irreversibly seen it. Despite the commonly low numbers of live viewers, this notion does amplify the sense of unpredictability for the streamer. Sharing an eye-witness account in the unfolding moment through livestreaming is not about what is happening or who is watching; it revolves around the sense of having distant live witnesses to witnessing, making the event-joiner's embodied being-in-place the focal point.

4.2 WRITING (YOURSELF INTO) THE EVENT-SPACE

The embodied inhabiting of space in the eventsphere through live media practices does not merely articulate being-in-place, it concurrently creates the spatial realm of the event as a whole. This is apparent in the common use of phrases such as “being here” or “being there” by my interviewees, both referring to concrete event locales – the festival ground, the living room, the boat – and to the event as a more abstract central space of the eventsphere, the latter of which will be explored in this section. The three eventspheres incorporate various event locales, even when only considering the programmed elements on the ground. For instance, the full Pride18 event comprises many happenings in various places in Amsterdam, including clubs that host parties, cinemas that organize movie nights, libraries that accommodate lectures, and various streets that facilitate marches and raves. Studying these events as mediatized eventspheres, as the previous

subsections have demonstrated, extends this variety of event locales to include many other places from which event-joiners position themselves as witnesses. Analysis in this section will indicate how these multiple event locales become parts of a meaningful whole: the event-space.

The event-space can be considered a conglomerate of event locales which become noticeable through practices of media use. For my interviewees, joining the event involves actively participating and their participation being visible to others. As Ytreberg (2009) argues in his study of multi-platform reality formats, the possibility of influencing and being noticed at an event enhances the sense of liveness. As the previous section elaborated, the three eventspheres portray a wide palette of media practices through which event-joiners participate and exhibit their participation. Recall, for example, Xander's livestreaming or Bouwe's visual presencing at SR17. Continuing the argument that event-joiners inhabit space through these live media practices, I maintain that the event-space is co-created by event-joiners writing themselves into it (to paraphrase boyd, 2008).

The event-space thus extends beyond the conventional scenes of the cultural event on the ground: in addition to its formal event locations, which are public areas, it comprises a diversity of locales, including many domestic and other non-public places (see Pink et al., 2016). Event-joiners write their domestically situated event-related practices into the event-space through visual presencing and locative practices. For instance, as the examples from Pride18 in Figure 28 show, through Instagram posts and stories in which they show themselves in their home dressed up for the event or thinking of it while sitting in their garden. Their physical environments are not public places that other event-joiners could walk into, yet through these platformed images these places become visible parts of the event-space; a plurality of locales are amalgamated into one shared here.

To place content into the event-space, event-joiners commonly use locative features and hashtags. Locational features differ per platform and their options or categories do not always fit the embodied kairotic here as the event-joiner experiences it. For example, sharing a photo taken at the campground at Oerol17 (such as Figure 29) would involve different types of locations on different platforms. Facebook leaves most room for user-generated locations, by allowing check-ins from anywhere and providing the option to create a new location; the photo could be posted when the event-joiner has returned home with a self-made location such as "Esther's tent at Oerol," not nec-

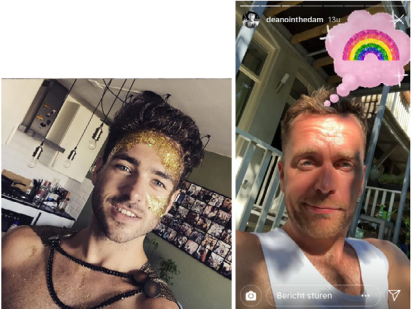


Figure 28: Pride18 Event-Joiners Writing Themselves into the Eventsphere from Home (Photos by @veeketom and @deanointhedam).



Figure 29: Instagram Post from a Campground, Oerol17.

essarily revealing on which campground the tent was located. Instagram locations can be added from any place, but only chosen from options provided by the platform; here one could choose from preset location tags, such as Camping De Kooi (including the precise address), Oerol, or Hee (the nearest town). Snapchat geofilters, as true locative features, are only available at certain places; the photo thus needs to be shared while still there and reveals your exact location. Combining these features with hashtags provides more flexibility. Hashtags can be created at will, are often more abstract, and do not necessarily refer to a physical place, making them useful tools for joining event-spaces from any location, or adding any locale to the event-space.

This particular use of locative features and hashtags establishes both event locales and the event-space as meaningful spatial domains. The locative platform features used provide various spatial categories – for example, a street, a town, a venue, or an event – some of which emphasize the concrete event locale, others covering the full event-space, such as the Facebook check-in for Pride18 or the Instagram location Oerol. Although distinctions between the hashtag and locative features are somewhat blurred in these practices, generally locative features are used more often to articulate place (the event locale), whereas the hashtag expresses space (the event-space). For instance, Cynthia (23) tells me, **“I would choose location Marktpllein and add “#SR17” so that it is linked. Because it is nice to also promote my own city a bit.”** Location here thus “promotes” being-in-place in the event locale, and the hashtag links to the larger event, articulating being-in-place in the event-space. The event-space includes many generic, yet typical, event photos with place-specific location tags (e.g., SR17 on a TV-screen with a location tag of the event-joiners’ home town, or the Canal Parade with a specific address on the canal) as well as photos of very specific locales that might not be recognizable as part of the event with the general event location or hashtag (e.g., photos of beaches and dunes posted with (e.g., photos of beaches and dunes posted with “#Oerol”, as shown in Figure 30).



Figure 30: Examples of Photos of Beaches and Dunes Posted on Instagram with “#oerol17” (Photo 3 by @fotovannanno; Photo 4 by #SierPhoto).

As Cynthia expresses, the event hashtags (“#sr17,” “#oerol17,” and “#pride18”) connect event-joiners to the eventspheres and position them in them.⁶⁴ These hashtags work as performative statements, as Axel Bruns and Jean Burgess (2011) argue, through which event-spaces are shaped (see Rogers, 2019a). By populating and creating platformed locations and event hashtags with (generally visual) content – integrating embodied being-in-place and positioning in the eventsphere – event-joiners create the event-space as a continually changing conglomerate of places.

⁶⁴ — This positioning is also very much a social act. This aspect will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

The visibility of these manifold event locales and the understanding of the unfolding event-space as a conglomerate thereof has altered the nature of embodied being-in-place for event-joiners. Images are formative elements of space, as Thrift (2003) argues, and visualization of the event helps event-joiners to understand the event as space and intervene in it. Broadcast television has familiarized people with the (media) event as comprised of various locations, established through multi-camera shots of different angles and places, as well as through the combination of general information with very personal perspectives in different locations (Feuer, 1983; Williams, 1975/1990). At the broadcast media event of the 1990s, we could see the crowd on the ground and we were aware of others watching at the same time. This awareness augmented being-in-place with the sense of being part of the larger unfolding event-space. With the rise of platforms and user-generated content, and the increase of media practices through which event-joiners inhabit space, all these places in which people join the event have become visible event locales. Event-joiners are familiar with the different locales and perspectives of the eventsphere, and are aware of its open-endedness. They understand their embodied being-in-place as being in an event locale, and they know that by showing their being-in-place at the event, they add to the unfolding event-space. The sense of being a visible part of and contributor to the unfolding event-space intensifies the event-joiner's embodied being-in-place in the live instance.

4.3

NAVIGATING PROXIMITY AND DISTANCE

In this indefinite, continually changing event-space comprised of live instances of embodied being-in-place, there are no predetermined criteria for proximity and distance; what is near to or far from the event is determined in the situated practice of media use. Empirically exploring how event-joiners articulate and navigate proximity and distance in the eventspheres enhances existing scholarship on media and the pluralization of place (Evans, 2015; Moores, 2004; Urry, 2002b). My fieldwork reveals that this pluralization takes form in two categories of media practices through which event-joiners establish the kairoitic here: practices of inhabiting space and practices of (deliberate non-)communication with distant others. This section examines these two types of practices by scrutinizing how they articulate and negotiate proximity and distance.

Scrutinizing experiential proximity and distance in the live instance provides a way to study “truly being there” – the spatial notion of authenticity in liveness – while avoiding weighing mediated versus non-mediated presence in terms of real/not real. Three observations from my fieldwork evidence this analytical move. First, whereas the notion of physical presence as more authentic is often implicit in my interviewees' rational reflections, physical nearness is not by definition superior to mediated nearness in their live media practices. Second, as demonstrated in the previous sections,

the event-space is not located in one physical place in relation to which the event-joiner can establish nearness, but consists of manifold event locales which are unique spatial configurations wherein media practices are formative. Third, in the studied eventspheres, being-in-place on the ground per se – without media practices such as visual presencing, locative practices, or livestreaming – is not by definition considered nearest by my interviewees, as it is often through these live media practices that nearness is established. Further, corresponding with Deuze's (2012) idea of "media life," my fieldwork calls into question whether, in such thoroughly mediatized eventspheres, being there without media is even possible. These three observations reify the argument, made in the first chapter, that it is futile to look for the more genuine presence in the live instance, as truly being there live is always a concoction of authenticity and constructedness.

This section explores how proximity and distance are enacted in event-joiners' live media practices, dismissing the premise that nearness necessarily corresponds with the physically proximate (drawing on Heidegger, 1953/2010). First, Section 4.3.1 investigates how nearness is experienced as "truly being there live" through various media practices. This examination makes particular use of the in-depth interviews in which event-joiners of SR17 and Pride18 compared their different media practices in terms of proximity to the event through visual mapping and hypothetical dilemmas.⁶⁵ The analysis demonstrates that paradoxes are quite common in event-joiners' articulations of nearness, that interviewees often contradict themselves, and that nearness is continuously negotiated in their media practices and not a fixed predetermined characteristic. Section 4.3.2 will further explore these continuous negotiations by investigating practices of (deliberate non-)communication with distant others, often referred to by scholars as mediated copresence (Cefai & Couldry, 2017; Hjorth, 2013b; Ito & Okabe, 2005; Madianou, 2016; Villi, 2015; Zhao, 2003). Event-joiners' contact with and awareness of distant others and distant elsewheres augment their experiences of being-in-place: every event experience is concurrently embodied being-in-place in a particular locale and a being-in-place in relation to many distant elsewheres. These relations are formed and paused throughout the unfolding event; event-joiners can extend and demarcate the event-space through their practices of media use, by keeping in touch or deliberately pausing communication with distant others.

4.3.1 BEING NEAR

Whether you watch it on TV or really live, you are there in any case, so... you always have the feeling of being part of it. (Pif, 22, SR17)

SR17-joiners often have contesting conceptions and experiences of nearness. As Pif notes, different live media practices can establish the feeling of "being part of it," yet some seem more near than others. For many, the main

⁶⁵ — This mapping method is described in Section 2.3.1.

event happens inside the Glass House, making this physical place a focal point of the eventsphere. However, being physically close to the Glass House is not necessarily being nearest to the event, as the only way of getting into it – seeing the DJs up close and hearing what they say – is via radio, television, and the broadcast livestream. This is why, when provided with the hypothetical choice, Dennis (20) – a loyal SR17-follower – said he would feel nearer to the event if he was on the phone with a DJ on the radio show, than if he was physically close to that DJ in the crowd at the Glass House. He explains “that [the radio show] is the essence of Serious Request; without the DJs no Serious Request. So, if you can join that conversation, ... you are part of Serious Request.” Many of my interviewees who can compare witnessing on the ground and at a distance feel that following the live broadcasts – via TV, radio, or stream – brings them nearest to the event, as it is the best way to follow closely what happens inside the Glass House. When physically present, several of my interviewees express, they miss parts of the event, and they feel distanced from it as they cannot see and hear what is happening inside. For many, supreme nearness in SR17 can be established in two different practices: following closely what happens in the Glass House via livestream, TV, or radio, and physical nearness to the Glass House. As Daphne (26) explains, when at the Glass House “it doesn’t seem closer, but it is different. ... You see other things than you do on radio or TV. ... Here you experience it differently. ... It is different than on TV.”

At the same time, many SR17- and Pride18-goers speak of a sense of it being “more real to be there in person” in contrast to witnessing at a distance. When asked to reflect on this realness they refer to the sensory embodied experience of being in the crowd and being physically near to well-known elements in the eventspheres, such as the boats in the Canal Parade or the DJs at the Glass House. As Joyce (38) explains, “then you see them [the DJs] for real [laughs]. Well, on TV of course you also see them for real, but here you can nearly touch them.” Whereas this physical sensory nearness might be unmediated, the embodied sense of being near to the core of the eventsphere is co-constructed through previous mediated witnessing at a distance. This sense of nearness entails physical proximity to something that they have seen so often on TV (see the notion of “image space” in Thrift, 2003). When explaining why she rates her visit to the Glass House as most near to SR17, Annemarie (33) says “you can see it ‘real life’ with your own eyes. ... That does something to you.” This “seeing with your own eyes” is not merely seeing, it is seeing *without* media, and thus articulating the nearness of truly being there live in contrast to mediated witnessing at a distance. Cynthia (23), who lived around the corner from the location of the Glass House in 2017, found watching SR17 on television a peculiar experience, as “it feels further away, even though it is now very nearby. When watching TV you somehow think ‘oh, that is somewhere on a large square in another city.’” Event-joiners’ experiences of nearness in their live practices of watching/seeing – whether on TV or on the ground – are thus shaped by prior media practices.

The sense of authentic nearness, of truly being there live, is also often accompanied by a sense of agency in forming and sharing one's own perspective.⁶⁶ Many of the SR17-goers recount the sense of not being restricted by the camera view, and being free to decide what to look at. Again, what appears to be unmediated seeing is rather *seeing without media*, at times even characterized by my interviewees in media-related terms such as "being the director yourself." Moreover, when event-joiners not only "see," but also seize that opportune moment to capture and share their situated outlook through platformed images – particularly through in-the-moment visual practices, such as live stories or streams – they enact the agency they have when being physically near. As Noortje (24) tells me about making live Instagram Stories from the boat in the Canal Parade at Pride18:

Not many people were on these boats, you know, so then it is nice to also show it from that side. ... I think that to people who know me it matters if they really see what I see, or just the general impression on TV. For others ... it is just another perspective to it.

The exclusiveness of Noortje's position both justifies and is affirmed by making live stories on Instagram, demonstrating the double logic in event-joiners' live media practices. Whereas I have identified this double logic in my discussion of the special moment in Chapter 3 – only special moments are worth instant mediation, and, conversely, instant mediation makes the moment, happening, or content special – in Noortje's case, it is the place that is special. These practices show how near she is to the event: that she is truly there. Adding their perspectives to the eventsphere through live media practices articulates event-joiner's authentic nearness. The articulation of authenticity through visual practices in terms of seeing and showing is further discussed in Chapter 6; here my main goal is to demonstrate that the conception of *true* nearness as physical proximity is far from straightforward. Truly being there is realized through embodiment, and media technologies are thoroughly involved in that inhabiting of space.

4.3.2 IN/EXCLUDING THE FAR

The kairotic here is not only established through mediatized articulations of nearness, it is also upheld by articulating the *far* through media practices that include and exclude distant others and elsewheres. While my interviewees refer to their live media practices as asserting their embodied being-in-place in the event-space, many of them also feel that their media use at times takes them out of it. For example, Loes (38, Pride18) tells me that she "can't be arsed to grab my phone, take a photo, do a video, put it online, look for the likes." Loes formulates a question that I aim to explore in this subsection: "why would you be somewhere else, when you're here?" This

⁶⁶ — Section 6.2 will further explore this sense of truly being there through forming one's own perspective.

exploration mirrors the one concerning the struggle of being in the special moment discussed in Section 3.4, but with a particular focus on spatial dialectics: it considers how the sense of being in the event-space during the event – “the bubble,” as many Oerol-joiners conceive it – is spatially constructed through media practices. It will address how event-joiners deal with mediated copresence in their social media practices in the eventspheres. Through these practices, event-joiners both extend and protect the event-space – creating that space by negotiating its borders – through their enactments of relations to distant others: they invite them in, deliberately pause communication with them to remain in the event-space, and create the *here* where *they are not* by showing what they are missing.

Quite commonly, being-in-place – the kairotic here – is established in practices of social media use that place distant others and elsewhere outside the event-space. Such as for Lenny and Walter (28 and 27, Oerol17), who were involved in a tongue-in-cheek battle on Instagram. By attaching the hashtag “#FuckIbiza” to their Oerol17 posts, they address the location of two friends who cancelled their Oerol17 plans to go to Ibiza instead. In their hashtag, Lenny and Walter articulate their choice to be at Oerol17 in relation to their friends – as distant others – establishing their being-in-place at Oerol17 in relation to the distant Ibiza. Showing off is a recurrent theme in my interviews, and visual presencing can be seen as an act of distinction.⁶⁷ Many of my interviewees note that they share their whereabouts on social media to evoke a sense of jealousy, communicating “I’m here, and you are not.”

Distant others and elsewhere are also excluded through practices of deliberate non-mediation. In all three eventspheres, yet more often at Oerol17, my interviewees create non-mediated spaces, pausing mediated copresence in favor of being-in-place. Emma (30) explains why she put her phone away during an “Oerol expedition”:

I think that you experience it differently when you take a picture of it. You would be thinking of ... home, and for whom you take the picture. While when you are sitting there you are just with your own thoughts, without photo.

For Emma, the practice of not taking a photo entails deliberately sheltering her being-in-place from distant others and elsewhere, creating an inviolate place for her experience. Creating non-mediated spaces in the unfolding event is very common, yet only one of my 379 interviewees in this study refrained from social media use for the full event. Generally, event-joiners integrate both use and non-use in their being-in-place.

In other live instances, event-joiners extend the event-space by inviting distant others in. Jo (52) tells me that she always goes to Oerol with the same two friends, and every year they take a photo together at the same place – the Afsluitdijk – on their way to Terschelling. This year, as one friend could not come, Jo posted the traditional photo on Facebook, tagging her

⁶⁷ — The aspect of distinction is closely related to the performance of social identity and will be discussed further in that context in Chapter 5.

friend back home. Including her friend through tagging affirms Jo's being-in-place; this inclusion of particular distant others affirms the embodied experience of being there (see Milan, 2015b). For Shevan (28), who fled Syria because being gay put him in danger there, including distant others in Pride18 is imperative. He tells me that by sharing his attendance at Pride18 on Instagram and Facebook, he connects to his friends in Syria. Through his social media practices, Shevan extends the Pride18 event-space to include his friends; he is there with and also for them.

For many of my interviewees, the perpetual mediated copresence arising from the embeddedness of social media in their lives (Cefai & Couldry, 2017; Madianou, 2016) both augments and disturbs embodied being-in-place in the event-space. Whereas this is experienced in the spatial conceptions of near and far, and here and there, these notions are often thoroughly interwoven with notions of time. Lenny (28, Oerol17), for example, links augmented being-in-place to spontaneous in-the-moment posting, differentiating this from posting after the fact that takes him out of place. Posting in the moment "is something that we experience here ... more than it being for Instagram. While generally when you post later it is actually for there [Instagram]," Lenny says. Vera (24, Pride18) also refers to the temporal layers discussed in the previous chapter when reflecting on proximity in her media practices that include and exclude distant others and elsewhere. When mapping her media practices for proximity to the event, Vera initially positions her being-in-place at Pride18 on the ground, including her social media practices, further from the event than the hypothetical situation of having the exact same day without media. She believes that her being-in-place is impaired by "focusing on how I look on Instagram, [or by] doing a funny dance for Snapchat." Yet, when discussing this further, and exploring the scenario of having no photos or other content of her being at Pride18, Vera reassesses her initial mapping, arguing that being-in-place would be very short-lived without durable memories of it. The kairotic here is then constituted in the active negotiation of two conflicting desires, as event-joiners concurrently want unmediated being-in-place and nearness to distant others and elsewhere.

CONCLUSION

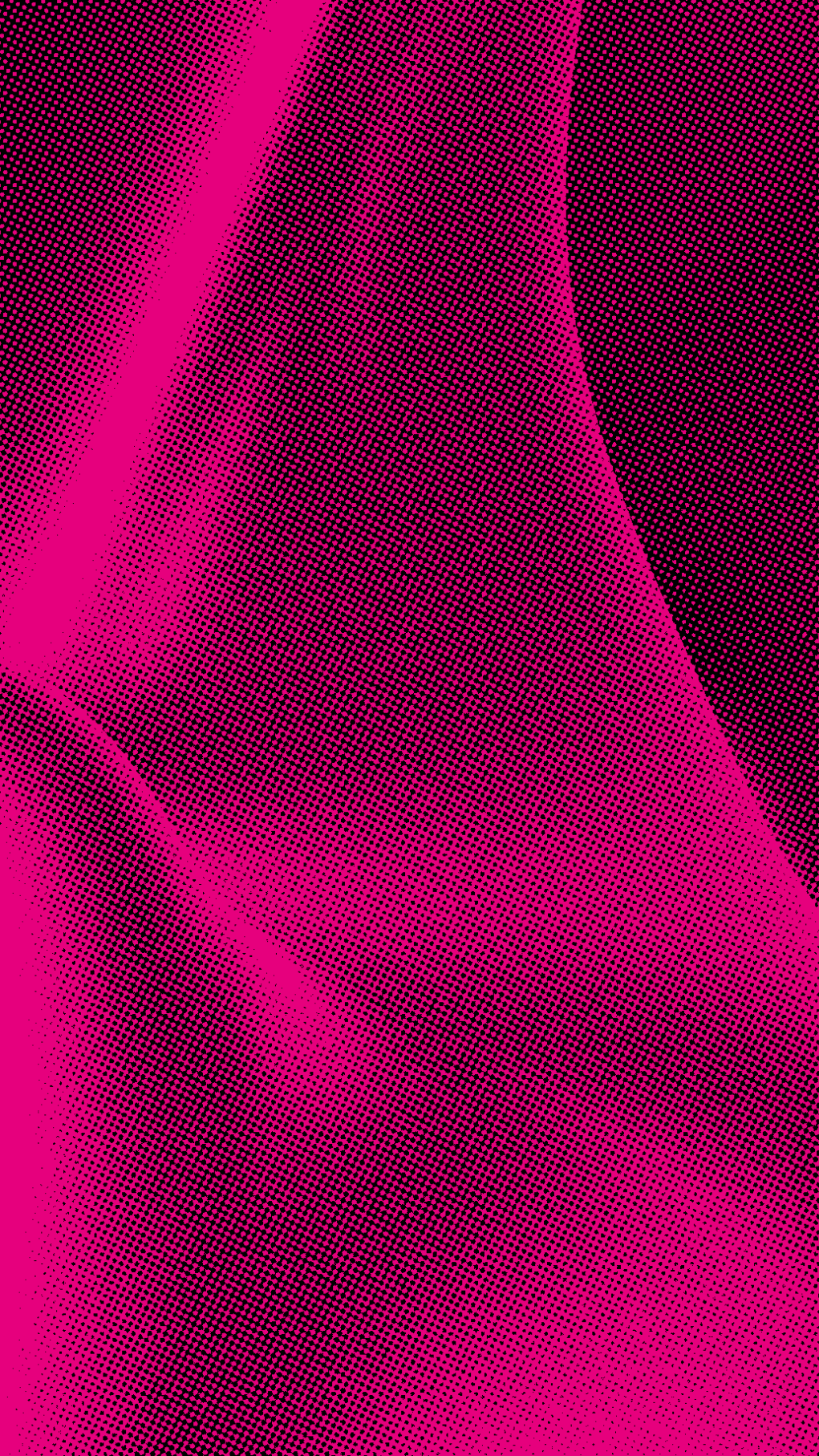
The spatial facet of liveness in the studied events, this chapter has shown, involves the realization of embodied being-in-place in live media practices.

Through these practices – such as watching live broadcasts, visual presencing, locative practices, and livestreaming – event-joiners “inhabit space” (as defined by Merleau-Ponty, 1945/1962) and establish the kairoitic here: a sense of the “the right place” or “the place to be” in relation to distant elsewhere and others. Event-joiners “make place” in a broad diversity of event locales – ranging from official festival locations to private living rooms – and position themselves in these locales as actively participating witnesses. By sharing their privileged position as witness, they augment their embodied being-in-place in the eventsphere and together establish a constantly moving and developing metaphysical understanding of the spatial realm of the eventsphere: the event-space. Through its empirical examination of these media practices, in which broadcast and social media are interwoven, this chapter extends existing theory on witnessing in media events, and conceptualizations of space as both diminished and pluralized by media.

Truly being there live, as *embodied being-in-place*, this chapter argues, is realized through the alignment of the physical event locale and various mediated environments in which event-joiners are concurrently situated. Consequently, all these environments shape the kairoitic here as a unique configuration. At several points in this chapter, I have noted that the embodied sensory experience of truly being there live is often articulated in relation to media content through notions of visibility, agency, and the personal perspective. Whether it is seeing with one’s own eyes what was seen before on TV, watching within deliberate media-free places, or sharing one’s view through visual presencing or livestreaming, it is the personally created situated perspective that establishes authentic nearness.⁶⁸

Situatedness is crucial to the live instance; it is realized through the embodied inhabiting of space – the anchoring of the body – by aligning physical event and mediated environments through live media practices. Returning to my general argument, these instances of “now here together” are configured not only spatially, but also within temporal and social contexts. The following chapter will examine the third facet of liveness: sociality. It will examine how event-joiners, through their media practices, inhabit the eventsphere as social beings and establish the *kairoitic us*.

⁶⁸ — Chapter 6 further investigates how authenticity is articulated visually in terms of seeing, performative display, and authorship.



CHAPTER 5

SOCIALITY: INHABITING THE EVENT- SPHERE



CHAPTER 5

SOCIALITY: INHABITING THE EVENTSPHERE⁶⁹

It's just fun to let others experience that along with you. ... You spread it or so [laughs], a sort of shared experience instead of merely for yourself. (Noortje, 24, Pride18)

Where in previous chapters the social has been a subject of the research indirectly – the social construction of the memorable moment in Chapter 3 and social space in Chapter 4 – this chapter explicitly addresses the facet of sociality in event-joiners' live media practices, investigating how the *kairotic us* is shaped as entwinement of people and technologies. It will argue that instances of liveness are established as unique social configurations – enactments of social identity – in which event-joiners align physical event and digital platform environments. The central question guiding this chapter is how a sense of togetherness – the *kairotic us* – is established in event-joiners live media practices in the studied eventspheres.⁷⁰ Through their media practices, event-joiners inhabit the eventsphere as social beings and establish a sense of togetherness. As Matthew (34, Pride18) describes, for instance, making live videos on Instagram Stories both connects him to others – “a bit like you are inviting people into the moment” – and concurrently establishes a sense of togetherness – “like ... there is a ... collective kind of buzz happening” – both on the ground and on Instagram. Practices such as these exhibit how the social and the technical commingle to establish both connectivity and collectivity.

The analytical work in this chapter aims to extend theory on media, events, and the social by empirically demonstrating how sociality is realized in changing practices of media use. Dayan and Katz's (1992; 1985) work on media events shows that the large broadcast events they studied revolved around people's desire for belonging. In recent decades, scholars have argued that digital platformed media have dispersed audiences and impaired shared experience and collectivity (Katz & Dayan, 2017; Kaun & Stiernstedt, 2014), yet also provided possibilities for creating togetherness (Bakardjieva, 2003; Marino, 2015; Schrooten, 2012), and forming and mobilizing publics (Bruns & Burgess, 2011; Gerbaudo, 2012; Papacharissi, 2015a). With the coming of age of social media, growing scholarship on datafication, platformization, and the influence of algorithms indicates that sociality is shaped in

69 — This chapter is partly based on my (2021) article “Being There Live: An Ethnographic Approach for Studying Social Media Use in Mediatized Live Events.”

70 — Togetherness is always also distinction: when establishing us, we establish others. While I do not always mention this explicitly, it is always implied in my use of the concept of togetherness and the *kairotic us*. Further, each eventsphere has particular groups that most elaborately claim visibility, and my selection of Oerol17, SR17 and Pride18 also results in a certain image of what event collectives look like. For instance, Oerol17 and SR17 are very much white, middle- and upper-class events.

particular ways within commercially driven platformed infrastructures (Couldry & Van Dijck, 2015; Gillespie, 2017; Goldfarb, 2017; Helmond, 2015; Nieborg & Helmond, 2018). Notwithstanding the relevance of critically questioning how *social* these social media are,⁷¹ it is apparent that the structuring of content on these prominent platforms is increasingly done in terms of connective and collective relevance (Bucher, 2020). The question then arises as to how current practices of media use articulate belongingness and shared experience in cultural eventspheres.

This chapter addresses this question by focusing on the concrete *socialities* (Postill & Pink, 2012) in which the kairotic *us* takes shape: the particular ways in which connectivity and collectivity are socio-technically constructed at Oerol¹⁷, SR¹⁷, and Pride¹⁸. By using the plural term *socialities*, as proposed by Postill and Pink (2012), I recognize the plurality of online and offline relations, and the diversity of situated social connections and disconnections – some rooted in communal structures, others fleeting encounters – realized through the variety of live media practices in the eventspheres. With ongoing convergence and mobility of media technologies, publics and audiences are increasingly fluid social circles functioning online and on the ground, formed along different social connections and happenings, sometimes coinciding or overlapping (Abidin, 2021; boyd, 2008; Milan, 2015a; Postill, 2008; Postill & Pink, 2012). Focusing on *socialities* allows me to empirically scrutinize the social facet of liveness in cultural eventspheres without placing agency with either the event-joiner or the technology; it helps us to study *sociality* in event-joiners' practices of media use as socio-technical entanglement.

This chapter introduces the concepts of connective and collective practices to distinguish two categories of social practices of media use that emerged from my fieldwork: social media practices through which connections to others are established, and those through which event-joiners become part of and form event collectives and establish a sense of *us*. Section 5.1 will consider the connective media practices through which event-joiners invite – or exclude – others into the eventsphere and incorporate – or pause – ongoing conversations. This continues the exploration of mediated copresence started in the previous chapter. Further, it will discern particular social expectations that my interviewees have of the media technologies they use. The second section will focus on collective practices, examining prominent ones – such as taking selfies together, hashtag use, and tagging – through which event-joiners inhabit event collectives and establish a sense of togetherness. Section 5.3 addresses stratified *socialities* in the eventspheres and shows that these are commonly tied to performances of identity. The final section discusses how, throughout all of these social configurations, notions of anticipated (in)visibility and implied (non-) audiences – the anticipation, rooted in *sociality*, of content to matter in particular ways to particular audiences in particular mediated environments – guide event-joiners' live media practices.

⁷¹ — While it is not this study's empirical concern, I find it important to emphasize here the imperative work being done in critical platform, app, and data studies, where vital societal questions are being addressed.

5.1 CONNECTIVE PRACTICES

This section will scrutinize event-joiners' connective practices, understood here as social media practices through which connections to others are established. It considers how, through these social media practices, event-joiners are "inviting people into the moment" and incorporating – or pausing – ongoing conversations with distant others in the eventsphere. This conceptualization builds on Van Dijck's (2013a) understanding of the social in social media as "encompass[ing] both (human) connectedness and (automated) connectivity" (p. 12), the realized connections incorporating both "strong and weak ties, intimate contacts as well as total strangers" (p. 13). Further, it continues the exploration of mediated copresence (Cefai & Couldry, 2017; Licoppe, 2004; Madianou, 2016), which I argued in the previous chapter both augments and disturbs being in the event-space.

In the following three subsections, I will explore three forms of connective practices that were prominent in my fieldwork: ongoing conversations, sharing what matters, and self-performance. My analysis here does not follow typologies of social media, nor those of human intentions or desires; instead, the categories which I use concern concrete and situated human-technological socialities which emerge from the "common-sense world" (Bourdieu, 1980/1990, p. 58) that is produced by the mediatized habitus.⁷² Similar to the practices of being-in-place distinguished in Section 4.1, the discussed practices overlap and commingle – one story on Snapchat could fall in all three categories – yet by looking at these specific practices separately, I aim to provide insight into the particular interplay between event-joiners and media technologies in establishing these social connections. This analysis will demonstrate that each type of connective practice entails its own specific sociality that is driven by expectations concerning *automated (often algorithmic) connectivity, intimacy, visibility, and receptiveness of understanding others*. This will serve as a basis for examining notions of shared experiences, self-performance of identity, and private/public in the rest of this chapter.

5.1.1 SUSTAINING ONGOING CONVERSATIONS

Messages, posts, stories, and streams are inextricably intertwined with various parts of event-joiners' lives (see boyd, 2008), both within and beyond the eventspheres. My interview material shows that, through these practices, event-joiners are involved in ongoing conversations in two distinct ways: first, they bring various personal ongoing conversations (located on direct messaging or chat platforms on their smartphones) into the eventsphere; and, secondly, through sharing platformed content (posts, stories, and streams) from the eventsphere, they involve themselves in a multitude of continuous conversations which take place on various media platforms as well as offline.

⁷² — For a more elaborate explanation of how my work is based on the work of Bourdieu, see Section 1.4.2.

The first kind of conversations are afforded by direct messaging or chat platforms, which focus on the conversational form of the chat as the main feature in the platform design. At Oerol17, SR17, and Pride18, these ongoing conversations are most commonly hosted by the direct messaging platform WhatsApp,⁷³ although the chat functionalities of Snapchat, Instagram, and Facebook (Messenger) were also occasionally mentioned by interviewees. WhatsApp-users⁷⁴ are involved in these continual conversations – one-to-one and group chats involving family members, colleagues, friends, sports clubs, and so forth – in which they can tap in at any moment to share what is happening with specific others. Walter (27, Oerol17), for instance, tells me that he is always in contact with his family through their group chat in WhatsApp:

With my family actually continually. Like, I will send a photo of the island, because they know that I am at Oerol. ... And then you get a photo from my brother who is there, and one that my father is doing that, and...

Walter's example shows that these conversations are sustained by, yet not limited to, the platforms on which they are held, and that they rely greatly on context beyond the actual chat. As Walter says, "they know that I am at Oerol," and his conversation partners (close family members) know him. In these ongoing, quite intimate, conversations, event content is shared without much need for explanation or polishing; often, my interviewees share a photo without careful selection, retouching, or any explanatory caption, as the recipients are expected to be able to interpret and place it into perspective.

Event-joiners' posts, stories, and streams, shared more widely on social network sites, are also part of a continuous flow of conversations which take place on various media platforms as well as offline. This is the second kind of ongoing conversations discussed here. Xander (43) tells me that his livestreaming at SR17 sparks conversation **"with family whom you see at Christmas. Everyone asks: please tell, how was it?"** Ayla, a young woman⁷⁵ at Oerol17 mentions a similar expectation concerning her snaps and Instagram posts from the festival **"when I return to school and tell friends, that they also just have seen that I've been there and understand what I am talking about."** Xander and Ayla assume that their family and friends see their streams, snaps, and posts; they count on this platformed content sparking and feeding talk outside the environments of the event or the platform. Their live media practices within the eventsphere thus become part of larger flows of dialogue enabled by automated connectivity.

Both types of ongoing conversations rest on a sense of "connect-ed presence" (Licoppe, 2004), or "ambient co-presence" (Madianou, 2016) – the sense of a permanent connection which can be activated at any time

⁷³ — In the Netherlands, WhatsApp is a very popular platform and (at the time of the study) the main messaging app. Section 2.2 discusses media use at the events and general media use in the Netherlands. Although each app is different, WhatsApp, as a direct messaging app, is similar to apps such as Facebook Messenger, Telegram, Signal, WeChat/Weixin, imo, Viber, and others.

⁷⁴ — In the Netherlands in 2018, this covered 80% of the population over 15 years old (Van der Veer et al., 2018).

⁷⁵ — Specific age unknown.

through live content – spanning various degrees of intimacy. Nearly always, these conversations cross online/offline borders, involving others whom my interviewees know from a diversity of offline places, which can include offline event locales. Encounters in physical event environments can spark intense, yet commonly transient mediated conversations. However, most often, ongoing conversations involve preexisting ties (as the examples in this section show) which are then affirmed in the practice of sharing live content from the eventsphere. Furthermore, ongoing conversations encompass a wide range in degrees of intimacy – governed by both event-joiners' expectations and platform affordances – incorporating publicly shared content on platforms such as Instagram or Facebook, ephemeral content shared with a close circle of friends on Snapchat, and strictly private chats on WhatsApp.⁷⁶

5.1.2 SHARING WHAT MATTERS

A large part of the connective practices that I have discerned in the eventspheres revolve around the sense that the special moment that is shared – materialized in content which is often visual – matters to others. Many of my interviewees say that posting, messaging, or streaming about their event experience is done to “**instantly share [it] with people who I care about**” (Xander, 43, SR17).⁷⁷ William (44), an American who I met at a street party in Pride18, tells me:

My friends at home want to see what I am doing on vacation, and so I made a Facebook Live video and tagged my friends ... who are here with me ... I just had some of our friends watching it and they commented back that: we miss you, have a good time, wish we were there. Just now.

Both Xander and William stress the importance of sharing with others to whom their experience matters, but choose to go live on Facebook as opposed to sharing this directly with their friends in a chat. Practices of sharing what matters involve divergent forms of relational closeness, as the platforms used combine strong and weak ties. Xander explains, “**I do have more than 500 Facebook friends, but these are all people who I know and who know me and know that I love this.**” While I do not intend to refute Xander's statement, 500 Facebook friends must include a range of relational intimacy, and in a similar manner William's live video is not only shown to his close friends who want to know what he is doing on vacation. Xander and William count on the algorithmic connectivity of the platform: they expect Facebook to show their content to those to whom it matters, including

⁷⁶ — Intimacy will prove to be a factor in many practices discussed in this chapter, and I will show this to be socio-technologically constructed. Section 5.4 will specifically discuss the notions of public and private, related to (in)visibility and (non-)audiences.

⁷⁷ — This logic also leads people to post less, saying, “everyone is/all my friends are here anyway, so there is no need to connect to others.”

people who they would not have thought about specifically in the moment. In addition, William steers this algorithmic connectivity by tagging his companions, so that the video will also be shown to their Facebook friends. My interviewees experience these practices as enactments of caring relationships, yet they – often deliberately – incorporate both close friends and family, and less intimate relations.

Relational closeness is not a necessity in these practices of sharing what matters through platforms that afford one-to-many connectivity (e.g., Facebook and Instagram), as for a large part they revolve around the assumption that others will care about the content or event experience that is shared. As William references, this interest is (expected to be) expressed through likes and reactions, preferably “just now,” in the unfolding event. My interviewees indubitably understand that a “like” is not necessarily a deep expression of care. Yet, receiving likes in the moment does affirm how special it is: that it matters. As Rachel (26, Oerol17) tells me, “*you do sort of enjoy it when people give likes or comments such as ‘have fun’ ... receiving that during the evening, that is nice.*” Getting likes while still in the unfolding event affirms the special moment, and this often governs these live media practices in social media platforms.

In some of these sharing practices, however, strong ties are crucial. Commonly, my interviewees then rely more on the direct connectivity of chat and direct messaging, mainly WhatsApp. Often, the live instances that really matter to them are shared both widely (on Instagram or Facebook) and directly to certain people (via WhatsApp or direct messaging), making sure that those who matter most will see it. Again, event-joiners’ connective practices are partly determined by their expectations of automated connectivity through platforms, functions, and features. The privacy and conversational organization of WhatsApp affords more explicit, longer, and personal responses. Mathilde (25) – who ran a successful fundraising initiative for SR17 – explains that this is why she shared a photo of herself talking to the DJs at the Glass House both on Instagram and with significant others via WhatsApp:

People respond differently on WhatsApp ... more extensively, more personally. A friend of mine who then says, “wow, you are truly doing great, I am proud of you,” these kinds of things. That really moves me, but you wouldn’t post that on Instagram.

Sharing the same photo both on Instagram (with a broader audience) and WhatsApp (with specific caring others) involves different levels of intimacy, different presuppositions of the platform’s automated connectivity and visibility of content, and different expectations of the receptivity and responses of others.

The more private form of sharing what matters – within one-to-one messages or small group chats – is not only driven by needs and expecta-

tions to be connected to others who matter; these practices – through their specific type of connectivity – can also affirm and even establish various degrees of care for content and people. Barbara (24, Oerol17) experiences this when her theater buddies share photos of particular performances with her:

When they just place it generally on Instagram or Facebook it dissolves into the mass for me, but when they separately send something to me, they thus thought about it, that they found it so special that they [pause]. You easily click on a photo like, “okay I’ll post it now,” but to really look up a contact and do all that, then I am more confident that it was truly a very special moment.

Barbara here provides a logical argument based on her understanding of how these technologies work; the effort involved in the practice of sharing content directly affirms both the value of the moment – materialized in content – and the social bond. The understanding of sending a direct message as a practice of sharing what matters establishes this caring sociality as meaningful kairotic us.

5.1.3 PERFORMING (SOCIAL) IDENTITY

A third category of connective practices revolves around the *performance of social identity* (see Goffman, 1959). Many of my interviewees refer to their practices of sharing content about the event as an expression of facets of the self. They feel that showing what they find important or fun or beautiful – what matters to them – says something about who they are; or, they shape their social identity through these practices. A photo on Instagram from Oerol17, a Facebook check-in from SR17, a short video in Instagram Stories from Pride18 – each post tells a story about the person who posted it. Here I draw on Van Dijck (2008), who argues that “individuals articulate their identity as social beings” (pp. 62–63) through digital photographic practices. I also draw on Nicole Ellison and danah boyd’s (2013) argument that people’s practices of sharing content (as well as likes, check-ins, etc.) are in large part instances of self-presentation (see also boyd, 2008). In the 2010s, the design of platforms changed from profile-based self-presentation and (temporal) update-based structuring of content, to algorithmic structuring and presentation of content based on (social) relevance (Bucher, 2020). In this context, sharing experiences from cultural events has gained importance as a practice of self-performance, and sociality therein takes shape in new ways.

For some of my interviewees, these practices are expressions of the self in a very personal manner. This was the case for Mathilde (25), for whom the photos she shared of talking to the DJs at the Glass House, sig-

nify her courage to overcome shyness and social anxiety: “I used to be very shy, and I still am sometimes, so this was very exciting.” Mathilde speaks of her live media practices concerning this moment as expressions of pride and self-performance of confidence. Joyce (38), reflecting on her Facebook post, of a picture of herself on TV while partying in the SR17 crowd, also relates this self-performance to her personal situation:

I have been going through a very rough time lately, with a lot of sadness and such. And then it is nice that I have been in the picture in a positive way again. Also to show: “look people, despite everything I am doing okay.”

It becomes apparent in Joyce’s words that these images do not only express pride or positivity within a very personal context: they are understood in this way because they are seen by others, thus they are located within a particular sociality that relies on the platform’s automated connectivity.

At Pride18, performance of social identity – in the sense of proudly showing yourself in a certain way – was particularly prominent and inter-linked with societal structures. Pride events are generally about claiming public space “to achieve visibility for diversity” (Pride Foundation, n.d.), as the organization of Pride18 words it. For the majority of my interviewees at Pride18, their practices of posting on social media platforms blend elements of personal self-performance with this emancipatory aim for visibility. As Matthew (34) says, “it’s this celebration of my ‘juveny,’⁷⁸ my sexuality is obviously part of that, it’s me being open.” For Matthew, posting photos of himself on Instagram bare-chested, young, and fit, on a boat in the Canal Parade, is a way of claiming space for himself and establishing his visibility as a young gay man. Instagram, Matthew expects, will make these photos and videos visible to others, realizing automated connectivity. Eduard (42), as many of my Pride-interviewees, explicitly refers to identity when he discusses his social media behavior at Pride18:

Pride in part has to do with identity and that is why I find it important to share, more important than at other events I think. ... Yes, here I really want to share something. Because it just really truly lies close to me. ... I am gay ... Yes, it lies very close to my identity and what I find important and nice.

Eduard relates his increased live media practices during Pride18 to his identity. Underlying this logic, or the common-sense therein, are understandings of the type of sociality that is established through the platforms he uses – Instagram and Facebook.

Although, at Pride18, the role of identity in social media behavior was more often explicitly worded, interviewees at all three events commonly

⁷⁸ — This is the actual term used by Matthew (original interview in English); although it does not exist, I understand it to mean youthfulness.

referred to this understanding of social media platforms as vehicles for performing the social self. As Margaret (37) says:

I do think that people like to see that you go to Oerol. It is a theater festival of course and that does say something about me. I posted that, so I understand that they will then see what I like.

Similar to Matthew and Eduard, Margaret understands her practice of posting as expressing something about herself, portraying herself as a theater lover. Further, she envisions how others will view this, and articulates the contemporary logic of the social media platform as a social space for self-performance quite literally, by saying, “I understand that they will then see what I like.” The practices and logic distinguished here are indicative of the above-mentioned changes in the design and use of these platforms: the reduced significance of the profile, and the algorithmic structuring of content based on (social) relevance. The profile as such is not often mentioned in the interviews, yet my interviewees’ practices on Facebook and Instagram still for a large part revolve around self-performance, through sharing content with others, and they feel that the aggregate of this content “says something about [pause] your own life” (Joost, 41, Pride18). Whereas in the early days of social network sites, people might have used this content to build their social media profile(s), these profiles are now hardly considered when posting, nor viewed as such when browsing content. Rather, my analysis shows that event-joiners perform social identity by sharing content from the events – the special moments that matter to them – on Facebook, Instagram, and Snapchat, envisioning how it will algorithmically become visible to others in their feeds and streams. Increasingly, mediated live instances form the materiality of the platformed performance of identity. Through these posts, snaps, and stories, event-joiners articulate an image of the self – perhaps more a persona than a profile – within their platformed social environments, driven by expectations of *automated connectivity, intimacy, visibility, and receptiveness of understanding others*.

5.2 COLLECTIVE PRACTICES

Collective practices establish a sense of shared experience: the kairoitic us. Whereas these practices could be considered a fourth category of connective practice, it is more fruitful in the context of cultural eventspheres to analyze them separately, as they are more specifically understood and undertaken by my interviewees in terms of togetherness or collectiveness (and distinction). This section will examine collective practices – such as taking selfies together, tagging, and hashtag use – through which event-joiners become part of and form event collectives on various levels and establish a sense of us.

The following three subsections will show that these socialities can be understood as concentric social circles establishing the kairotic us on different scales (see Figure 31).

The *inner circle* is a *familiar us*, comprised of those directly around the event-joiner – often friends, family members, or partners with whom one is there on the ground. The closeness is, however, not limited to either preexisting intimate relationships, or to physical nearness; this circle includes groups formed at the event, as well as close distant others who are invited to join in. The second circle extends togetherness through live media practices that make the event-joiner part of the *event-crowd* on the ground, creating a *historic us* that often revolves around a common interest or purpose. The third circle further extends the us through the formation of an *event-public* – an *affective us* – particularly through the use of hashtags (see Bruns & Burgess, 2011; Papacharissi, 2015a). All three types of collectives can be established within one post, yet particular practices are specifically geared toward particular circles. The following analysis will again reveal that expectations concerning automated connectivity, intimacy, visibility, and receptiveness of understanding others, underlie the specific socialities established through these practices. Furthermore, it will show that while the three circles of sociality are conceptualized by my interviewees based on their understanding of the logic of the platforms they use, the actual algorithmic organization of content within these platforms is not that transparent, and it is impossible to accurately predict who will see the post, snap or story. This section provides a basis for further scrutiny, in the following sections, of how socialities coincide and overlap, and how they enact notions of private and public, and identity, in particular ways.

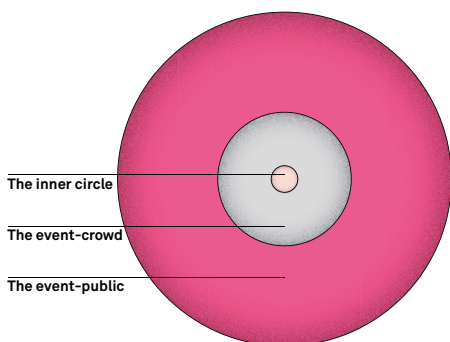


Figure 31: The Three Event-Collectives (Design by Studio Another Day).

5.2.1 THE INNER CIRCLE: THE FAMILIAR US

When speaking about their event experiences, many of my interviewees first and foremost mention the people with whom they shared these experiences within the physical event locale, and many of the images in the eventsphere feature various formations of people together. Practices of taking a photo together – often selfies, as will be explored in Chapter 6 – as friendship groups, parents and children, sisters, best friends, or romantic partners, are prominent in the Instagram data sets, my observations, and interviews. My interviewees tell me that they value having a picture of being together at the event. As Joost (41, Pride18) tells me, with strong emotion, noticeable in his voice and expression:

We are here with a group of friends with whom we do many things together. And one of the friends who is here now, hasn't been with us for a long time, for a year, so we enjoyed intensifying the group feeling by taking a photo with him in it again.

Note Joost's use of the plural in this quote: he speaks as part of an *us* and not about an individual experience. The group photo is a collective practice of this friendship group, to "intensify ... the group feeling" – to celebrate being complete again and reaffirm togetherness. The group photo (for examples, see Figure 32) as affirmation of togetherness in the unfolding event is a recurrent theme in my interviews.

While being together in the same event locale commonly binds these social groups, meaningful togetherness (and distinction) is often co-constructed or reaffirmed through media practices in places and mo-

ments when not together. Lucy (23) tells me, "*at the end [of Oerol] I select one good photo and then ... I like putting it on Facebook saying: 'it was fun with everyone on Facebook,'⁷⁹ erm, 'Oerol,' and then I tag everyone.*" Including people in a post through tagging is frequently mentioned by my interviewees as a way to articulate the inner circle.

Whereas for many interviewees, such as Joost and Lucy, these groups consist of friends with whom they step into the eventsphere, for others this close circle is formed during the event. Such as for Jack (45), who describes the Facebook post he plans to make when he returns home:

I thank people. ... By tagging, but also in a piece of text with it. Because you share that emotion in that moment. [With "#oerol"] you also articulate a feeling, because to me Oerol is more than a festival, it is more of a feeling or so [pause]. For me at least [pause] I do not come there for the music, but I come for, erm, yeah, I don't know, togetherness [pause]. Because, yes, among volunteers, we are kind of a tribe

Jack uses a Facebook post to extend and affirm this tribal experience of being a volunteer at Oerol17. Tagging brings the group together in the photo, creating a platformed collective durable memory (see Lohmeier & Pentzold, 2014; Van House, 2011) that sustains the group – that has formed during the occasion and within the physical surroundings of the festival – within the platformed environment. Moreover, sharing that one great photo on Face-



Figure 32: Examples of Inner-Circle Group Photos from Pride18 and Oerol19.

79 — A telling slip of the tongue?

book or Instagram and tagging others can be understood as both collective practice and a form of self-performance. These types of photos are (expected to be) visible on Facebook to others outside of the group; it is showing oneself as part of this inner circle to others within and outside of it.

Whereas these practices, located in one-to-many platforms and features, are recurrent, the bulk of inner-circle practices in the studied eventspheres encompass more private communication in closed groups. As noted above, these groups – in this study, predominantly group chats in WhatsApp, but also private groups on Facebook – can establish a sociality of closeness. WhatsApp group chats that accommodate those who are at the event together range in size and intimacy, from small groups of three or four close friends, to larger groups, such as everyone on a big boat in the Canal Parade at Pride18, or volunteers at Oerol17. For many of my interviewees, the group chat is essential in the eventsphere; this is the place to share plans, tips, whereabouts, excitement, and memories, often in the form of photos and videos. It provides a sense of an intimate us: a circle of people with whom experiences in the eventsphere are shared. These in-groups demarcate who is with the group, and who is not, not uncommonly leading to discussions about how this distinction is made. Moreover, as those who do not or only rarely use WhatsApp are excluded, these concrete socialities impact the dynamics in – especially larger – groups at the event, by creating divisions between those who have seen that great picture or funny video and those who have not.

It is also often within these closed groups that the durability of specific event socialities is determined. As Helen (52) – who is in a WhatsApp group chat that was created at Oerol17 for volunteers at de Betonning (one of the event locations) – tells me:

*It already happens when people leave that group.
... You are in this group chat and then ... people
leave the island and then that [phone] number
has left the group, and then that number [pause]
and then ... it all dissolves.*

Helen's experience of being in the social bubble of Oerol17 dissolves when more and more people physically leave the island and technically leave the group chat. Others speak of a sense of togetherness growing in a group chat before the event, or it being elongated afterwards. By sharing pictures of preparations and exchanging practical questions and reminders – “pack a raincoat”; “is there a toilet on board?”; “what was the address of the hotel again?” – the event vibe and sense of togetherness increases. In the days after the event, photos and videos are often shared. Whereas the WhatsApp chat is most commonly used, for larger closed groups – such as designated guests on a boat in the Canal Parade – closed Facebook groups were also often mentioned. As Edwin (55, Pride18) tells me, “there, everyone shared their videos [afterwards], but also videos of people who saw our boat from the shore.” Within these concrete socialities, event-joiners get a sense of

what they have experienced at the event – through an exchange of perspectives – and many of my interviewees mention that it elongates their feelings of togetherness.

These closed groups can extend concrete event socialities over time and place. Some exist for years, covering multiple editions of the event. These groups are quiet during the rest of the year and become active again in the period leading up to the event, through activities such as adding new people, changing the profile picture, and starting preparatory exchanges. Janet (24) tells me about the WhatsApp group chat she is in:

We have an Oerol-chat, also with people ... who were here last year but who can't be here now, a large group chat, and there I share, we share everything. ... Some of them just had children so they can't come now, so they ask: "would you all please send videos and photos so that we stay posted? So we slightly have the feeling that we are also there?"

This inner circle of people with whom Janet experiences Oerol17 is – through the WhatsApp group chat – extended beyond the festival grounds. Inner-circle socialities are thus not restricted to the time and place of the event, yet they do revolve around a notion of closeness and experiencing the event together. Based on assumptions and expectations of platforms, collective practices – such as taking and sharing group pictures, tagging on Facebook, Instagram, or Snapchat, and forming and maintaining closed groups on Facebook or WhatsApp – establish a sense of shared experience within a kairotic us that encompasses a specific in-group.

5.2.2 THE EVENT-CROWD: THE HISTORIC US

I was one of them. (Joyce, 38, SR17)

Moving on to the second circle of collectivity, I now turn to explore how the historic kairotic us of the event-crowd is established. While collective practices within inner circles commonly involve directly connecting to specific others, the wider collective practices of forming and becoming part of an event-crowd rest on less personally targeted practices of media use. Lauren (25), for instance, tells me that she uses the “#oerol” hashtag

to participate in “everyone who is here at Oerol.” It is a kind of group feeling that you create. “We are at Oerol,” like every year ... that creates a kind of connection, just like you are here together [on the island]. ... “Look, we are all here,” and that creates a bond, to say it in a grand manner.

A sense of belonging (and distinction) is expressed here, and Lauren notes that “#oerol” realizes this in the platformed contexts of Instagram and Facebook in a similar way as physically being there together on the island does. Generally, this sense of collectiveness revolves around the crowd on the ground, as Lauren expresses. However, as argued in existing scholarship on broadcast media events (Dayan & Katz, 1992; Katz & Dayan, 1985; Scannell, 1996), a sense of belonging at the event is not exclusively available to those on the ground, but also to those who join in from a distance through live media. Dennis (20) – who follows the SR17 livestream nearly 24/7 on his smart phone and computer – says:

You create a small society on that square. ... We all go there with the same purpose: supporting the DJs and raising money. ... Being able to follow it closely, watching the 24-hour stream, you do get the sense as viewer that also by only watching you contribute to the whole Serious Request.

Even though Dennis has not been to Apeldoorn himself, he speaks about the square as “here” in present tense, involving himself in it, and uses “we” to describe the SR17 crowd, expressing a sense of belonging.

Whether on the ground or at a distance, being part of the event-crowd is done live, while the event unfolds. Whereas media practices in smaller and larger social circles can elongate the event, as the previous and next sections show, the event-crowd is a kairotic us that can only be established during the unfolding event. Live media practices are thus crucial to these concrete socialities: Lauren’s post with “#oerol” would have not referred to “everyone who is here at Oerol” if it was shared the week after. Anita (48) – a devoted SR17-follower – tells me that watching the event live on television makes her feel “a bit like you are truly there. ... It sounds very stupid, but you feel the emotions. ... The enthusiasm, you do feel that stronger when you watch it live.” Anita notes the intensity of watching live, through which she and her family become part of the event-crowd and literally cheer along. Toward the end of the event, when excitement rises, she writes to me in our media diary chat “Yeah, I am hoarse already! 😞😞😞😞”

The collective practices establishing the event-crowd during the unfolding event articulate a sense of togetherness (and distinction) that finds its urgency in a notion of shared intention. My interviewees often presuppose that the event-crowd shares a common purpose. Lauren refers to the loyalty of the theater scene being at Oerol every year. Dennis and Anita articulate this with reference to the shared purpose of raising money at SR17. As Anita maintains, “together you stand for one thing, that is what I love most about it.” Many Pride18-joiners also reference this, such as Sasha (47), who tells me that she just posted a photo on Facebook because “I think when you form a group together and stand together for one thing, that is beautiful to capture.” Whether as concrete as in Sasha’s case – who joined the Canal Parade as a member of an advocacy group for sex workers’ rights

– or as vague as Lauren’s sense of the Oerol crowd, many of my interviewees feel this sense of togetherness based on a shared interest or purpose.⁸⁰

While sharing event experiences in intimate inner circles revolves around intensifying the sense of togetherness to strengthen social bonds, collective practices geared toward the event-crowd seem to work the other way around: the sense of togetherness augments the event experience. This logic often drives particular media practices, such as for Ramish (23), who tells me that he, his brother, and his friend share videos and photos of being at SR17 on Snapchat “because so many people go there, that you also want to be one of these people, like, ‘I was also there.’” This feeling of “being part of it,” and the emphasis on the number of people involved, is recurrently mentioned with enthusiasm by my interviewees as a very central part of the event experience, and extends the notion of witnessing explored in the two previous chapters, by adding a layer of social involvement. The recognition of the event-crowd as substantial – in presence on the ground, as well as in various media platforms and outlets – attracts more people and triggers them to post, stream and snap, which then again reaffirms and enhances the crowd. The specific sociality of the large event-crowd is thus established through ongoing cycles of noticing and confirming, in which event-joiners’ media practices become entwined with those of event organizers promoting the event and media platforms affording these posts. This is the kairoitic us that is historically significant: through posting in the moment, my event-joiners join the event-crowd, and their content becomes part of both personal and collective cultural memory.⁸¹

5.2.3 THE EVENT-PUBLIC: THE AFFECTIVE US

Broadening the scope once more, the third circle of collectivity – the event-public – involves larger collectives of people who, by sharing affinity with the event, articulate that it matters. These publics are not detached from the crowds: event-crowds are part of event-publics. Although the event-crowd is confined to those joining while the event unfolds – whether on the ground or intensively following live – the event-public extends the kairoitic us beyond the unfolding event. The notion of publics has gained much scholarly attention (Livingstone, 2004) since the rise of social media, and the fruits thereof – particularly conceptualizations of “mobile publics” (Sheller, 2004), “networked publics” (boyd, 2008; Ito, 2008), “ad hoc publics” (Bruns & Burgess, 2011), “affective publics” (Papacharissi, 2015a), and “refracted publics” (Abidin, 2021) – inform the following analysis. The event-publics distinguished in this study – as the kairoitic us established through event-joiners’ media practices – include many of the dynamics identified by the scholars cited above, yet cannot be fully understood by employing only one of these conceptualizations.

The collective practices which construct the event-publics of Oerol17, SR17, and Pride18 involve, in particular, the use of hashtags (see Bruns & Burgess, 2011; Papacharissi, 2015a) and platformed locational

⁸⁰ — Section 5.3.2 will further investigate how this sense leads event-joiners to behave as ambassadors.

⁸¹ — The historicity of the live event moment and notions of personal and collective cultural memory are explored in more detail in Chapter 3, particularly in Sections 3.1 and 3.3.

features, such as location tags and check-ins on social media platforms. The practice of sharing content with main event hashtags or locations on platforms such as Instagram, Facebook, and Snapchat connects the event-joiner's texts and images to the larger public of interested people. The popularity of an event hashtag – signifying the size of the event-public – can augment these practices for event-joiners, reaffirming the importance of the event. Vareen (20, Pride18) tells me that, when posting, she notices how often a hashtag has been used:

When, for example, you see 1,000 results with that hashtag, or 10,000 or more than 10,000, then you see, “wow, many people are paying attention to this.” So, then you think, “now my post is also part of it, now I am part of that community of people who post this or who are here.”

The event-public becomes visible for Vareen through the scale of the hashtag, and she is excited about becoming part of this kairotic us by sharing stories and posts on Instagram with hashtags such as “#Pride18.” Vareen's words also reveal expectations of what hashtags and locations do within platforms: connect event-joiners to others who are paying attention to the event and make their content visible within that collective.

Hashtag use in the studied eventspheres, however, is not always a deliberate collective practice (see Bruns & Burgess, 2011); for many of my interviewees, using a hashtag has become naturalized behavior, afforded by the platform. This became apparent when I asked event-joiners why they used event hashtags, such as “#SR17.” For instance, Margot (44) says:

[silence] Good question [laughs]. These are the kind of things that you then do so naturally at a certain point that you don't think about why you do it. No [pause] Well, yes it is that [pause] with that group or so. That you [pause] well, belong to that, I don't know, something like that. It makes a sort of connection to your group. That's what I think. No idea. [laughs]

The many laughs, broken sentences, pauses, and words and phrases such as “no idea” show that it takes effort for Margot to reflect on her act of adding a hashtag – to explain common-sense behavior (Bourdieu, 1980/1990). Whereas hashtag use shapes the event-public, this is not by definition deliberate, but rather often part of a media habitus. As Margot's explanation exemplifies, this behavior is not carefully thought through: it rests on the logic of practice that implies that event hashtags enact belonging to the event-public.

The event-publics in this study range from relatively small collectives – such as “people who ... understand what Oerol is” (Marie, 29) – to

worldwide publics – such as proponents of LGBT+ rights. Even within each event, different hashtags engender different publics: consider, for example, the difference in scope between “#PrideAmsterdam18” and “#pride.” This variety in scale entails divergent expectations concerning how this becomes a meaningful social context for the event experience. For Marie, using “#oerol” entails that these understanding others “can imagine what I have experienced.” Karima (19) tells me that she chose a “check-in at SR17” over the location tag Apeldoorn for her Facebook post, because “it was not a party only in Apeldoorn. ... it is Serious Request, something national. ... So, more people will think, ‘oh right, Serious Request, I also followed that on the radio,’ even though they were not there themselves.” For Marco (26), the sense of shared experience established in his collective practice of posting photos from Pride18 on Instagram expresses that “this is actually happening, and I am glad that this is happening all over the world.” These examples show that event-joiners inhabit event-publics through a diversity of concrete socialities configured through an interplay of physical and mediated social relations. The next section will further explore this diversity through the lens of social identity.

5.3 STRATIFIED SOCIALITIES AND SOCIAL IDENTITY

Through connective and collective practices, event-joiners inhabit the eventsphere by positioning themselves within concrete socialities, often aligned with self-understandings and performances of (facets of one's) identity. In the past decade, as noted in Section 5.1.3, changes in the design of existing platforms, and the development of new features and platforms, have thoroughly altered the practice of performing (social) identity within online platforms. Whereas the structure of early social network sites was determined by the user profile, the friends lists, and the news feed (boyd, 2010), social media platforms have developed into a more eclectic algorithmically organized palette of features, in which content is often more transient and the structuring of content is increasingly done in terms of connective and collective relevance (see Abidin, 2021; Bucher, 2020; Ellison & boyd, 2013).

This section focuses on stratified socialities to explore how event-joiners inhabit the eventspheres through their connective and collective practices. It takes a closer look at the interplay of physical and mediated social relations which are navigated in the eventspheres based on underlying expectations of technological features concerning, as discerned before, automated connectivity, intimacy, visibility, and receptiveness of understanding others. First, it will explore how event-joiners position themselves within a variety of overlapping and coinciding socialities through their live media practices, with specific attention to the performance or shaping of social identity therein (see Goffman, 1959). Building upon the conceptualization of “silosociality” (Abidin, 2021), it investigates the fluid social

circles – involving physical and mediated social relations – that establish meaningful contexts for live instances. Second, it will hone in on one particular and prominent type of these socialities, namely ambassadorship. In my analyses of these practices, I do not regard social identity as a reflexively determined selfhood; I aim to exhibit how mediated performance of social identity in the eventsphere realizes “truly being there.”

5.3.1 INHABITING FLUID CIRCLES OF SOCIALITY

While my interviewees often understand being in the eventsphere as “being in a bubble away from daily life,” the examination of their live media practices in the previous sections and chapters has made clear that the social ties enacted in these practices commonly exceed this event bubble. Affective ties materialize within fluid social circles functioning online and on the ground, formed through different social connections and happenings both inside and outside of the event, often coinciding or overlapping (D. Miller & Slater, 2000; Papacharissi, 2015b; Postill, 2008; Postill & Pink, 2012). Through their live media practices, as my analysis of some examples in this subsection will show, event-joiners both shape and position themselves in these fluid circles – they inhabit them as *themselves* – realizing the kairotic us that is crucial to the meaningful live instance.

To develop my argument, I draw on Chrystal Abidin’s (2021) research on “refracted publics.” This conceptualization of publics takes into account how users anticipate current platform affordances and adjust their practices accordingly. Abidin asserts that sociality online now seems to be organized in silos, involving more communal and localized audiences, and visibility of content that is increasingly targeted and transient. “This means,” Abidin argues, “that the content is tailor made for specific subcommunities and rabbit-holes and may not be accessible or legible to outsiders” (p. 4). Whereas Abidin discusses this silosociality strictly in relation to online sociality (particularly within influencer culture),⁸² my analysis investigates how these online dynamics – that govern mediated social relations – are integrated in the localized concrete socialities in the eventspheres.

These fluid social circles, or silos, can be located within (semi-)private groups on many platforms. For Ralf (42) – who describes himself as a huge Tina Turner fan and active fan club member – this is a group on Facebook. Ralf tells me that the only thing that he shared in the moment during Pride18 was a performance by Tina Turner impersonator, Coby:

We always celebrate her [Tina Turner’s] birthday with a large group of fans throughout Europe ... When we do this in the Netherlands, Coby performs as Tina Turner. So, I did immediately share Coby’s performance in the Facebook group of Tina Turner fans.

⁸² — This triggers questions about the consequences of online silos, such as filter bubbles and echo chambers, and current debates on the spread of disinformation.

The sociality established in the practice of sharing this video in the moment in this Facebook group revolves around Ralf's fandom – or identity as a Tina Turner fan – and the group's cultural memory (Erlil & Nünning, 2010; Van Dijck, 2007). By dipping into this social circle, or silo, that is distant – as in, not part of the event bubble – yet close at hand for him, Ralf inhabits the live instance with a social context that makes it meaningful.

Whereas it might seem logical that this inhabiting of fluid social circles is enacted on platforms through closed groups, such as the Facebook group above, or more private group chats, it can often involve public posting that becomes meaningful in a particular way. Consider, for instance, how two ambitious young actors at Oerol17 – Walter and Lenny (27 and 28) – reflect on posting a photo, publicly, on Instagram with the “#oerol” hashtag:

Walter: A girl who is in a play [at Oerol17], she “liked” that picture – [name of a Dutch actress] – so because of that, she knows “hey, he is at Oerol,” and she likes that. And that is because I said that I am at Oerol, and she sees that, like “I am in a play there,” and I know that she in a play there. Without speaking to each other about this, but [pause]

Lenny: You are in contact with each other.

Walter: You are in contact because I have indicated that I am here. ...

Lenny: And that she liked that.

Walter: Yes, I do tend to think that this is why you do this.

The complexity of this reflection exhibits the intricate understandings of positioning oneself by connecting to someone else in the event-crowd – physically at the same event, yet not a direct contact on the ground, nor outside of Oerol17 – through posting publicly on Instagram with the event hashtag. This shows the elaborate meanings and expectations attached to these, quite elementary, practices on Instagram, and is telling of how a received “like” can affect the (sense of) social context at an event. Through this “like,” Walter and Lenny – actors at Oerol17 as event-joiners – feel connected (even though this is a weak tie) to the in-group of actors who are actually performing there.

For Giselle (34), posting on Instagram while on the IranPride boat in the Canal Parade, enhanced her sense of togetherness with her Iranian friends and family:

It was nice to see that they also responded and sent likes. ... There was a little flag [in the picture] saying “We dream about free Iran.” ... and many people from Iran, family and friends, have replied saying “yes, we hope the same.” That is nice. ... They are the ones who are actually in the shit ... that they kind of feel heard or understood or a bit of empathy.

These specific reactions to her open Instagram post materialize her Iranian social circle and – especially when received during the unfolding event – augment Giselle’s live instance, by providing a kairotic us that makes her position meaningful in a particular way. Whereas being on a boat in the Canal Parade is generally great fun and worth sharing, inhabiting it within this concrete sociality makes Giselle regard it an honor – an act of standing up for freedom, celebrating Pride while her Iranian friends and family cannot.

Whereas the above examples show how socialities are formed in specific mediated connections to others, many interviewees also note that their event experience is enlivened when finding “others like them” – a social circle to which they feel they belong – in the event-crowd. For Hetty (49) – who lives in Limburg – this happens when the ticker in the live broadcast of SR17 displays messages from her home region. Hetty feels excited when Limburg is referenced: she feels involved as a “Limburger.” Kirsten (18) mentions a similar excitement – “some sort of recognition” – when noticing posts about SR17 from other young people in her social media feeds. She says that this “makes it more important or so, when other people in your [social] environment are also engaged in it. That you think ... it is something for my age or so [laughs]. I don’t know, it does involve you more.”

Finding others in the eventsphere who are like them in some way, augments the event experience for Kirsten and Hetty; it enhances their involvement as they feel they are not alone, as “Limburger” or young person at this event. This sense of sociality, realized through automated connectivity, reaffirms that the event matters within the context of these fluid social circles. It provides a meaningful position for the event-joiner to inhabit the eventsphere.

5.3.2 POSITIONING ONESELF AS AMBASSADOR

One specific way for event-joiners to position themselves in the eventsphere is by acting as ambassadors: sharing content about themselves in the event as performance of social identity, anticipating others to get involved through seeing someone like them (or who they would want to be like). Positioning oneself as an ambassador goes beyond witnessing: it is not only showing what is happening and that one is there, it is also taking a stand, purposefully sharing content – aiming to reach the event-public and beyond – with

the intention of engaging distant others. As in all socialities addressed in this chapter, the choices of certain platforms, features, and functionalities in these practices of ambassadorship are governed by expectations of media technologies concerning automated connectivity, intimacy, visibility, and receptiveness of understanding others. These practices show similarities to those of influencers and lean on influencer culture (see Abidin, 2016, 2021), yet it is important to note that the following analysis does not concern professional influencers, and none of the interviewees performed ambassadorship at the studied events by request or for payment.⁸³

Practices of ambassadorship involve intentional media behavior that I encountered throughout all three eventspheres: ambassadors are committed to showing everyone the beauty, the importance, and the true image of the event. At SR17 and Pride18 – both events related to a good cause and raising awareness – these practices were particularly prominent.

Here [at Pride18] I really go full force ... on all social media platforms, to show that we are here and what is happening. I am usually not so personal on social media, but now I am. ... I find it very important that there is constant attention for ... what I do, or what the people do, here.



Figure 33: Instagram Story by Vera, Pride18.

Gijs's (53) words and Vera's (24) Instagram Story from Pride18 (Figure 33) echo the quintessential LGBT+ chant "We're here! We're queer! Get used to it!", taking one's personal position and claiming visibility for it in the public eye. This ambassadorship is enacted purposefully; it is not merely habitually showing where one is. Many interviewees, such as Gijs, note that they change their media routines and privacy settings for it, seeking a wide audience when they generally do not openly share too much personal information online.

As ambassadors, event-goers often aim to correct a particular image of the event or its visitors that they expect their implied audiences to have. Ruth (21) – visitor and volunteer at Oerol17 – says that by sharing posts and stories from the event on Instagram she tries to "bring across that it is so lovely here. Many people think that only older people go to Oerol, and this way I can show that that is not the case at all." At Pride18, many of my interviewees explain that they want to share a positive image of LGBT+ people and events – as Adi (44) words it, to "show that it is not just a fetish or whatever, it's also just a normal thing just to go to." Implied audiences and implied judgments often govern how my interviewees manage the visibility of their content or decide what to post. Robert (36), for instance, refers to disapproving family members when explaining why he deliberately shares photos of Pride18 publicly on Facebook. Femke (38) notes the opposite: "[I] didn't post anything on Facebook [about Pride18]. Everyone [of my Facebook friends] is gay-friendly anyway." These reflections highlight a central

83 — What did occur in the studied eventspheres, particularly on Instagram and Snapchat, was the re-sharing of event-joiners' content via the official event account; although this did not happen in the following cases, knowing that this might happen could have invited certain behavior.

concern which guides practices of ambassadorship: how to become visible to and engage specific implied audiences.

Intending their content to spread beyond their own personal networks, ambassadors often strategically employ hashtags. By using the event hashtag, they expand the eventsphere; as John (36) explains, “I try to make the hashtag bigger [on Instagram], just because I like to show Oerol ... to show that this exists. That we are here.” Whereas, as previously discussed, many event-joiners use hashtags to write themselves into the eventsphere and to reach beyond their immediate networks – relying on searchability and scalability of networked platforms (boyd, 2010) – in practices of ambassadorship, hashtags are used more strategically to tackle the conditions of platform culture of the late 2010s. Many of my interviewees – knowing that merely using the event hashtag will not get the number of views desired – add more general popular hashtags (such as “#instagood,” “#beautiful,” or “#travel”) to increase discoverability. These strategies exhibit how event-joiners as ambassadors navigate platform affordances to realize visibility of their event content among other publics.

The practice of strategically combining hashtags is also used to claim or frame the event in a specific way, referencing particular aspects of the event or deliberately manifesting a specific event-public. At Pride18, for instance, as a response to the broadening scope and name change of the event – from Amsterdam Gay Pride to Amsterdam Pride, to incorporate the full LGBTQ+ community – some event-joiners purposefully use “#gaypride” alongside the general event hashtags, to inhabit their part of the event-public and to frame the event as gay.⁸⁴ Lorenzo (29) explains this to me:

We still steadfastly use the gaypride hashtag. ... I do notice that in the gay scene, everyone says that Pride has become very commercial, and that's why we still like to use the hashtag gaypride. ... Because it is still necessary, and people don't realize that. And that is why I still use that hashtag gaypride even though it isn't called Gay Pride anymore. ... Many people agree with me on this, and it is also noticeable in our scene that people do still use it a lot.

The prolific use of “we” and “our scene” by Lorenzo shows that through “#gaypride” he establishes a specific kairotic us, performing social identity while concurrently aiming to promote a particular image of the event by adding content with the label “gay.” Others say that they deliberately do not use “#gaypride,” because, as Vera (24), whose photo was featured above, says, “[I] feel that I then contribute to exclusion.”

Another specific practice of ambassadorship on online platforms within the eventspheres is the use of temporary profile and/or cover photos

⁸⁴ — This was not only mentioned by some of my interviewees, but I have also encountered this in my digital data sets and online observations too. Further, in a preparatory meeting I had with the press officer and social media manager of the event, this was also brought up as an issue for the event organizers.

featuring the event and/or the related cause.⁸⁵ Noortje (24) tells me that, in the morning, on her way to the event, she changed her cover photo on Facebook to highlight Pride18:

I just find it super important, so I also think that ... people just have to know that it is there, aside from me just very much enjoying showing that I am there. But erm [pause] I do feel a little, well not that it is a mission or so, but just, I do want to propagate that message. So, I was consciously doing that by changing that cover photo.

Noortje's reflection shows that in these practices, self-performance through joining the event-crowd goes hand in hand with promotion of the event or cause; by showing the event as something that matters, event-joiners inhabit the position of someone who cares about this important event and issue. By changing these images, event-joiners merge essential elements for self-presentation in social media with the enactment of identification with a collective (Gerbaudo, 2015). These practices fit a more general social media user culture common within social movements, which is particularly prominent on Facebook and Twitter (see Figure 34).⁸⁶ Similar to dynamics in these social movements, as distinguished by Stefania Milan (2015a), event-joiners can – through these practices – “tailor not only their participation but also

their sense of belonging to a group” (p. 6). Despite the decreasing significance of the user profile on social media platforms, profile pictures remain prominent as avatars of the self. Moreover, whereas the user profile might not be looked up by others, changing the profile or cover photo during the event results in an algorithmically distributed notification, showing that this is going on and that it matters to the event-joiner.

The timing involved in this practice – these photos are placed before or during the unfolding event, and generally replaced shortly thereafter – shows that event-joiners can transform social and spatial borders to place themselves in

the event, yet the timing involved is determined.

Inhabiting the eventsphere as ambassador extends witnessing, as through these practices event-joiners make use of their privileged position. By sharing content, my interviewees feel, they contribute to the event – or, particularly in the case of SR17 and Pride18, the larger cause behind it – by increasing its visibility in various social circles. Lois (17, SR17) describes how she uses her stories on Snapchat to call on her friends to donate: “look guys, I have donated, so do this too!” The notion of actively participating, by making the event – and the self in it – visible through these practices, augments my



Figure 34: A Facebook Profile Picture with Pride Frame.

⁸⁵ — These types of practices are difficult to distinguish in digital data sets and require ethnographic work. Through online observation I noticed and got a sense of the scope of this practice; my interviews brought insight into the stories behind the activity.

⁸⁶ — I have not found out where this user culture started, yet it seems to be an interplay of use and platform affordances. Facebook, for instance, offers seasonal and event frames for profile pictures. Also, sometimes event organizers provide images to use in this way. It is thus often not so much a creative alteration of the profile picture, but rather the placing of one's profile picture into a frame, literally inserting the self into the event.

interviewees' experiences of togetherness and their social positioning in the eventspheres (see Madianou, 2013; Milan, 2015b). For instance, for Shevan (28), who describes himself as an LGBT+ activist (and LGBT+ refugee, as mentioned in Section 4.3.2), his social media practices at Pride18 are a way

to support the LGBT community ... also outside the Netherlands. Because some friends don't have the opportunity to live here. They still live in Syria or the Middle East or whatever. They are my friends on Instagram, Facebook. So, when they see these photos, it kind of gives them hope. ... It is not only about me, it is about all of us, you know.

By sharing his Pride18 experiences through Instagram and Facebook, Shevan positions himself in specific social circles that augment his privileged position at the event and establish a sense of togetherness. As social circles are fluid and functioning online and on the ground, implied audiences vary: Shevan references his friends on Instagram and Facebook who live in the Middle East; Nikki (19) speaks of her "many followers" on Instagram who "have parents who don't accept that they are gay ... or trans"; and Robert (36) mentions that openly sharing this content on Facebook for his family to see might help his niece in coming out as gay. Many of my interviewees at Pride18 mention that these implied audiences, located on the platforms they use, bring urgency to their practices of sharing content about the event. The privileged position of the witness – discussed before as pivotal in live media practices in the eventspheres – is deepened in these practices of ambassadorship: it is continuously articulated – as performance of social identity – through intentional visibility for implied audiences.

While many of the interviewees describe the sociality of ambassadorship as empowering, some also highlight how increased visibility puts them in a more vulnerable position. Many Pride-joiners mention that they might receive unkind or even hateful reactions to content related to LGBT+ issues within the platformed environment. Whereas the physical event environment provides a safe and comprehensible social bubble, their platformed environments involve a variety of social contacts: people whom they might meet face-to-face the next day at work, school, or their grandmother's birthday party. Navigating these different social circles which partly overlap and coincide on the same platforms can be complicated. Varen's (20) practices of managing (in)visibility in her Instagram Stories show that she is very aware of this. On the one hand, she uses hashtags in these stories to make her Pride-content visible to a wider audience; on the other hand, she specifically excludes some of her followers on Instagram "because I just can't predict how they will respond, and I don't particularly want their reactions ... because it is gay-related and they might have certain conceptions about that." Varen concurrently feels empowered – positioning herself as Pride ambassador, part of the Pride community – yet vulnerable in the gaze of particular others.

5.4

ANTICIPATED (IN)VISIBILITY AND IMPLIED (NON-)AUDIENCES

Vareen's management of (in)visibility in her Instagram Stories illustrates how concrete socialities – which shape the kairotic us – are established in the eventspheres, guided by anticipated (in)visibility and implied (non-) audiences: the anticipation, rooted in sociality, of content to matter in particular ways to particular audiences in particular mediated environments. Event-joiners envision whom they face through their practices, and their conceptions of automated connectivity, intimacy, visibility, and receptiveness of understanding others inform their choices of specific platforms and functionalities. Many of my interviewees refer to notions of public and private as aligned with degrees of intimacy, describing that they share their event experiences with “those nearest” to them through direct messages and stories, and that sharing through posts on Facebook and Instagram involves a “wider circle of people.” However, when examining event-joiners' practices more closely, it becomes clear that distinctions between “those near or dear” and “the outside world” are not so straightforward, nor neatly distributed over platforms or features. Divisions between private and open are ambiguous and continuously changing in the eventspheres, governed by platform rules and affordances, and by how these are actually used during the unfolding event. For instance, as seen in the previous section, the use of hashtags or locations with content that is generally secluded and ephemeral, such as Instagram Stories and Snapchat, complicates the understanding of this content as meant to be seen only for a limited time by a select group of followers or friends.

Through their live media practices, my interviewees continuously negotiate between *us* and *them* in terms of (in)visibility: showing oneself as a proud young LGBT+ woman to a worldwide Instagram public, yet hiding that picture from that relative who can be expected to make awkward jokes about it at the next family celebration; ignoring all WhatsApp messages from people who are not on the island for Oerol17, except for constantly updating that one friend group about Oerol17 experiences; deliberately using Snapchat for drunken videos so family and colleagues will not see, yet adding these to the geo-fenced Our Story of SR17, which is visible to all Snapchat users who tap into the event. Whereas the event *grounds* might be public territory, the *eventsphere* is not fully open: much of the communication in it remains below the radar, as it is established within closed groups or with ephemeral content. Further, the eventsphere's borders – determining who is in, and who is out – are fluid and permeable, and continuously negotiated through media practices. Consequently, the conception of the event as a social bubble away from the socialities of daily life is compromised. The following exploration will take these kinds of ambiguities as signposts: as invitations to examine how my interviewees negotiate – create,

break up, pause, and maintain – social relations, and establish situated intimacy, in the eventspheres through their navigation of (in)visibility and (non-)audiences.

The intimacy of the kairotic us in the eventspheres, and the inclusion and exclusion of others therein, revolves around timing: it creates a secluded instance of being together in a specific moment within the unfolding event. Generally, my interviewees deem their more instant and transient practices as more intimate, as Vera (24, Pride18) says about sharing in-the-moment videos through Instagram Stories:

That is sort of like sharing with my followers what I experience in that moment, so that feels like I sort of let it come close, as if I let them see alongside me in my life at that moment. ... A closer way of sharing I think, so to say.

Vera's description of "in the moment" as "a closer way of sharing" exhibits that the timing of the videos' (in)visibility articulates the degree of intimacy. The entwinement of timed (in)visibility and intimacy also becomes apparent when scrutinizing event-joiners' (non-)use of WhatsApp in the studied eventspheres. Many interviewees experience a sense of togetherness when sharing event experiences with designated others through WhatsApp. This is the case for Isabella (34; quoted at the start of Chapter 3), for instance, whose chats with friends, with whom she shares memories from previous Pride events, augment her situated experience of "being there again." Yet, while WhatsApp chats with distant others can foster instances of togetherness, they can also compromise the intimacy of the shared experience within the physical event environment (the event "bubble"). As Grace (28, Gerol17) notes:

It's funny, because my housemates have sent me a couple of apps [direct messages in WhatsApp], asking how it was, and then I thought, "actually, I just really don't want this right now." So, I answered them, "loads of fun, and you'll hear the stories afterwards." And after that I haven't [pause] [been involved in that ongoing conversation] and I actually really enjoy that. I am just not there for a bit.

The enjoyment Grace feels in "not being there for a bit" shows her resistance – in that time and place – of the automated connectivity ingrained in ongoing conversations on platforms such as WhatsApp. While she values the social bond with her housemates, she deliberately pauses the automated connectivity – which demands her involvement in the relation in that moment – because it does not fit her situated sociality at the unfolding event.

By negotiating this pause, by breaking contact with her housemates during Oerol17, Grace maintains the intimacy of the event bubble.

When considering the timing of (in)visibility in the sense of transience, articulations of intimacy commonly revolve around anticipated risks of the permanence of online content (boyd, 2008) and the sense of privacy in personal memories. Many of my interviewees deem the practice of sharing durable memories quite intimate, while sharing a moment is done more casually. This is apparent in Nora's (36, Oerol17) practice of managing privacy settings for her content on Facebook: "just a nice story or photos I will post publicly, but in time I then for example will change them [the privacy settings] to [only visible for] 'friends.'" While Nora manages the timespan of visibility for her Facebook images by hand, most of my interviewees, especially younger ones, rely on the algorithmic transience of (parts of) platforms for ephemeral content, such as Snapchat and Instagram Stories. Snapchat and Instagram Stories are often used more light-heartedly and spontaneously than other one-to-many platforms, as discussed in Section 3.2.3, because content is expected to be visible for a short time. As Sophie, a young woman at Oerol17, explains about her use of Instagram Stories: "I like that you give a quick look, but that it erm [pause] that it is gone after that, and that it can't be watched afterwards, I don't know, I find that comforting." This timed (in) visibility, whether algorithmic or done "by hand," exhibits how these live media practices are strongly shaped by expectations and desires of who will see – and not see – the posted content, and of anticipated responses and consequences.

Snapchat and Instagram Stories are generally considered intimate and safe social spaces by my interviewees, partly because of the transience of content visibility therein, yet also because of their implied (non-)audiences. As Karima (19, SR17) explains, "the threshold to post on Snap is much lower. Also because on Facebook, I have many more followers: on Snap this might be 50, on Facebook it can be hundreds. Many more people will see it all." Similarly, Jen (29, Oerol17) tells me that Snapchat feels more "personal" to her than other platforms, because "I only use it with people with whom I really spend a lot of time." The notion of the intimate group of friends on Snapchat is particularly prominent in my interviews. Here, event-joiners share funny content or make silly jokes among their friends or peers. As Lucy (23, Oerol17) explains:

Snapchat is really only actually [pause] friends who are close ... in some cases it is fun to send to certain people, but others could not relate, would think "what the fuck kind of photo is this?" ... Then I think "funny" or so, and other people then don't get that, so then you can better do that with Snapchat.

This in-the-moment sharing of ephemeral content within an intimate circle of recipients establishes the kairotic us that "gets" it. Through these prac-

tices on Snapchat and Instagram Stories – sharing inside jokes and group-specific references through, often visual, ephemeral content – event-joiners create secluded instances of being together which augment their “being in the unfolding event”: transient intimate social bubbles in which they feel safe and understood. My interviewees imply (non-)audiences, and their choices of platforms and functionalities enact their expectations thereof; they rely on platforms’ promises to share event experiences with those audiences who will make them meaningful and elude unwanted spectators.

My interviewees are thus not merely concerned about *how many* people will see their content; they care more about *who* will see it. Notwithstanding the significance of the secluded set-up of certain platforms, the practice of anticipating (in)visibility and implying (non-)audiences is messier. Interestingly, my interviewees often choose platforms for their more personal and secluded feel, while these are de facto quite openly accessible. As different platforms harbor different audiences (boyd, 2008; Van Dijck, 2013b), it can, for instance, feel more intimate and appropriate to share a photo publicly on Instagram than one which is exclusively visible to friends on Facebook, due to its implied audiences. Lenny (28, Oerol17) reflects on this paradox of visibility in his media behavior on Facebook and Instagram:

While I have more followers on Instagram, I am more conscious about what I post on Facebook. ... It is kind of funny, that you often share things with a huge audience, Instagram being fully public, anyone can follow you, and that you reflect on that less than when you post on Facebook with people who you know better.

For many young event-joiners, posting on Facebook has a gravity to it while sharing a story on Instagram or Snapchat is done more light-heartedly. While some of my interviewees know their platform-specific audiences very precisely, generally routinized use among peers has made some platforms – Snapchat and Instagram, in the studied eventspheres – feel comfortable, intimate, and personal to them, even when the content is published publicly. My interviewees know that implied audiences are not necessarily actual audiences.

Analyzing implied (non-)audiences makes differences discernible between practices that seem similar in media content or behavior, and provides a more nuanced and practice-based perspective on notions of private and public in the eventsphere. As different audiences can coexist within a single platform, I argue that it is not the actual, but the implied (non-)audiences that provide the social context that makes the live instance meaningful. Consider how Noortje (24) specifically notes two implied audiences for her videos from a boat in the Canal Parade at Pride18:

For some people, like family or friends or so, I just very much enjoy that they know what I am doing. ... With some people, it is very much sharing to let them share in the pleasure, and with others it is just [pause]. Yes, on Instagram I have quite a lot of followers whom I don't know or so [pause]. Yes, then it is [pause] I don't know, maybe also a bit erm [pause] showing like "look how cool this is." Not meaning to brag, but [laughs].

Both implied audiences provide Noortje with a sense of shared experience within the unfolding event, establishing the live instance by anticipated visibility to those who can value her live experience. For Noortje, involving her "family or friends" makes the instance a shared pleasure, while her "followers whom I don't know" affirm the "coolness" of it (see Schwarz, 2010). Raymond (44) – who held the title of Mr Leather Europe during Pride18 – uses two separate accounts on Facebook, tailored to his different audiences and roles.⁸⁷ Using his personal profile, only visible to his Facebook friends and their friends, he might post a nice picture of himself at Pride18 to share his experience or show what he is doing; his "Mr page is for everyone and there I post the more political stuff, or more related to the leather scene," and it is through this latter profile that he was really active on Facebook during

Pride18, as he had a representative role at many sub-events during the week (see Figure 35). These two accounts enable Raymond to keep some personal photos "private," and also not "bother" his personal social network with too much information relating to Pride18 or the leather scene. The variety of strategies discussed in this section, and throughout this chapter, exhibit how practices



Figure 35: Raymond/Mr Leather Europe at the "Pride at the Beach" Parade, Pride18 (Photo by Jeroen Ploeger).

revolving around notions of *private* and *public*, and *durable* and *transient*, have diversified in the past decade. Event-joiners tailor their practices to their needs, using the platforms they feel good about in ways that fit their socialities in that moment; the outside world can be invited in, the ephemeral can be made permanent, and what feels intimate is not always private.

87 — This is a common practice for people with a representative role, who need or want a public presence for that role, but do not want to share too much personal information publicly, such as politicians, artists, and teachers. Also, in the drag scene, it is common practice to have a "boy page" and a "queen page," as one of my interviewees, Lorenzo, mentioned, and as is also noted by Lingel (2017). Sometimes drags keep up separate pages to hide their drag activities from friends and family; in the case of Raymond and Lorenzo this is not the case.

CONCLUSION

The diversity of socialities in which the kairotic us is established in the examined eventspheres indicates the generative nature of media practices. My analysis has fleshed out the situatedness of these socialities in physical event environments, various platform contexts, and fluid social circles in which the event-joiner is involved.

This embeddedness enables event-joiners to use their live media practices to augment their event experience, reaffirm social bonds and perform their identity. The specific ways in which these socialities are formed hinge upon the interplay of affordances and expectations of media technologies concerning automated connectivity, intimacy, visibility, and receptiveness of understanding others. The last two chapters have highlighted authenticity as a recurrent theme – arguing that truly being there is realized in the memorable moment and embodied being-in-place – this chapter has shown that social “realness” is articulated in terms of the true self or the really personal. Truly being there live is thus socially realized, I argue, through the performance of identity.

Relating these insights to larger academic debates on publics and audiences, which often address issues of dispersed audiences and the lack of shared narratives (e.g., Katz & Dayan, 2017; Kaun & Stiernstedt, 2014; Livingstone, 2004), I argue that current-day live eventspheres still revolve around the desire for belonging and shared experiences. Moreover, as connective and collective media practices materialize myriad socialities within unfolding events, I argue that contemporary eventspheres encompass more rather than fewer collectivities. At times, the plurality of socialities realized in current cultural eventspheres – through the myriad platforms and multitude of content involved – dissipates the idealized sense of a unified togetherness and full immersion in the event, yet this plurality concurrently provides many more instances in which the kairotic us is established.

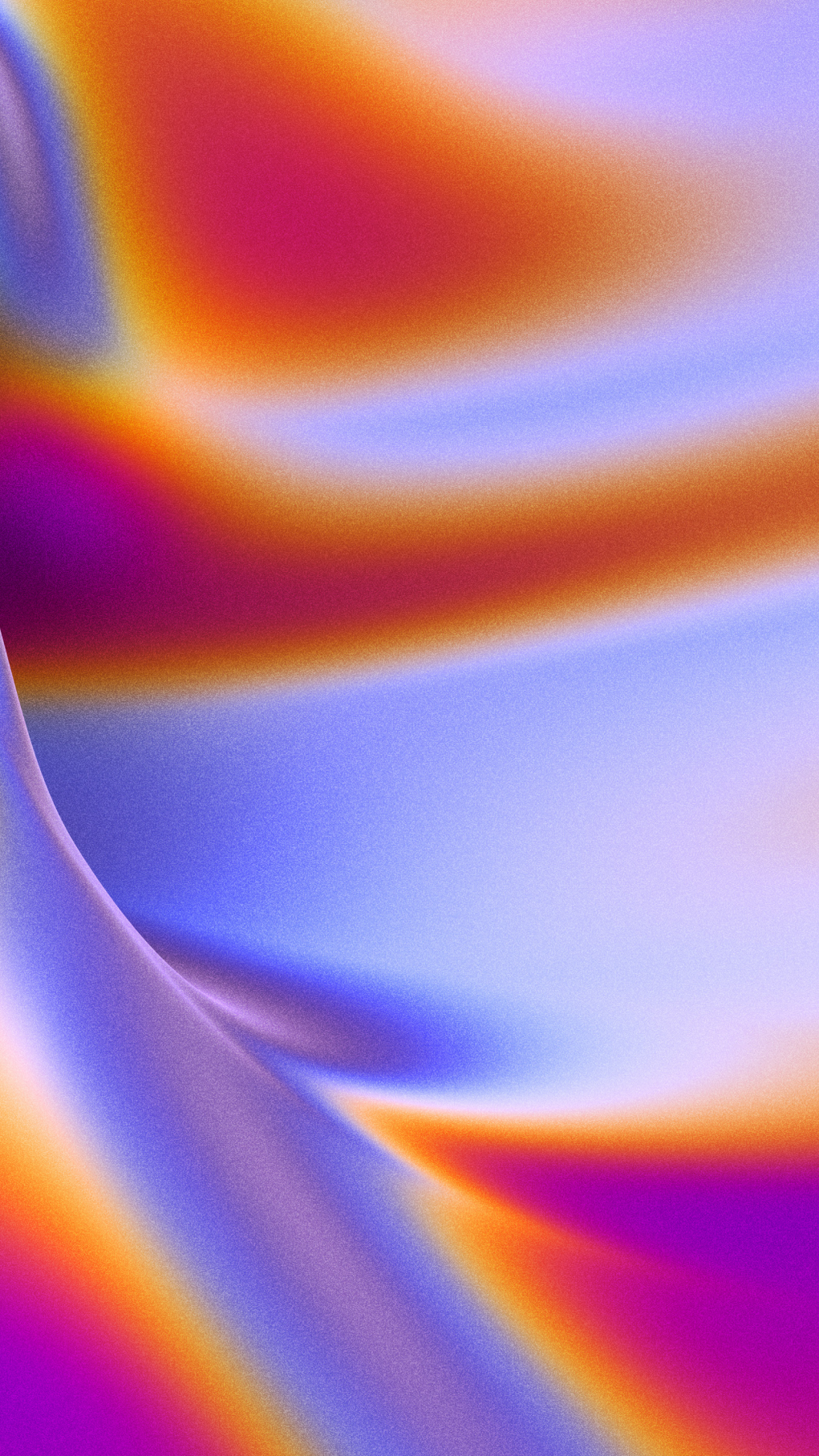
This chapter has conceptualized the kairotic us as a situated instance of being together – of shared experience – in which (in)visibility is timed to articulate (degrees of) intimacy with *implied (non-)audiences*. By proposing the concept of implied (non-)audiences – the anticipation, rooted in sociality, of content to matter in particular ways by particular audi-

ences in particular technological environments – I aim to provide an alternative to the scholarly focus on actual audiences, publics, or communities when studying liveness. It emphasizes how event-joiners customize (the visibility of) their live media practices based on whom they envision facing, revealing an intricate, fluid, and non-dichotomous system of public and private. As timed (in)visibility in the eventspheres results from the interplay of event-joiners' expectations and algorithmically determined action, it is strategically approached, yet never fully controlled, by event-joiners; implied (non-)audiences might differ from those which manifest.

The past three chapters have examined event-joiners' live media practices in Oerol¹⁷, SR¹⁷, and Pride¹⁸ from the angles of temporality, spatiality, and sociality, which, I argue, are the three constituting facets of liveness. My analysis has demonstrated how event-joiners inhabit the live instance as memorable moment, embodied being-in-place, and performance of (social) identity, and has revealed the significance therein of images, notions of (in)visibility, and event-joiners' awareness of the multitude of perspectives in the eventspheres. The next, and final, analytical chapter will further examine how *imaging* establishes the live instance.

CHAPTER 6

IMAGING LIVE INSTANCES: THE LOGIC OF PLATFORMED VISUAL PRACTICES



CHAPTER 6

IMAGING LIVE INSTANCES: THE LOGIC OF PLATFORMED VISUAL PRACTICES

*So, photos are erm [pause] extremely important
[pause] for an extra experience of something.
(Edie, 29, Oerol17)*

Images are everywhere in the studied eventspheres, and they are multifaceted. Images visually preconceive live instances: having seen manifold images of these and other cultural events, event-joiners are familiar with a variety of perspectives in the eventspheres before they step into them (see “image space” in Thrift, 2003), and they often imagine the photo they will take beforehand. Further, since digitization has simplified the making, keeping, sharing, deleting, editing, and filtering of photos and videos, images have become essential elements of live instances, both in daily life and at events. The most used connective platforms at the time of the study⁸⁸ are largely image-based, affording and facilitating diverse visual practices. The prominence of images, and the role of platforms therein, bring forth two insights that drive the analysis in this chapter. First, images in these eventspheres cannot be regarded separately from the platforms through which they are made and shared, and are thus investigated as platformed images. Second, due to their (multi-)platformed existence, these images are in many senses plural, and polysemic in new ways, as they are embedded in continuous platformed streams in which they concurrently appear in a multitude of places, in many different contexts (Hand, 2020).⁸⁹

Guided by the aim of investigating how liveness is established in visual practices, this chapter looks at images and the ways in which they are made, kept, shared, deleted, and edited by event-joiners of Oerol17, SR17, and Pride18. It examines how these practices are affected by both their platformed and physical event environments, and distinguishes visual tropes in the articulation of being “now here together.” By empirically studying visual practices, this chapter scrutinizes how platformed images impact event-joiners’ experiences of “being there live,” and how the studied eventspheres are shaped through such images. In that sense it draws on Katrin Tiidenberg and Edgar Gómez Cruz’s (2015) argument that it is increasingly through these platformed images that “we experience being in the world” and even “‘shape’ our world” (p. 79). Preceding chapters have demonstrated how images in the eventspheres perform memory, embodied being-in-place, and social identity. This chapter expands the analysis of the previous three chapters by examining how *imaging* establishes “truly being there live” within the eventspheres. Imaging, this chapter argues, creates situated instances of liveness. Contemporary events are open-ended and continuously unfolding through media practices (see Kumar, 2012); event-joiners know that their perspective is merely a small part of the full unfolding event, yet, nonetheless, imaging makes them part of it while it happens.

⁸⁸ — In the Dutch context.

⁸⁹ — In Gadamer’s terms, they achieve full presence on a multitude of horizons.

The notion of situating oneself through images is not new. The rise of the compact camera and amateur photography led Susan Sontag (1977) to assert that people put themselves in a “certain relation to the world” (p. 4) through taking photographs. Twenty years later, Mike Crang (1997) argued that taking a photo “is seizing a moment in a place” (p. 367): that images communicate situated experiences to audiences in other times and places. I maintain that positioning remains essential in imaging in present-day cultural events, yet current images differ from the photographs studied by Sontag and Crang in two crucial ways. First, as scholars have noted in the past two decades, images have become more transient, and image-making has become an everyday practice of immediate interaction with unfolding events (McQuire, 2013; Okabe, 2004; Van Dijck, 2008; Van House, 2011). Where Crang emphasized the gap in time and space between image-maker and audience, the studied visual practices at Oerol17, SR17, and Pride18 commonly involve audiences in the same temporal moment. Second, the platformed character of the majority of images in the studied eventspheres means that the process of situating does not only take place in physical surroundings, but also in the platformed environment.

Consequently, event-joiners’ visual practices establish situated instances of liveness by aligning platformed and event environments. Imaging in the late 2010s and early 2020s is a performative act incorporating presence, immediate communication, and social networking (Bolter et al., 2013; Larsen & Sandbye, 2014); or, in the words of Martin Hand (2020), it is a “conjunction of photography, social media, and a networked present” (p. 955). It is this conjunction – of images, platforms, and being there live – that lies at the center of attention here. Through platforms such as Instagram, Facebook, Snapchat, and WhatsApp, personal snapshots made in physical event environments are used to establish an instance of “now here together” through the enactment of memory, embodiment, and social identity. Images made in/for and shared through these platforms are affected by interfaces, likes, hashtags, and other platform characteristics. At the same time, event-joiners’ visual practices are also formed by their particular – physical and social – event environments. Differing physical surroundings – the urban scenery of SR17 and Pride18, and the natural landscapes of Terschelling for Oerol17, for instance – invite different types of imaging.

This chapter examines imaging in the studied eventspheres through analysing event-joiners’ visual practices in all forms – still and moving – as elements of embodied event practices (similar to “material visual practices” in Lehmuskallio & Gómez Cruz, 2016). The first section addresses how event-joiners’ behavior at the events – their embodied being in the physical event locale – is shaped by platform-specific types of imaging. Section 6.2 investigates how visual practices enact truly being there live. It argues that, in imaging live instances, the notion of authenticity is articulated in terms of *seeing*, *performative display*, and *authorship*. In Section 6.3, three popular visual angles are examined – the “360°/panorama, the selfie, and the first-person shot – to scrutinize how event-joiners visually realize their situated perspectives.

6.1

PLATFORMED IMAGING SHAPES EVENT PRACTICES

Platform-specific types of imaging shape event-joiners' behavior in event locales. Imaging positions the event-joiner in a particular way and seems to revolve as much – perhaps even more – around making the image than having, sharing, or keeping it. As Sue (31, Oerol17), words it:

It makes you stop and look, ... I don't know if we use the photos any further, but it's about, like, pausing in that moment, to take a photo and to really look at something. ... when we don't have a camera or something, we just kind of [moves fingers as if operating a camera], you just like, remember it, you know, just to take that kind of [pause] pause. So, we're more about the taking of the photo than the photo itself.

It is the act of imaging a memorable moment, embodied being-in-place, and social identity that is key here, even when the photo is never used, or not even taken. As Mimi (31, Pride18) says, “many of those photos are of course actually more fun in the moment than when you look at them later.” For most of my interviewees, imaging has become a habitus: a normalized logical way of *doing* the event. It has become a faculty in the way Merleau-Ponty (1945/1962) describes it: a way of experiencing and inhabiting the eventsphere.

Since the handheld camera became commonplace, photography has been prominent in our experiences and memories thereof.⁹⁰ Writing in 1977, Sontag argued that “photography has become one of the principal devices for experiencing something, for giving an appearance of participation” (p. 10). Whereas Sontag emphasized that visual mediation changes the way we experience, she also argued that the photo always follows and is never itself part of the experience. In her words, “the painter constructs, the photographer discloses” (p. 92). This, I argue, has changed with the pervasiveness of platformed imaging. First, as Van House (2011) points out, having a camera with us at all times in our mobile devices stimulates us “to see the world as a field of potential images” (p. 131). Second, in the past decade since Van House’s fieldwork, the convergence of mobile photography and platformed environments has led to the pervasiveness of platformed images which are readily made, edited, shared, encountered, and retrieved at any given time and place.

This section draws on and extends scholarship on affordances of media technology (Bucher & Helmond, 2017; Hutchby, 2001; Langlois, 2014) and social media vernaculars (Gibbs et al., 2015; Highfield & Leaver, 2016; Leaver et al., 2020; Pearce et al., 2018), and aligns with the growing ac-

90 — Memory has been extensively discussed in Chapter 3.

knowledge of entwined geo-ecological and socio-technical affordances in practice (Costa, 2018; McVeigh-Schultz & Baym, 2015; Nagy & Neff, 2015; Shirtcliff, 2019) by considering visual practices in their physical *and* platform environments. Each platform has its own visual culture(s), related to particular ways of sharing, the afforded timing, and aesthetic design (Schreiber, 2017). The following subsections will consider three distinct cultures of imaging – shaped by commonly used platforms and features in the studied eventspheres – that stood out in my fieldwork.⁹¹ These are, respectively, practices of collecting multiple images to post on Facebook, the pursuit of the “pretty picture” for Instagram, and raw instant imaging via Instagram Stories, Snapchat, and livestreams.

6.1.1 COLLECTING AND COLLAGING FOR FACEBOOK

Facebook’s features and structure promote collecting and collaging images, and such practices were frequently discussed by my interviewees. Within this platform one can smoothly post multiple photos and videos at once, as a post or as an album. The platform visually arranges these images in a collage layout: it shows the first four or five images neatly organized in blocks next to and under each other, adding “+ [number of additional photos]” to the last picture if there are more (see Figure 36). Even when many images are posted, these are neatly organized on the Facebook timeline. In addition, the platform invites users to add information to posted images, providing ample room for text above the collection, as well as with each individual photograph. In addition, with the image one can tag others, add a feeling, and check-in at a location. This invites users to collect images of their experiences, select the best ones, and post these as a report of what has happened.⁹²

Many of my interviewees who joined Oerol17, SR17, or Pride18 on the ground reference their practice of collecting during the event and collaging afterwards. For example, Joan (36, Oerol17) tells me that she makes “a nice collage for Facebook and for the friends who haven’t joined today.” Note that Joan uses the same word “for” to reference both her implied audience (her friends) and the platform through which she intends to do the sharing (Facebook). Whereas in communicative practice this “for Facebook” is easily understood to mean “for others to see on Facebook,” the prominent place that Facebook is given in this way of speaking reveals the platformed frame she has in mind in her practice of collecting and collaging. While some interviewees, such as Joan, share this collage at the end of the day, many others save their pictures until the full event on the ground is over. This is the case for Richard (46), a self-declared Facebook user, who “post[s] an album



Figure 36: Example of How Facebook Arranges Multiple Photos, Oerol17 (from Oerol Facebook Page).

⁹¹ — It should be noted that these cultures are continuously changing.
⁹² — This is a practice that was so common for many years that it has generated a collaging user culture that extends beyond the platform to apps and offline photo albums.

about my four-day weekend in Amsterdam. Amsterdam Pride. And there will be many photos on Facebook, probably with a couple of videos included.”

Richard’s speech implies that he envisions this album-to-be within its platformed context, already giving it the name “Amsterdam Pride.” The album is posted after his “four-day weekend in Amsterdam,” yet the practice of making it is clearly ongoing during the event. Richard, as many of my interviewees, does not post images in the moment, yet collects them with this album-to-be in mind and then collages after the fact. While the actual posting on Facebook is not strictly live, the activities undertaken – collecting and curating, and envisioning the album – are very much part of the unfolding event.

As most event-joiners use multiple platforms and the same platforms in various ways, the practice of collecting and collaging is often referenced in comparison to other practices. Ralf (42, Pride18), for instance, compares his after-the-fact posting on Facebook to that on Instagram, noting that the platform environment of Facebook affords “a more extensive” photo sharing, as you can make “a photo album, posting it as a whole.” Vivian (27, Oerol17) reflects on the difference between her practice of posting single images in the moment and making after-the-fact collages, both on Facebook:

You have short-lived snapshots, but you also have those that let you revel for a longer time. ... For example, I’ve taken many photographs of performances and I want to share those at a later time. To show that they were amazing. And I also don’t want to forget them. That is different than posting in the moment because it is a deeper experience or so.

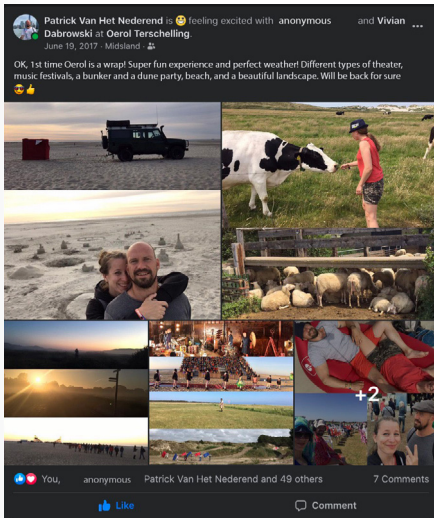


Figure 37: Collage Concluding the Event on Facebook, Oerol17 (by Vivian’s Partner Patrick; Text Translated by Author).

When asked what she means by a “deeper experience,” Vivian explains that she “walks around with the idea” of posting a collage of the performances at Oerol17 that have truly touched her: the impressions that she wants to keep as a memory and share with others as a review. This practice, engendered by the visual form of the Facebook collage, habituates new ways of seeing in the unfolding event; imaging special moments or “deeper experience[s]” during the event incorporates the reflective after-the-fact position in the live instance.

Further, many of the interviewees described after-the-fact posting

as a common way of concluding an event (see Figure 37). On Facebook, as the interviewees described, the convention is to post single images on the day itself – perhaps not directly in the moment but at least soon afterwards – to reflect “being there” in the moment, while the collage of photos is posted as a report afterwards, reflecting “having been there.” Collaging, then, according to the interviewees, is a form of reporting and finalizing the event as it is to be archived in event-joiners’ Facebook accounts.

6.1.2 THE HUNT FOR THE PERFECT INSTAGRAM POST

The Instagram feed is about sharing perfect pictures: beautiful images that visualize the splendor of one’s (good) life and its precious moments. Such images are commonly posted individually, optionally with a short text caption, hashtag(s), and/or location. The significance of aesthetics in Instagram practices becomes clear in the commonly used term “Instagrammable”: scenes from everyday life are beautified, photogenic aspects are elevated, and exceptional instances are articulated in a style that fits the standards of Instagram culture (Boy & Uitermark, 2017; Leaver et al., 2020; Manovich, 2017). Many of my interviewees refer to these standards. Vera (24, Pride18), for instance, describes herself, in relation to her Instagram posting, as “quite autistic, it all has to be prim and I have all that in black and white. So that does need to be erm [pause] sort of a perfect picture.” In her standards for Instagram posts, Vera incorporates the total view of her feed, and when considering her curatorial practices, she seems more concerned with how the image fits in her Instagram feed aesthetically than with what it captures. Kyle (25) mentions that “since I’ve been here [at Pride18] I have not posted a photo yet. ... Actually, I have not taken a photo worthy of Instagram yet. ... But I, will before I leave, post something to Instagram.” Kyle’s words reveal the quest of the Instagram-using event-joiner: to align their presence in both event and platform environments, event-joiners hunt for the perfect Instagram post that fits their event experience as well as their conception of Instagram aesthetics.

The visual criteria of Instagram culture guide event-joiners’ visual practices at the unfolding event, as much so as what is happening in the physical event environment. As Kyle’s words above imply, many event-joiners envision taking at least one great photo for Instagram at the event.⁹³ Some events and event locales are more “Instagrammable” than others, meaning that some event settings are more visually attractive and better fit Instagram’s “repeatable aesthetics” (Leaver et al., 2020). For instance, while Oerol17 provides exceptional tailor-made installations (see Figure 38) and



Figure 38: Examples of Instagram Posts Featuring One of the “Instagrammable” Installations at Oerol17.

93 — Section 3.1.1 has also discussed this form of pre-imaging.

beautiful landscapes, the mundane living room views and repetitive crowd scenes of SR17 take more effort to make “Instagram worthy.” Examining the Instagram data sets per event, the repeatable aesthetics of the platform became apparent. In their physical event surroundings, event-joiners look for that view or backdrop that fits their conception of a good Instagram post. They hunt for the perfect picture. At Oerol17, this results in many “typical Oerol posts” which do not portray actual festival scenes, but rather revolve around the beauty of the island of Terschelling, fitting the topic of nature popular on Instagram (Manovich, 2017). One recurring setting was a field of flowers that was not an event locale, but a meadow visible from a bike path leading to one of the bigger festival grounds (see Figure 39). For instance, Nina (20) was happy to find this beautiful place to take the pretty picture with her friend that she had envisioned. After 10 days of Oerol17, the field was ravaged by the many people treading through it for that perfect picture.

Many of the Instagram practices of my interviewees involve cap-

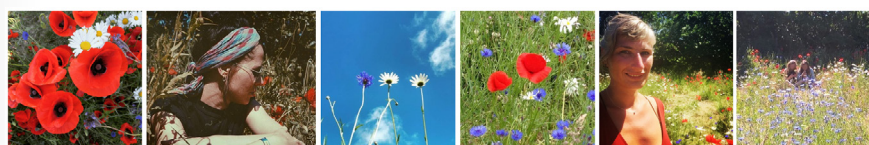


Figure 39: Examples of Instagram Posts with “#Oerol17” Featuring the Field of Flowers (2 by Lilian Remijn; 5 by @olgita).

turing these pretty settings, and then enhancing them to “make this pretty image even a bit prettier” (Marie, 29, Oerol17). This beautifying – polishing, editing, and filtering, both in the app itself and with other photo editing tools – is a common practice on Instagram (Leaver et al., 2020; Manovich, 2017; Tiidenberg, 2018). As discussed in Chapter 3, the introduction of Instagram Stories – encouraging ephemeral “raw” content to be shared – served to heighten expectations of perfection in images shared as part of the permanent Instagram feed. At Oerol17, when the Instagram Stories feature was less than a year old and growing in popularity in the Netherlands, Lenny (28) explains that

it actually became more important what that photo [post] was. ... you really have to be hanging beautifully in a palm tree and a perfect beach and [pause] yes, then you are tempted to edit. Of course, you use a filter. ... Your feed on Instagram, that also needs to look pretty. It is not only about that one photo but also how it [fits in the feed].

The post, as opposed to the story, needs to be perfect; it preferably displays a pretty view and/or subject, a feel-good topic or mood, in a visually attractive manner.

These aesthetic affordances of the Instagram feed – its standards of perfection and culture of polishing – foment a distinct understanding of the moment and a distinct way of establishing instances of liveness. While the platform’s name implies the instant sharing of images, Instagram has al-

ways been connected to a sense of nostalgia (Leaver et al., 2020; Zappavigna, 2016). Further, despite its privileging of new content through the feed's structuring and time stamps that express how long ago a post was made, the time of posting is often not in the unfolding moment. Polishing and curating takes time, both for material editing and mental reflection. Moreover, these images are intended to remain visible in the feed, finding their value more as lasting memories than as expressions of what is happening now. By bringing these visual practices into eventspheres, whether actually taking the photo or not, event-joiners perceive future memories within the unfolding event; they create and notice live instances and vistas for and through "the gram."⁹⁴

6.1.3 FUN AND MESSY INSTANT IMAGING: STORIES, SNAPS, AND GOING LIVE

The third culture of imaging that stood out in my fieldwork resides in platforms and features that afford instantaneous sharing of images and videos that are not necessarily archived or displayed permanently – most prominently Instagram Stories and Snapchat, but also Facebook Live and Instagram Live. These features, that gained popularity in the second half of the 2010s, have introduced a new visual language and new visual practices. Building on my analysis of the temporality and sociality involved in these practices (in Sections 3.2 and 5.4), this section addresses how this visual vernacular articulates the *experiential now*, in opposition to the curated and polished aesthetics of the Facebook or Instagram post.

This type of imaging is less serious, more impulsive, and less subject to qualitative standards, engendering distinct behaviors in the studied eventspheres. Whereas images made for Facebook and Instagram are generally expected to meet a certain aesthetic standard, and are posted sparingly or collated in albums to provide a durable memory of the event, stories, snaps, and streams are shared casually and continuously: at the event, but also when dressing for it, traveling there, or even when only thinking about it.⁹⁵ As Lenny (28, Oerol17) – who in the previous section was quoted speaking about the need for a pretty picture that fits the feed – explains, "those [Instagram] Stories can be anything ... and of course at a certain moment it is just gone, so then it is done, the photo. ... it is just less important." Also Vera (24, Pride18) – the self-described perfectionist when it comes to her Instagram feed – says that in her Instagram Stories, "I usually do weird videos of myself, or just funny stuff." Like Vera, many of my interviewees mention that – because of their less serious disposition – snaps and stories are used for sharing funny content or making jokes. These images are less about self-performance to a wide audience, and more about the enactment of social identity within situated intimacy.⁹⁶

Further, the aesthetic language in stories and snaps is more unpolished, incorporating both new visual tropes and templates, and continuing existing visual languages from older "instant" media technologies

⁹⁴ — For in-depth analysis of time in these practices, see Chapter 3, in which I distinguish between the experiential now and the now as future memory.

⁹⁵ — Several of the interviews that I carried out even made it into the eventspheres through these instant images.

⁹⁶ — See Chapter 5 for a discussion of self-performance, platform changes from profile-centered structures to socio-temporal algorithmic structuring, and situated intimacy on these platforms.

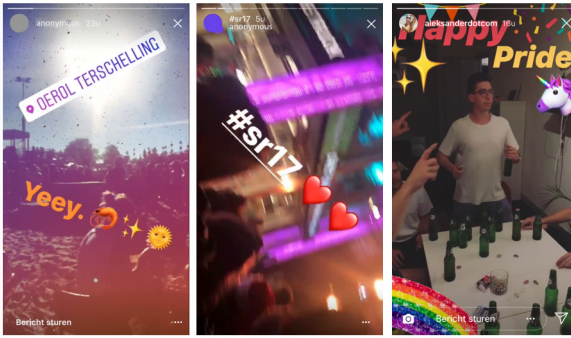


Figure 40: Instagram Stories from the Events Exhibiting the Feature's Aesthetics (LTR: Oerol17, SR17, Pride18).

me that she and her two friends made lots of Instagram Stories on their way to Pride18, “with the most colorful gifs and such ... [laughs] loads of stickers and colors.” The new visual characteristic that seems most influential, in the sense of changing the behavioral aspect of event and media practices, is the vertical display in stories, snaps, and most platformed streaming. As Leaver et al. (2020) argue, this indicates that these visual practices are promoted as native to the mobile device. The affordance of the handheld device brings forth additional aesthetic qualities that continue existing visual traditions rather than break with them. The aesthetic form of these instant photos and videos taken at the events remediates (Bolter & Grusin, 1999) that of the handheld camera introduced in the 1960s, particularly the visual language of event reporting on film and TV, and home videos at parties. This vernacular – often resulting in videos in which the camera pans from event-joiner to their surroundings or the other way around – engenders particular embodied activities on the ground: during observations, I have seen many event-joiners hold their phones up in the air, turn them around, and gather close in front of them.⁹⁷

These direct images are allowed to be of lesser quality – they are

often shaky, badly lit, of lesser digital quality, and not neatly cut or framed – because they find their appraisal in the instantaneous: the sense that the maker is part of the unfolding event at that moment (see Figure 41). Further, this raw style of imaging cultivates a vernacular that reflects authenticity, remediating a culture of aesthetics of film and television in which unrefined visuals were intentionally used to evoke a sense of “realness” (e.g., films such as *Festen* (Vinterberg, 1998), *The Blair Witch Project* (Myrick & Sánchez,

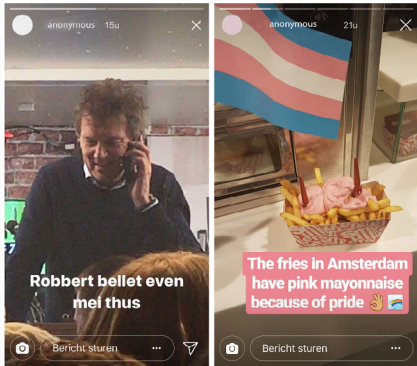


Figure 41: Examples of Instagram Stories from SR17 and Pride18 Showing the Unrefined Visual Style.

⁹⁷ — Moreover, newer forms of short videos, such as Boomerang, Hyperlapse, or Rewind on Instagram, afford very specific physical movements, such as jumping into the air together or doing specific dances that look good in these videos. This is even more the case now with TikTok, as this app has popularized certain dances that we see people do in public space. This current study does not examine this, as TikTok was not commonly used at the studied events. With its growing popularity, it would make for interesting research to investigate the embodied practices of TikTok in various environments.

1999), and *Dancer in the Dark* (von Trier, 2000), and many reality TV shows). In the 1990s, this style worked in contrast to the sleek and polished look of film and TV – in many ways a similar contrast as that between the story and the perfect Instagram post.

Stories, snaps, and streams in contemporary cultural eventspheres can be understood as forms of *cinéma vérité*, both capturing and creating the authentic live moment. Here, the live instance is established through a sense of unpredictability (one of the notions of liveness distinguished by Feuer, 1983), as Lorenzo (29, Pride18) remarks about his livestreaming on Facebook: “what really happens in that moment, of course you cannot change that in that moment. ... I like that, erm [pause] it all seems a bit more personal.” There is a sense of authenticity to media content that does not seem carefully planned and crafted, in which anything can happen, including unforeseen slips. Yet, while these images are understood as displaying the unfolding unpredictable moment, they are themselves part of that happening; stories, snaps, and streams have become part of event environments and create specific new physical realities. Consider how Matthew (34) speaks about the “authentic moment[s]” he enjoyed at Pride18 during close gatherings around a phone when making a live Instagram Story:

There is something funny ... the way I behave and the way people around me will behave as they see that you're doing the live ones. The kind of the live capturing. Then I think there is a certain kind of spontaneity and a kind of certain energy which you capture.

Matthew explicitly mentions that the practice of making these live stories intensifies the now in the physical event environment. These authentic moments are afforded and shaped by the visual and technological form they aim to produce: quick spontaneous gatherings around a phone for a live story, short funny dances together for a Boomerang video, making colorful annotated snaps and stories on the train to the event, or cheering for the livestreaming phone that pans the crowd in the event-joiner's hand. All of these embodied event practices have become an integral part of the physical event locale. Through these practices, event-joiners enact their immersion in the fun and messy cultural event.

6.2

TRULY BEING THERE LIVE: SEEING, PERFORMATIVE DISPLAY, AND AUTHORSHIP

Through platformed photos and videos, event-joiners position themselves in the eventsphere temporally, spatially, and socially, integrating their physical event and platformed environments. Often, my interviewees speak about their ultimate live experiences in terms of mediated visuality, using

words such as “shot,” “lens,” “camera,” “director,” and “angle,” not uncommonly seeing themselves as directors overlooking the full eventsphere and choosing perspectives, shots, and frames. These visual practices at cultural events are ways of inhabiting the eventsphere as it is “seen from everywhere” (Merleau-Ponty, 1945/1962, p. 79): event-joiners position themselves in the unfolding eventsphere through practices of imaging augmented by distant moments, elsewheres, and others, both in their physical and platformed environments. Continuing my argument that liveness incorporates seemingly paradoxical notions of authenticity – of truly being there live – as both enacted through media and in contrast to mediated presence, this section maintains that authenticity is articulated in event-joiners’ visual practices in terms of seeing, performative display, and authorship. My analysis of these shifting and diversified notions of authenticity will continue the argument made in Chapter 4 – that the sense of authentic nearness is often accompanied by a sense of agency in forming and sharing one’s own perspective – and will show that it is often through platformed imaging that event-joiners establish the live instance as truly being there live.

6.2.1 SEEING

A large part of truly being there live is grounded in the sense of being in the place seen so often through media. As Nienke (15) says about being at the Glass House, “**you always see it on TV and then it is nice to be there for real.**” Her use of the word “there” as opposed to “here”⁹⁸ shows that Nienke positions herself in that presupposed place, the meaningful event locale, that is familiar from TV. Further, she explicitly refers to “be[ing] there for real,” in which she articulates the notion of authenticity in contrast to mediated presence: seeing with one’s own eyes in contrast to seeing on TV. Moreover, it is not only the contrast with watching on television that is conveyed, but these previous mediated experiences of seeing establish the authenticity of this instance of liveness. Experiences of being “there for real” or seeing with one’s own eyes are only meaningful in instances of liveness that are situated by a manifold of mediated images of such instances seen before: by previous experiences of mediated seeing.⁹⁹ Truly being there live is then established in the visual practice of non-mediated seeing, in contrast to mediated seeing or imaging, and previous mediated images augment this live instance, lending it authenticity.

Seeing the event with one’s own eyes and being able to form one’s own perspective – unrestricted by a screen or the camera work of others – is often mentioned when my interviewees describe truly being there. For instance, Vera (24, Pride18) tells me that she tries to limit her phone use “**and just literally watch with my own eyes as much as possible Just truly being there, instead of watching through my phone.**” Watching through the lens or screen is often referenced as distracting (as discussed in Chapter 3) and restricting (addressed in Chapter 4) by my interviewees, the screen becoming a

⁹⁸ — In the original Dutch, *er*, as opposed to *hier*.

⁹⁹ — To clarify this contrast, this is not something you would experience or say when going to the office or the supermarket. However, the current COVID-19 pandemic has shown that, after a longer period of online classes and meetings, “seeing someone for real” has become a fitting expression in these cases.

tangible metaphor of technology standing in the way of the authentic experience. Watching through the lens or screen of their phone is experienced by my interviewees on the ground as less authentic, even though their bodies are in the same place and their eyes see the same view. As Femke (38, Pride18) words it, you look at the same thing, “**but then from a distance. With a barrier [laughs, then pauses] that is what it feels like for me.**” Danique (23, SR17) also feels that the screen hinders her authentic experience of being there live:

I feel that it is slightly different from seeing it live. I then see it through my screen and not live, while I know that I am actually there. I feel that live is much more real. If I watch it through a screen, even though I am standing there, I might as well have been following it from home via someone else's Facebook.

Whereas Danique routinely and constantly uses Snapchat in her daily life, in special instances – such as the revelation of the Glass House studio in SR17 – seeing through the screen feels less real and more removed.

Event-joiners especially limit their screen use in favor of seeing with their own eyes in peak moments and crucial positions. These instances of liveness hinge upon the multitude of images and perspectives in the eventsphere. For example, the actual view one has when on a boat in the Canal Parade is perhaps the most restricted of all those in Pride18: from this position event-joiners do not see much of the Canal Parade, and they cannot wander through the city to taste the atmosphere or meet people beyond the limited group on the boat. Moreover, their media use is limited since it is not convenient, nor desirable, to be on your phone too much when you are the main attraction of the event.¹⁰⁰ Consequently, the interviewees who were on boats in the Canal Parade were generally least active on social media during the Canal Parade, yet described using media heavily directly afterwards, in order to see other perspectives. Being on that boat not merely revolves around physical or mediated presence, but about seeing with one's own eyes, augmented by a diversity of mediated perspectives.

On the other hand, the media behavior and reflections of many event-joiners in this study show how essential it is to their live experience to share their perspective – to show “**what it was like for me**” (Tina, 19, Pride18). Many interviewees mention that they will do some quick Instagram Stories or snaps in these peak moments, or just take some pictures to capture being there. At the Glass House at SR17, Danique employs a common strategy to both capture the moment on video and see it directly (in her words, “live”): she holds her phone in the air, checks the screen quickly, starts recording, and then looks past her screen at what is happening. This is a practice that I have encountered often while observing on the ground, and particularly during peak moments of the events (see Figure 42). These strategies and practices of seeing – with one's own eyes and through the lenses

¹⁰⁰ — Interviewees note the inconvenience of keeping or holding their phone when in their costumes, and bad internet connections due to the networks being overloaded on the busy canals. Desirability is governed by etiquette on the boat, wanting to party, and wanting to focus on their physical surroundings and not only on their phones (also see Section 3.4).



Figure 42: People in the Crowd at the Glass House During the SR17 Finale Making Photos and Videos of the DJs' Last Moments in the Glass House.

of others – indicate that event-joiners actively combine various perspectives in the eventsphere, both materialized and anticipated. They have an understanding of what their perspective means within the greater picture and are aware of and actively look for the many other perspectives out there which augment their situated instances of liveness.

6.2.2 PERFORMATIVE DISPLAY

Notwithstanding these conceptions of the lens or screen as impairing the authentic experience of being there live, it is often by event-joiners sharing their perspective through platformed images that the situated live instance is enacted. Throughout this thesis, my analysis has shown the significance of platformed images for event-joiners positioning themselves in a certain moment, place, and social configuration. It is commonly through these visual practices that event-joiners *performatively display* truly being there live: the “now here together” is made visible and manifest – in the image itself, and within the platformed and event environments in which it is taken and shared. By investigating this type of imaging, the analysis in this section extends existing research on (visual) presencing – particularly Ingrid Richardson and Rowan Wilken’s (2012) postphenomenological investigation of presencing, and the work of James Meese et al. (2015) on visual presencing on Instagram – by embedding it in the contexts of cultural events and multiple platforms, and by including reflections of the “presencers” themselves.

When examining the performative display of truly being there live through platformed imaging, it becomes apparent that the spatial and the social are often visualized through concrete signs in the images themselves, whereas the temporal is primarily constructed through time structures implied by their platformed and event contexts (see Kaun & Stierstedt, 2014; Weltevrede et al., 2014), and the conventions and expectations involved in this practice.¹⁰¹ Visual presencing is done in the moment; it emphasizes being there now as opposed to the memory of having been there. Many of my interviewees refer to Instagram Stories and Snapchat as platformed contexts that promote – even ensure – the authentic now. Kirsten (18, SR17) expands elaborately on why she finds a story on Snapchat more “sincere” than posts on Instagram:

¹⁰¹ — In Chapter 5, I argued that expectations of platforms concerning automated connectivity, intimacy, visibility, and receptiveness of understanding others underlie the studied socialities. Here, again, these expectations surface in a specific manner, showing that visual presencing rests on this socio-technical sociality.

You have to post it immediately, and you cannot edit the photos first. Well, you can add a filter, but you can't edit it extensively or so. You post it immediately. ... I find that more sincere. ... Instagram is very neat and professional and look how [pause] how do you say, like "look how not acted this is" and then you really think, well it is acted. ... Snapchat either adds a white frame [to show that an image is previously made] or it is just posted immediately. ... Then I find it more genuine or so.

Here, Kirsten conveys that the authentic now is established through the guarantee – or promise – of immediacy by the platformed context of Snapchat.

Furthermore, Kirsten addresses two kindred aesthetic cues of the authentic live instance: the “unpolishedness” of content making the photos look unedited, and the amateur-like aesthetics of the images hinting that the photographer needed to seize the moment as opposed to take a pre-planned photo.¹⁰² These two aesthetic characteristics refer to two notions of visual authenticity: the image being genuine in the sense of not being altered, and the situation being genuine in the sense of not being staged (see Gripsrud, 1998). These aesthetic cues seem even more important when visual presencing is done through platforms that do not emphasize nowness as strongly. Images shared as post on platforms such as Facebook and Instagram do not obviously enact truly being there in live moments, as these platforms encompass many other types of images, with various time frames. Their time stamps signify the time of posting and not necessarily the moment in which the image was created, their locational features are not limited to the time or place of the event, and their feeds are increasingly algorithmically structured for social relevance rather than newness (Bucher, 2020). Consequently, event-joiners’ practices of visual presencing through posts on these platforms rely even more on the established conventions for these types of images – the unpolished aesthetics and the standard of in-the-moment posting – to become meaningful as such (see Figure 43). These images are distinguishable from others in the Instagram feed and Facebook timeline because of these aesthetics. Often, interviewees mention that these photos are, in these platformed contexts, only worthwhile or meaningful as part of a practice of visual presencing; they would not post them afterwards, as they are aesthetically not the best photos. The in-the-moment ontology of the post governs its

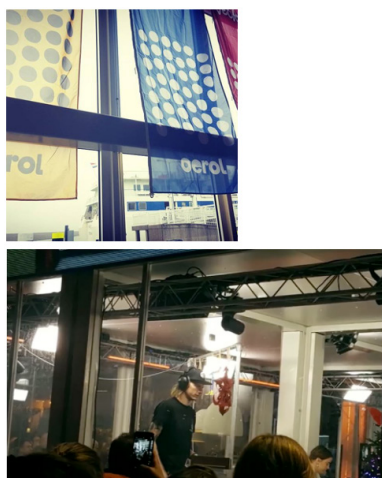


Figure 43: Visual Presencing: an Instagram Post at Oeroli17 and a Facebook Post at SR17.

¹⁰² — As discussed in Section 6.1.3, this association of raw amateur-like aesthetics is not new, but a well-established form in media theory and practice.

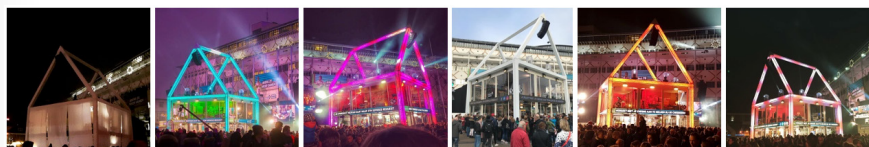


Figure 44: Images of the Glass House from the SR17 Data Set.

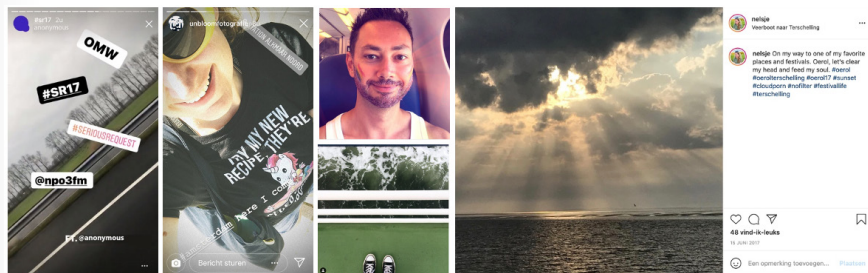


Figure 45: Examples of “On the Road” Photos on Instagram, both Stories (1,2) and Posts (3–5), (LRTB) SR17, Pridel8 x2, Oerol17 x2 (Photo 3 by @reflections79; 5 by @nelsje).

appraisal, and the raw aesthetics become a sign not only of the authentic live instance captured in the photo itself – unedited and not-staged – but also of in-the-moment posting.

The performative display of the *authentic here*, in contrast, does commonly involve concrete signs that reference place. In all the eventspheres, certain well-known event locales have become semiotic indices of the event, such as the Glass House at SR17 (see Figure 44). As Reinier (22) explains, “well, you are here, right, it is that house that we come to, so then it has to be in the photo. Otherwise, the photo could come from anywhere of course.” The “on the road photo” is another prominent trope in the performative display of the authentic here in the studied eventspheres (see Figure 45). Whereas these images do not position the event-joiner at the event, but rather on their way there, this practice can be seen as the ultimate performance of embodied being-in-place. These photos display the physical experience of changing place to join the event, transitioning from daily life to the eventsphere. For instance, in the visual network of my Oerol17 Instagram data set, a significant cluster consists of boats (which are needed to get to the island of Terschelling) and when geographically mapping images from this data set the ferry route becomes visible (see Figure 46 on the next page). For many Oerol-goers, the festival starts when they get on the boat, and many interviewees mention that their first event photos were taken en route.

The *social* aspect of truly being there live is also often articulated through concrete signs in the image itself, prominently in the form of group pictures and “selfies with other(s)” (see Figure 47 on the next page). The photo at the Glass House referenced by Reinier (quoted above), for example, is a group selfie. While Reinier emphasizes the importance of the Glass House in the picture, his friend Marloes (21), who took the photo, was not bothered that it turned out not to include this placemaking backdrop. “You only see us [in the photo]. That’s what it is about, right, so that is very nice. I actually just wanted to take a picture of us, not necessarily with the Glass House [laughs].” For



Figure 46: The “Boat Cluster” from the Oerol17 Visual Network and the Ferry Route on the Image Map.

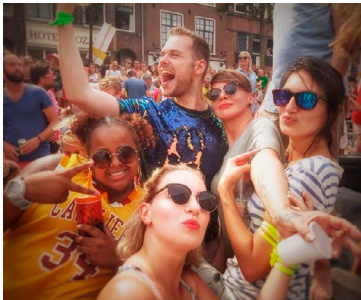


Figure 47: Example of a Group Selfie, Pride18.



Figure 48: Instagram Post of Event-Joiners with One of the DJs in the Glass House, SR17 (by Marinde van de Giessen).



Figure 49: “I’m-in-photos” Using SR17 Merchandise.



Figure 50: “I’m-in-photos” Using Oerol17 Wristbands.

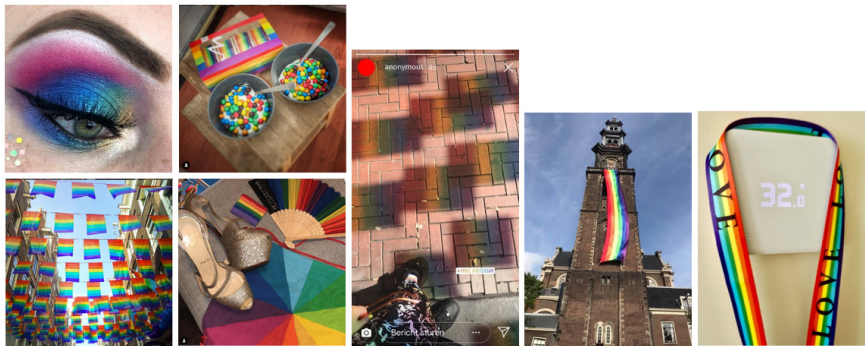


Figure 51: “I’m-in-photos” from Pride18 Using Rainbows (LRTB Photo 2 by Greetje Kamps; 7 by Eduard).

Marloes, as for many others, visual presencing is mainly about showing with whom they are there. The selfie provides a simple way for the event-joiner to capture being there together: the close frame creates visual closeness, as people come together to fit in the frame.

One specific way in which pictures – often selfies – with other(s) become a performative display of truly being there, is when these images include a prominent person at the event. These persons then become semiotic indices of the event. For instance, at SR17, many photos are taken with the DJs in the Glass House (see Figure 48). At Pride18, Raymond (44) – who participated in many of the Pride18 events in his role as Mr Leather Europe – was frequently asked to be part of selfies (see Figure 56 in Section 6.3.2): “people really like that. They are keen on getting a selfie ... with Mr Leather Europe.” Because of his role, Raymond can be seen as a visual emblem of the event, personifying the leather scene and parts of the gay scene.¹⁰³ Consequently, for many event-joiners at Pride18, a selfie with Mr Leather Europe is a performative display of their situated live instance.

As the phenomenon of the eventsphere is quite abstract, event-joiners need not always reference concrete places or people, but also commonly inhabit it by using other indexical and symbolic signs in their images. A clear recurrent visual trope is what I call the “I’m-in-photo”: visual presencing images which employ merchandise or other event-related items or visuals (see Figure 49). Tangible items or visuals provided by the platform – such as filters or stickers – are used as props to visualize what is invisible: the experience of being part of the eventsphere. For instance, the visual network of my Oerol17 Instagram data set shows a cluster of pictures of people visually “chaining” themselves to the event by photographing their wrists with the wristband that provides entrance to Oerol activities (see Figure 50). Sometimes these images only show an arm with a wristband, yet often this form of visual presencing is combined with elements described above, showing a placemaking background, or multiple wrists to portray togetherness. In images from Pride18, the rainbow – a symbol of the global Pride movement – stands out (see Figure 51). Event-joiners use rainbow flags, makeup, clothes, as well as platformed stickers or filters in Instagram Stories and Snapchat to show that they are celebrating Pride18.

In Eduard’s (42) description of taking the photo on the right in Figure 51 (a Facebook post) at the beginning of Pride18, we can get a sense of how these images work: “It was boiling hot, and I had just bought that key cord. And I was like, I was excited about Pride, looking forward to it, so I was like let’s go, thing on the thermostat and erm [pause] photo.” On a denotative level this image seems very random and does not portray much meaning; it does not tell us anything about when, where, and with whom this is made, only the temperature and the word “love” can be read. Yet, the image’s platformed context on Facebook, its timing in the event context, and the connotative meaning of the signs therein reveal its performative character: Pride18 has started for Eduard in the midst of a heat wave in Amsterdam. This is Eduard’s way of declaring Pride18 open; this performative display situates Eduard in the time, space, and public of the event, establishing a situated live instance.

103 — In 2019, he also became an official ambassador of Pride Amsterdam.

6.2.3 AUTHORSHIP

The authorship that event-joiners gain through practices of performative display engenders a third notion of authenticity in their visual practices. By sharing their situated perspective in the eventsphere, my interviewees often explain, they assert their privileged witnessing position and gain a sense of agency in imaging the event. This sense of authorship in imaging can be seen as the culmination of many strands of argument throughout this thesis concerning extended witnessing:¹⁰⁴ in the role of *author*, the event-joiner reifies her privileged position as witness, by letting others watch “through her eyes.” Further, as author the event-joiner has the ultimate power to image the situated live instance: to govern both the image of and her own position in the live eventsphere.

Event-joiners’ authorship authenticates images, both for the maker and the viewer. Many of my interviewees deem images made by other event-joiners, particularly their friends, to be more authentic than those created by event organizers and broadcasters. One point made by my interviewees is that these images show them different perspectives to the event, “*not only your own experience*” (Lucia, 52, Oerol17), or the view provided by broadcast media. Particularly at SR17 – the event most highly mediated through television, broadcast livestreams, and official accounts on all social media platforms – my interviewees mention the authenticity of images from friends in contrast to the “official” ones. Judith (47) says that she finds it difficult to explain, but she feels strongly that Facebook images from her friend at the event are more meaningful than those posted by the official SR17 account, because they bring a personal perspective:

Probably, the photo posted by Serious Request is better than that by my friend, but still, because that [pause] the one by my friend is probably more personal. ... That she takes a picture of the part that she finds interesting. Perhaps a selfie, with the Glass House and the DJs and such, and well [pause] a photo of the Glass House by 3FM lacks this.

As Judith notes, the value of these images is not aesthetic, but rather lies in the personal perspective conveyed. Moreover, the authenticity of these images is again reinforced visually by the lesser aesthetic value – by their rawness (see Figure 52). As Dennis (20) expresses, watching his friends’ videos from SR17, “*in which you can’t see who is who because of bad quality, but you do hear the sound,*” gives him “*more of a sense of being there*” than the official livestream. Many interviewees say that these personally authored images bring them closer to the event than the official ones.

¹⁰⁴ — This argument is developed particularly in Sections 1.2, 3.3, 4.1, and 5.3.2.

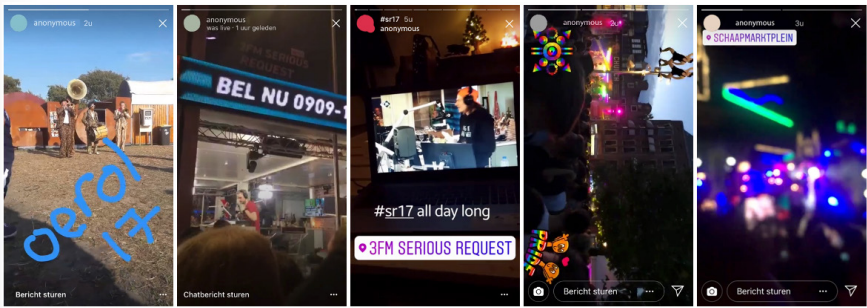


Figure 52: Examples of Personal Perspectives in Raw Instagram Stories, (LTR) Oerol17, SR17 x2, Pride18 x2.

These reflections indicate shifting notions of authenticity, in which personal perspectives and authorship seem paramount. As Katie Warfield (2020) argues, in her phenomenological exploration of selfies, “authenticity ... becomes less about a measure of reality and more about control of authorship” (p. 291). Increasingly, event organizers are aware of this and employ influencers or other ways of manifesting the personal view. At SR17, for example, DJs and guests in the Glass House made Instagram Stories through which, as Marit (15) says, event-joiners can “see more of what happens on the inside. ... It’s everything that happens inside, that you normally don’t hear or so, happens there.” These personally authored stories give Marit the sense of seeing (and hearing) inside the Glass House, which in itself is not that exceptional, as the event revolves around the constant visibility of the DJs: the Glass House itself is see-through and viewers can always see what is going on inside through 24-hour live streams from various camera angles inside. Certainly, these stories can display things that would not be visible or audible otherwise, yet it is predominantly the personal perspective and commentary in these platformed videos that establish them as authentic live instances.

Returning to the position of the image-producing event-joiner, authenticity through authorship also brings to the fore a tension inherent in the reconceptualization of liveness in times of user-generated content: while authoring positions the event-joiner in the live instance, it concurrently places her in the outside role of the spectator who captures the happening rather than being involved in it. Many of my interviewees mention that taking photos and making videos positions them differently at the event on the ground. As avid amateur event-photographer Eduard (42, Pride18) explains, “when I have a camera in my hands ... I look at things differently. ... Then I will really be observing what I see happening and what people are doing. Instead of partying or talking to someone.” In this sense, authoring turns the event-joiner into an event-observer, a witness who is not truly part of it. As authors, event-joiners engage with the two paradoxes – concerning authenticity and constructedness – distinguished in Section 1.2: the contradictory experience of the live moment as natural or not-staged versus the effort going into producing it (Gripsrud, 1998; Van Es, 2017), and that of the meaningful live instance as something that is tapped into and created through media practices.

My analysis throughout Section 6.2, of the visual articulation of authenticity through seeing, performative display, and authorship, shows that imaging plays a crucial part in the sense of truly being there live in contemporary cultural eventspheres, and that notions of authenticity therein are diverse and often contradictory. Similar visual practices can simultaneously establish and ruin the situated live instance. In these heavily mediated events, notions of authenticity are shifting, and event-joiners' visual practices and platformed images establish realities rather than reflect them.

6.3

IMAGING THE SITUATED LIVE INSTANCE: THREE POPULAR ANGLES IN PERFORMA- TIVE DISPLAY

Event-joiners' perspectives – their situated visual viewpoints – are crucial to the live instance in contemporary cultural eventspheres: my analysis throughout this thesis has asserted that the eventsphere is constructed by amalgamated perspectives, and that event-joiners inhabit the eventsphere by creating situated perspectives. I argued, in the previous section, that this “creating” is done through the imaging practices of seeing, performative display and authorship; in this final section on imaging live instances, I will further explore how event-joiners create these situated perspectives, by examining the “grammar” (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2021) of images from the eventspheres, and considering their technological, compositional, and social modalities (Rose, 2016). More specifically, I will explore three popular angles in visual presencing practices distinguished through analyses of my Instagram data sets and online and offline observations: the 360/panorama, the selfie, and the first-person shot.

This focus on *the angle* enables me to investigate how event-joiners visually realize their situated perspectives: how they articulate their event experiences and socially interact through these images. Angles impact the relation between the photographed, the photographer, and the viewer – between the event, the event-joiner, and her (implied) audiences – and consequently affect what is communicated (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2021; Rose, 2016; Zappavigna, 2016). By analyzing event-joiners' use of angles, I can examine how they situate themselves in the unfolding eventsphere by positioning the implied viewer in specific ways. Further, as visual grammar is grounded in group- and context-specific practices and cultures (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2021), studying the articulation of live event experiences through angles in platformed images sheds light on the affordances and common-sense of the event and platform cultures in which these images are made and shared.¹⁰⁵ Through analyzing these three common visual angles in the images themselves, observed behavior, and reflections of my interviewees, this section examines how these angles shape instances of liveness for the event-joiner.

¹⁰⁵ — In the studied eventspheres situated in the Netherlands in the late 2010s.

6.3.1 THE 360 OR PANORAMA: “LOOK AT THIS AMAZING SITUATION”

During my fieldwork on the ground, I observed many event-joiners rotate with their phone in the air, imaging the physical event surroundings in which they were immersed. This 360-degree, or panorama, imaging has become a common practice in contemporary cultural events.¹⁰⁶ When regarding these images in their platformed contexts, two categories of 360 imaging can be distinguished in the studied eventspheres, each with a slightly different emphasis in what is shown and how the event-joiner is positioned. First, there is the “pretty” panorama image, more often a photo than a video, typically shared as a post on Facebook, and sometimes on Instagram. Second, there is the fun and messy 360, more often a (short) video than a photo, that is typically shared through Snapchat and Instagram Stories. Both these types are also made in and/or shared through WhatsApp, as well as made to keep or to show others at home. In both types, the 360-degree angle emphasizes the physical event environment: the atmosphere, the spectacle, and the crowd. These images are about showing the amazing situation in which the event-joiner is involved.

The typical panorama photo posted on Facebook provides an overview of what is happening in the event locale, and while it often positions the viewer above the crowd, it expands the event-joiner’s embodied immersion in it, by making her surroundings visible. Panoramas taken with a hand up in the air, in particular, visualize what is sensed but not seen by the event-joiner in the crowd. Some physical event locales are more inviting than others for these pretty panorama images, such as the Noordsvaarder beach during a party at Oerol17, the event locale in which this practice was most prevalent in this study (see Figure 53). As Carry (52) expresses:



Figure 53: Drone Shot of “Dansen bij Eb” (“Dancing at Low Tide”), Oerol17 (Photo by Jelte Keur).

I found it so beautiful to eh [pause] see a lot of dancing happy people here, and then such a beautiful beach there, and a beautiful sea and [pause] ... This is of course a super, super pretty place, great weather, nice people, good music ... [I] am totally happy here. ... It is very hard to explain what it is like here to people on the mainland, and you try to capture some of that in such a photo. ... I think that is what you want, you want to get across, like, oh it is so much fun here, look how much fun it is here.

Carry tries to display the amazing happening that she is part of, to make the viewer understand how special that event locale is. For the event-joiner,

¹⁰⁶ — As professional 360-degree cameras are becoming more affordable, this way of portraying might become even more prominent in the future.

taking a panorama photo means taking a step back to view the situated live instance – the crowd and the location – while remaining in it. Eveline (35) tells me that she was taking a panorama photo for Facebook at the same beach party, “because I don’t do that so often and I thought, in my opinion, this is a very pretty setting for a panorama photo. ... This is pretty idyllic.” In Eveline’s reflection, we discern both the physical event setting and the platformed context as affording this angle. By noting that she does not post these types of images often – implicitly reasoning that she can or should because Facebook provides this option, or perhaps because she sees others post these images – she conveys that she deems this an instance to seize for making a panorama image. Both event and platform contexts afford the practice, and the practice itself affirms event-joiners’ unique position in that live instance.

While pretty panorama images predominantly emphasize the position of the event-joiner within this wide view of the event locale, the more fun and messier 360 shots common on Snapchat and Instagram Stories generally display more of the event-joiner’s immersion in the crowd (see Figure 54). These images – often short videos with a close panning shot – are made in any event locale, but preferably a visually richer one, to give a sense of the direct surroundings in which the event-joiner is immersed. As Matthew (34) says about the 360-pan in many Instagram Stories, “maybe that’s because it’s Pride and you have so much going on around you.” The event environment is referenced here not so much as pretty, but as exciting and eventful, showing what is immediately around the event-joiner as opposed to the wider surroundings. Often, the situated event-joiner incorporates herself – her body – in these 360 stories and snaps, by panning from a close-up shot of herself to her surroundings, or the other way around.

These 360 images make visible, direct and up close, where the event-joiner is and what she sees directly around her. Isabella (34, Pride18) tells me that she made quite a few 360 videos in Instagram Stories, “to share it with, like, every one of my Instagram followers, that I am here at Gay Pride, it’s fun.” The scope of these ephemeral, more raw, snaps and stories is different from the pretty posts: they are more up close and personal, performatively displaying the fun of immersion in these direct event surroundings at that moment, whereas the pretty panorama photo often aims to display the wider perspective, and thus positions the event-joiner in the larger event locale.



Figure 54: Example of a 360 Story on Instagram, Pride18.

6.3.2 THE SELFIE: “LOOK I’M HERE, WE ARE HERE, WE’RE HAVING FUN”

The selfie is one of the most popular forms of images shared through social media; it has become a standard composition in platformed photog-

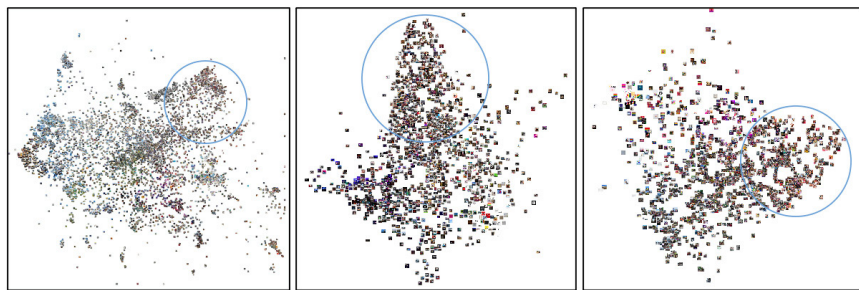


Figure 55: Selfie Clusters in the Visual Networks of (LTR) Oerol17, SRI17, and Pride18.

raphy and was consequently prominent in the studied eventspheres (see Figure 55).

The selfie angle is pervasive in all physical event environments, and not specific to one platform, although its aesthetics do vary depending on the platformed context.¹⁰⁷ The selfie is a frontal close shot that prominently shows the event-joiner's face, yet it can be extended to high, low, and medium angle shots (further extended when a selfie stick is used) to include others or a significant backdrop in the image. As growing academic literature in recent years has highlighted, the selfie angle provides a way of positioning oneself in the world (Tiidenberg & Gómez Cruz, 2015; Warfield, 2020; Zhao & Zappavigna, 2018b). It is thus a common go-to for event-joiners to position themselves in the eventsphere.

By foregrounding the event-joiner's face and facial expression, the selfie positions the viewer to see not so much the event setting, but rather the event-joiner's mood in that live instance. When speaking about their selfies, many of my interviewees refer to their face expressing their feelings, most commonly fun and happiness at the events. As Debbie (51, Oerol17) explains:

You can then read from my face how, in that moment, I, how I experience it. ... So, then I have the Betonning [festival location] with nice music in the background, and then you see my head that shows that I am truly enormously enjoying myself.

For Debbie, this emphasis on her face and expression means her implied viewer “gets a better sense of how tremendously fun it is here.” Many of my interviewees feel that selfies are more personal: as opposed to just capturing what is happening, these images display both the happening of and the emotional state in the live instance.

The group selfie is particularly influential in the eventspheres, as it is the most prominently used type, and it physically positions people in a particular way. Whereas traditional group photos have made people scoot in to be in the frame, the close frame of the selfie, due to the proximity of the camera at arms-length, makes them gather even closer. Event-joiners wrap their arms around each other and place their faces cheek-to-cheek; they often come physically closer than they otherwise would have in the same social situation. In his manifold selfies as Mr Leather Europe at Pride18,¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ — The concrete aesthetic differences between selfies on various platforms is not the focus of this section, but briefly, these follow the lines sketched in Section 6.1, with Instagram posts being the most “pretty,” often edited to be “beautified”, Facebook posts the most straightforward, and stories and snaps often involving funny filters or stickers.

¹⁰⁸ — See Section 6.2.2.

Raymond (44) often deliberately uses this physical nearness to overcome social distance (see Figure 56).

When I am fully dressed in leather I can be [intimidating to some people]. And so, I've learned that you sometimes need to draw people closer and that works as a great icebreaker. ... The whole distance is gone because of a selfie.

Practices of taking selfies with others create new social realities. The intimate gatherings in front of a phone, prevalent in the eventspheres, are often reflected on by my interviewees as true moments of being “now here together.” These live media practices incorporate the seeming opposites of authenticity and constructedness: notwithstanding the notion of authenticity as not-staged, the staging itself – calling people together to create these images – constitutes new authentic live instances in which event-joiners see, performatively display, and author their excitement about being there together in the eventsphere. The popular visual form of the selfie, afforded by design and cultures of smartphone use and platforms, shapes how live instances are created, both online and on the ground.



Figure 56: Raymond (Left) Taking a Selfie with Someone at Pride18.

6.3.3 FIRST-PERSON: “COME, I’LL SHOW YOU WHAT I AM EXPERIENCING”

The first-person shot is a third prominent angle imaged in the studied eventspheres. These images are point-of-view shots of the event environment incorporating (body)parts of the photographer in the picture – often hands or feet, but also hair or shoulders. These shots display both elements of the event-joiner herself, and her situated and often “in action” view in the eventsphere.¹⁰⁹ The angle is similar to that in first-person games, where players can look around as if standing in the game locale and see the hands and arms of their character. In cultural eventspheres, these images typically include hands holding a drink or feet on a dance floor (see Figure 57). This angle is most prominent in Instagram photography (Manovich, 2017), yet also appears in Facebook posts, snaps and



Figure 57: Examples of First-Person Shots at Pride18 and Oerol17.

¹⁰⁹ — Michele Zappavigna (2016) categorizes this type of platformed imaging as “inferred,” as, she asserts, “the relationship [between photographer and viewer] is not constructed through the gaze of a represented participant, but via the inferred presence of the photographer manifest in the visual structure” (p. 284).

stories on several platforms, and WhatsApp messages. Platformed first-person shots invite the implied viewer into the experience, establishing “a form of visual co-presence” (Zappavigna, 2016, p. 288). Through this way of imaging, the event-joiner writes herself into the scene; she vicariously shares her situated experience, what she is doing and seeing, and – often through captions or hashtags – how that feels.

Gillian (29) took several first-person shots of the experiences she and her friend Edie (29) had together at Oerol17. One of the images she describes is an “on the road photo” taken on the boat. It shows their view of the sea and the distant mainland, as well as their feet on the boat railing, both wearing the same type of casual shoes, giving the image a funny twist as well as expressing a leisurely style and posture. When asked why she likes to use a first-person angle, Gillian explains:

I think more, like, look, we are there, we are also there [laughs] because of the feet ... and I also just thought it looked funny, on that railing, ... those shoes, and then both All Stars ... that made the photo funnier, nicer.

As Gillian expresses, the feet in the picture alter the image, make it “nicer,” less plain than a view of a landscape that anyone could have made. This type of image – with feet on a railing, drinks in hands, hands on the steering wheel of a bike, or hair blowing in front of the camera due to the beach wind – captures not so much the event locale as it is, but as it is experienced through the body of the event-joiner. Notwithstanding the embodiment in authorship of other types of images, this particular angle foregrounds embodied being-in-place in the image itself, by imaging both the body in active form, its perspective, and its situatedness. It articulates, to paraphrase Gillian, that you are physically there experiencing the event. First-person shots do not emphasize the view of the event-joiner, but perform her embodied event experience. Visually, these images invite the viewer into the event locale through the body of the event-joiner, to vicariously inhabit space in the eventsphere through her positioned body.

This angle of imaging affects the embodied experience of the event-joiner in the physical event environment, as it augments it with a platformed layer of experience. As Sumin Zhao and Michele Zappavigna (2018a) argue, these images involve a “meta-meta-perspective”: they portray the photographer’s perspective on the platformed representation of the photographer’s perspective of the physical event environment. They therefore incorporate the implied audience’s perspective into the embodied experience in the physical event environment. Current developments in virtual reality (VR) and augmented reality (AR) hold the potential for furthering this. As Vareen (20) notes, the fact that others were livestreaming with new VR features on Instagram during the Pride Walk gave her a sense of others joining in the walk through their physical presence. Although VR streaming

was not common in the studied eventspheres, it does show possible developments in visual presencing which might further forefront the first-person angle. With 360-degree cameras becoming more accessible, enabling more people to make VR videos, it seems plausible that new platformed features will be developed through which event-joiners can invite others into their embodied presence.

CONCLUSION

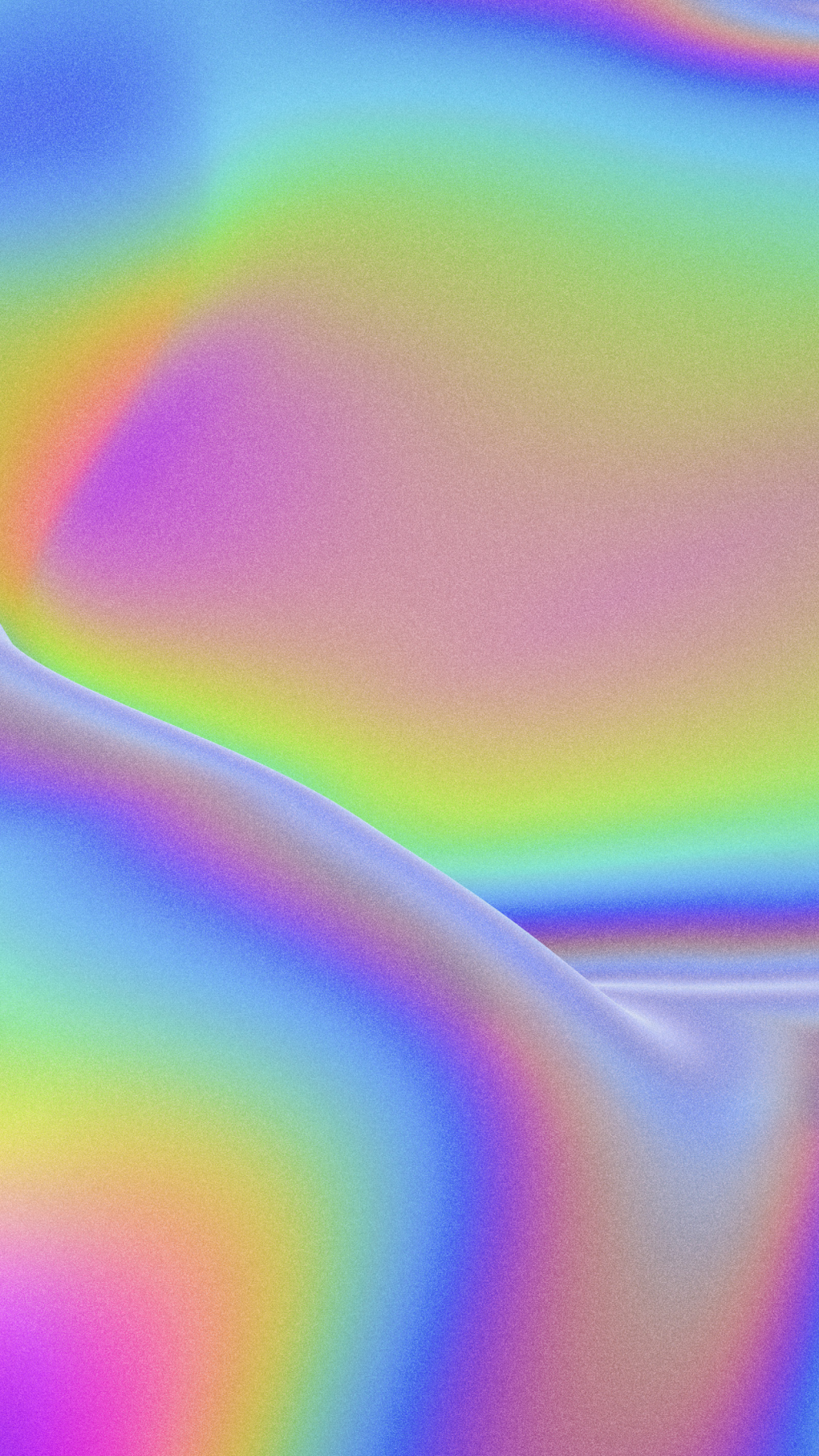
Images are everywhere in the studied eventspheres, and it is through these images – through the memory work, embodiment, and performance of identity involved in imaging – that event-joiners realize instances of liveness.

For my interviewees, imaging is inextricably connected with the event; of all 379 event-joiners interviewed, only one (a deliberate non-user of smart-phones) had not taken any photos, not filmed any videos, nor used social media. Images made and shared at Oerol17, SR17, and Pride18 are as much signs that fun was had, to paraphrase Sontag (1977, p. 9), as constitutive components of that fun; they not only capture the live instance, they establish the experience of truly being there live. Through platformed imaging, event-joiners enact and perform “we are now here together,” and the platform-specific ways in which this is done shape both their physical practices in event locales and the way they see their own event experiences. Oerol17, SR17, and Pride18 then emerge as amalgamates of a wide range of situated perspectives. When regarded together, the many images in these eventspheres – some permanent, but an increasing portion transient – exhibit recurrent angles and vernaculars through which the affordances of the physical event and platform environments are aligned. Both for the individual event-joiner and on the broader level of the eventsphere, the event is shaped by the way images are made, kept, shared, and used.

This chapter has shown that each platform has its own aesthetic style and practices of use, as well as its own manner of cultivating the notion of authenticity. The concept of authenticity is prominently put to the fore by interviewees speaking about their practices of imaging, often articulated in terms of seeing, performative display, and authorship. As the analysis has shown, authenticity for event-joiners can encompass a range of platform-specific visual practices, from carefully capturing the event experience in a representative photo collage on Facebook, to posting a single “pretty picture” on Instagram as a durable memory, to spontaneously establishing the experiential now through sharing instantaneous, ephemeral, and raw stories, snaps, and streams. As I have argued, building on the analysis presented in previous chapters, differing and shifting notions of authenticity are manifested through these practices of imaging in ways which indicate that the sense of truly being there live is established in cultural eventspheres when, through these media practices, physical event and platform environments are aligned.

CONCLUSION

**REALIZING
INSTANCES
OF LIVENESS:
BEING NOW
HERE
TOGETHER**



CONCLUSION

REALIZING INSTANCES OF LIVENESS: BEING NOW HERE TOGETHER

In this thesis I have addressed the question of how liveness is established in people's practices of media use at contemporary cultural events.

Intending to contribute empirical work to media scholarship on liveness from the perspective of the people who join in live, I have examined media practices of event-joiners at three annual cultural events in the Netherlands: Oerol Festival 2017 (a festival for location-based theater and art), 3FM Serious Request 2017 (a national cross-media fundraising event), and Pride Amsterdam 2018 (a large Pride festival). My analysis is based on a core of ethnographic fieldwork – observations and interviews with 379 event-joiners – complemented with digital and visual methods, a combination that enabled me to research practices in online and offline event environments. This research is carried out against the backdrop of processes of mediatization: the physical world and media technologies are increasingly entwined, and media play a fundamental part in both public and personal life on all fronts (Altheide, 2018; Couldry & Hepp, 2017; Deuze, 2012). Since the start of the COVID-19 crisis,¹¹⁰ this transformation has accelerated at the same time as cultural events have faced restrictions on physical gatherings, making this research even more compelling. Through its extensive empirical fieldwork in both event and platform environments, this thesis contributes to our understanding of media-led transfigurations of cultural events in the Netherlands.

The entwinement of the physical world and media technologies, this study indicates, thoroughly impacts how people join in live. Whereas my research started out with a focus on liveness as a practice that hinges on the potential connection, through media, to events that matter to us as they unfold,¹¹¹ my empirical observations and analysis reveal that media do not only connect people to unfolding events but play a formative part in the construction of the live instance. Drawing on what Bourdieu (1980/1990) has described as the “logic of practice,” I argue that, in their “common-sense world,” (p. 58) in which they are accustomed to the use of media of all kinds (e.g., smartphones, social media, TV, and direct messaging), event-joiners are concurrently situated in various physical event-spaces and mediated environments. “Being there live” involves the alignment of these different contexts through media practices. Even when media are not used in the live instance, my analysis shows, this is often a deliberate choice as a result of

¹¹⁰ — In the Netherlands in 2020.

¹¹¹ — A theoretically grounded conceptualization informed most influentially by the works of Vianello (1985), Couldry (2004a), and Auslander (2012).

navigating the physical and the mediated.¹¹² Increasingly, live instances at contemporary cultural events should be understood as instances of liveness which are established through media practices. Whereas *live* is commonly understood in media terminology as the concurrence of happening, content production, and content reception, and *liveness* is commonly understood in media studies as media's promise to realize that ideal – both revolving around a notion of a physical world that is separated from the mediated – this current study shows that, in contemporary Dutch eventspheres, situated *instances of liveness* are realized when event-joiners' physical event and media/platform environments are aligned. Liveness revolves around this alignment rather than the mediation of happenings in the physical world.

By virtue of their continuous situatedness in mediated contexts, event-joiners' live event experiences are always augmented by distant times, places, and others; it is, increasingly, in a dialectic relation therewith that their sense of "being now here together" is realized. The live instance is commonly socio-technically constructed in media practices as a now in relation to past and future, a here in relation to elsewhere, and an us in relation to others. In this study, I have identified these dimensions – time, place, and, the social – as the three constituting facets of liveness. While the temporal aspect of liveness is generally emphasized in both theory and everyday discourse – often in terms of immediacy – I have found that it pivots as much on spatiality and sociality. I have proposed a *kairotic*¹¹³ understanding of liveness, as the opportune time and the right place within a particular social context (see Figure 1 in Section 1.3). Revisiting my theoretically-grounded conceptualization of liveness, I would now, based on my full study – theory, fieldwork, and analysis – *define liveness as a historically evolving practice of establishing instances of "now here together" through media practices which align physical and mediated environments.*

Liveness in contemporary cultural events is thus established in people's practices of media use as live instances which are unique configurations: particular realizations of the *kairotic now*, the *kairotic here*, and the *kairotic us*, in which event and mediated environments provide two inextricable layers of being there live. At the three studied events, event-joiners established manifold instances of liveness, both on the ground and at a distance, through different media practices and through several unique temporal, spatial, and social configurations, rather than one singular live experience of an unfolding event. This study has examined these configurations – regarding both broadcast and social media practices, but with a focus on the latter – to examine how the *kairotic now*, *here*, and *us* are realized. It was particularly devoted to empirically investigating how liveness is evolving, tracing the ways in which popular digital connective media – such as Instagram, Instagram Stories, Facebook, Snapchat, and WhatsApp – and their cultures of use shape event-joiners' practices, and thus the way time, place, and the social are constructed in live eventspheres. This conclusion highlights the study's most significant insights and implications, articulates its original contribution and impact, and sketches directions for future research.

¹¹²— Of all 379 event-joiners interviewed as part of this study, only one (a deliberate non-user of smartphones) refrained from social media use for the full event.

¹¹³— I am drawing on the Greek understanding of *kairos* as the opportune moment. For a full discussion of liveness as *kairos* see Section 1.3.

NEW TEMPORALITIES: THE KAIROTIC NOW

The kairoitic now involves a constant balancing of anticipation, experience, and memory. In special event moments, many of my interviewees contemplate whether or not to make a post, story, or snap in that live instance. On the one hand, they are inclined to capture and share the moment and to create mediated memories (Van Dijck, 2007); on the other hand, they want to enjoy (and later remember) that moment as it unfolds without the interference of using their phones, resulting in ritualized media-free moments of happening. For many of my interviewees, this internal deliberation is an ongoing process due to their continual involvement in platformed contexts. The kairoitic now – the *memorable live instance* – is created by making and sharing media content, or by intentionally carving out media-free time, both practices intended to grasp the moment and to not miss the opportunity of being a witness.

The articulation of the kairoitic now within platform contexts is dependent on the design and user-expectations of the specific platforms, and their features. Whereas most platforms include options for users to explicitly articulate where and with whom one is – through location and tagging features – time is constructed within the platforms through their internal temporal structures. When sharing content, users can choose – and on some platforms even create – their location, yet the time label is automatically assigned, not adjustable, and displays the time of sharing as opposed to when the image was made. Each platform has its own timing, which is visible in how content is structured, archived, and labeled (Kaun et al., 2016; Kaun & Stiernstedt, 2014; Weltevrede et al., 2014), and my interviewees have an understanding and expectations of this timing, and refer to conventions on when to post and what that means. My analysis has shown that some photos from the events are fine to share after the fact, although not randomly, while others are only worthwhile when posted in the moment. Snapchat will even show whether an image is taken within the app, at that moment, or taken from the phone's photo library, and thus taken earlier. These design features reveal the preference for fresh content on many platforms, revolving around timeliness or newness (Weltevrede et al., 2014). In recent years, however, platformed temporality is further diversifying, as platforms for permanent content, such as Facebook and Instagram, are increasingly algorithmically structured for social relevance rather than for freshness (Bucher, 2020). The contrast between ephemeral and permanent content that has emerged with the rise of Snapchat and Instagram Stories has become meaningful as affording different timings.

In line with this development, my analysis has distinguished two types of now in the studied eventspheres, established through particular media practices: the *experiential now* and the *now as future memory*. The experiential now is impulsive and transitory, established in live media practices that amplify the experiential memorable instance, such as in-the-moment sharing and streaming, ephemeral content, and deliberate non-mediation. The now as future memory is reflective and lasting, seizing the moment to make a durable future memory, enacted through practices of taking photos and making videos, often to post on Instagram or Facebook, but also to keep. These

two types of now are not binary opposites – often event-joiners are involved in both – and this typology is not intended as a tool for the classification of live instances; rather it contributes to a more specific understanding of how the kairotic now is established in practice in contemporary cultural events. Further, both these nows exhibit a realization of memory in a particular way through the media event-joiners (deliberately do not) use: as became clear in my interviews, both nows involve a choice of how one wants to remember the live instance.

NEW SPATIALITIES: THE KAIROTIC HERE

Crucial to the kairotic here is that the event-joiner positions herself as active witness: as participant in the unfolding event. The concept of witnessing has been theorized previously as a key element in media events (Dayan & Katz, 1992; Peters, 2001); this study shows that it is enacted in new ways in contemporary eventspheres. Whereas the “classical” conceptualization of witnessing at a distance through media persists, my analysis shows that event-joiners, in addition, position themselves as active witnesses in an event locale through their social media practices. Building on Merleau-Ponty’s (1945/1962) phenomenological work, I have argued that event-joiners inhabit space in the eventspheres through media practices such as watching live television or streams, sharing platformed images, locative practices, and platformed livestreaming. Being-in-place in the physical event environment per se, without enacting this within their platform environments, is not by definition considered as being the nearest to the event, or the “most there.” Moreover, my fieldwork calls into question whether, in such thoroughly mediated eventspheres, *embodied being-in-place* without media is even possible.

My empirical examination has shown that being there live is often an embodied sensory experience of being in the place that one has seen through media before, which event-joiners then enact in media practices that involve notions of visibility, agency, and the personal perspective. Whereas scholarship has brought forth conceptualizations of space as both diminished (Allon, 2004; Berenstein, 2002; Feuer, 1983; White, 2004) and pluralized by media (Evans, 2015; Moores, 2004; Scannell, 1996; Urry, 2002a), I argue that place is made when people inhabit it by aligning their physical and mediated surroundings through their media practices. Many event-joiners enact embodied being-in-place by claiming platformed visibility for their physical event locales, by making and sharing their own images, and by adding their personal perspectives to the eventsphere. The use of locative functionalities and hashtags bind these different physical event locales and embodied perspectives together, forming a meaningful event-space as a continually changing conglomerate of noticeable event locales. Event-joiners realize the kairotic here by adding their personally created perspective to this event-space, writing themselves into it.

Cultural eventspheres are hubs of manifold social connections and identities – both personal and collective, tacit and explicit – and event-joiners are constantly involved in various social circles. Some of these circles are established in the eventsphere: the group with whom they are there, the event-crowd, and the event-public. Other social circles are brought into the eventsphere: a Pride18-joiner can, for instance, simultaneously be a schoolmate, avid knitter, Nick Cave fan, friend, member of a soccer club, Manga enthusiast, family member, citizen, and so forth. The notion of such a multi-faceted social identity, and the performance thereof through social connections, is in and of itself not new. What has changed with ongoing mediatization, however, is that all of these social connections are live all the time. At any given moment, one can video-call mom or connect to other knitters on Instagram. Live instances are created – as meaningful moments to share – within these “always on” (boyd, 2012) social contexts.

Increasingly, live instances form the materiality of the platformed *performance of identity*. Ellison and boyd (2013) have argued that the performance of identity online is changing, with the profile becoming less central on social network sites. The analysis in this thesis validates this claim and extends it, by finding the significance of performances of identity for realizing the kairoitic us in cultural eventspheres. It indicates that platformed identity performance in this time and age is better understood as constant *profiling* through content that becomes meaningful within specific social circles. Sharing live instances – establishing a kairoitic us by either inviting distant others in or excluding them through media practices – is an excellent way to do so.

My analysis of the kairoitic us has shown that the specific socialities that event-joiners establish through their social media practices rely on their expectations of platforms, concerning *automated connectivity*, *intimacy*, *visibility*, and *receptiveness of understanding others*. I have distinguished various connective and collective (social media) practices that hinge on these expectations. Live instances can be socially embedded in ongoing conversations, or realized by sharing platformed content with an anonymous mass audience in mind, or tailored to very specific audiences. Event-joiners select their platforms accordingly; through their social media practices they involve *implied (non-)audiences*: the anticipation, rooted in sociality, of content to matter in particular ways to particular audiences in particular mediated environments. This empirically grounded finding provides a new understanding of sociality in contemporary events. Whereas the rise of social media has led scholars to assert that, on the one hand, these media undermine collective meaning-making and disperse audiences (Goldfarb, 2017; Katz & Dayan, 2017; Kaun & Stiernstedt, 2014), and on the other hand, enable the formation of publics in new ways (Bruns & Burgess, 2011; Papacharissi, 2015a), my analysis has shown that social media practices in contemporary eventspheres situate event-joiners within a broad palette of social circles that continually augment their live experiences, realizing the kairoitic us in manifold ways.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ — It should be noted here that the realization of a kairoitic us also always excludes. For each eventsphere, this exclusion has particular characteristics, and my selection of Oeroli7, SR17, and Pride18 also results in a certain image. For instance, Oeroli7 and SR17, in particular, are very much white, middle- and upper-class events.

TRULY BEING THERE LIVE: THE AUTHENTIC LIVE INSTANCE AS PERFORMATIVE PRACTICE

“Truly being there live,” this study indicates, is a performative practice: through live media practices – whether livestreaming from a boat at Pride18, posting a selfie when watching SR17 on TV, or deliberately putting the phone away to experience an Oerol17 moment – event-joiners realize their memories, embodied being-in-place, and social identity. The concoction of authenticity and performativity in the live instance reveals the two paradoxes that I explicated in Chapter 1: the contradiction between experiencing the live instance as natural or not-staged, and the effort going into producing it (Gripsrud, 1998; Van Es, 2017);¹¹⁵ and the eventsphere as both an unfolding happening to tap into through media, and a phenomenon established through these media practices. These paradoxes are not specific to current times, yet the media-based transformation of the field – from consisting solely of broadcast media practices in which event-joiners at a distance were involved, to consisting of a diversity of media practices in which event-joiners both on the ground and at a distance consume and create content through myriad media outlets and platforms – has increased their significance for understanding notions of authenticity in contemporary live instances.

The term “authentic” is commonly used by my interviewees as a label for appraising live images, referring to both the subject matter and the way this is portrayed. Images can be deemed authentic – often in terms of “real” or “realistic” – when the medium is rendered invisible in high quality sharp images, or made explicit in raw, unpolished images that show the hastiness of instant mediation. These aesthetics are also deliberately employed by event-joiners in platformed images to articulate truly being there live. Moreover, the label “authentic” is applied to denominate content as portraying the *reality* of the unfolding happening. Live images are often understood “as an assurance of access to truth and authenticity” (Peters, 2001, p. 719), while concurrently my interviewees tell me that they create authentic moments through their (social) media practices – taking a selfie or making a live Instagram Story together – and their sense of truly being there live is thoroughly shaped by their mediatized positioning (as the farewell images in Figure 58 at the end of this conclusion exemplify). These shifting notions of authenticity were further explicated in Chapter 6, where I argued that practices of imaging articulate authenticity in terms of *seeing (with one’s own eyes)*, *performative display*, and *authorship*. This signifies that truly being there live is something that you do: that the authentic live instance is made.

The conceptualization of liveness as capturing an unfolding reality that exists in itself, I argue, is not only outdated, but hinders understanding of what truly being there live means. In this study I have delineated the live instance in line with Scannell’s (2014) work as a “living moment in which human concerns ... are realized: in which they are made real” (p. 94). Extending the work of Scannell and others, I argue that this “realizing” is done

¹¹⁵ — This paradox was identified by Van Es (2017) as the paradox of liveness.

when event-joiners, through their media practices, inhabit the eventsphere, establishing memorable and embodied live instances through which they perform their (social) identity. My analysis has clarified that it is through these three “human concerns” – memory, embodiment, and identity – that the three abstract facets of liveness – the temporal, the spatial and the social – are realized. Live media practices in contemporary cultural eventspheres both enact and shape memory, embodiment, and identity. This is why these live instances are experienced as authentic and meaningful by event-joiners.

Moreover, this highlights the societal relevance of studying these practices: by gaining insight into the particular ways in which memory, embodiment, and identity are enacted through and shaped by live media practices, and affected by the media technologies at use, we get a better sense of how our (social) world is shaped. For instance, this study has exhibited that – in their social media practices – event-joiners often feel pressured to share content at a certain time, to fit the temporal conventions of the platforms they use. These constraints on temporality stand in contrast to the pliability available in relation to placemaking and creating social contexts on these platforms: users have differing degrees of agency in explicitly articulating where and with whom one is – through location and tagging features – whereas the time frame is determined by the platform design. Further, many of my interviewees have pointed out that their anticipation of algorithmically curated memories – expecting posts to be re-presented as memory by the platform after a certain interval of time – influences their practices of posting. Whereas public and academic debates about social media in the past decade(s) have often focused on issues of sociality and identity, this observation leads us to study, discuss, and more consciously design the construction of time and memory in popular platforms. As the timing of people’s practices at events (and in daily life), as well as the way they form memories, is increasingly shaped by platformed temporalities, this warrants our attention as scholars.

Considering the societal relevance and impact of this study brings us full circle to the concept of mediatization. What does it mean that we are continually situated in both physical *and* mediated environments; that our experiences are continually augmented by distant times, places, and others? Whereas this level of mediatization can seem troubling, and awareness thereof can warrant angst, this thesis is by no means a warning or a complaint about the negative influence of media. Rather it is a call to accept that this is the reality that we create. It is in our assumptions and presumptions – our habitus, to use Bourdieu’s terminology – that mediatization takes full force: in our expectations of media outlets and platforms, implied audiences, and conceptions about what to post when, where, and in what form. Better understanding of the socio-technical changes in the ways we enact memory, embodiment, and identity is crucial to finding freedom and agency, particularly considering the increasing societal role of data, artificial intelligence, and bots. This study aims to inform the debate about how we establish life through media, so we can better ascertain what we wish for.

REFLECTION ON METHODS AND LIMITATIONS

Methodologically, this work presents a mixed methods approach for studying situated media practices that is attentive to the various physical and mediated contexts in which they are embedded. Despite the challenges faced in this endeavor (on which I will elaborate below), I do believe that the combination of ethnographic, digital, and visual methods is fruitful for the study of actual media practices. Moreover, as they say, “the proof is in the pudding,” and I hope that this work demonstrates the value of empirically studying situated practices of media use and will inspire other scholars to do so.

As this thesis has taken shape, the bulk of the analysis is based on my ethnographic work, particularly my interviews, with digital methods tools employed mainly for exploratory purposes and for the retrieval and analysis of images shared on Instagram and Twitter. Notwithstanding my keen interest (from the start of this project) in doing ethnographic research and qualitative analysis, I had expected digital methods to play a more prominent role in this study, envisioning it as a blend of ethnographic and digital methods work. When I started, digital methods research was booming, and the idea of grasping what was going on in the online parts of the eventspheres through data-driven research was very appealing. As discussed in Chapter 2, due to increasingly limited access to platform data through APIs, the large amount of private content in the eventspheres, and ethical concerns over gathering data, digital methods did not allow me to address the core research questions of this project.

Engaging with digital methods – by reading, experimenting with tools, and joining Summer School trainings organized by the Digital Methods Initiative (Rogers, 2019b) – has, however, thoroughly informed this research. Spending time in these platform environments and working with platformed material helps to get a sense of them, as is the case when doing participatory fieldwork. In addition, it has also made me even more aware of the limitations of digital methods for research aimed at understanding digital media technologies in their socio-cultural context, a realization that is also gaining traction among digital methods and internet scholars (e.g., Berry & Fagerjord, 2017; Rogers, 2020). With this study and my effort to blend methods, I aim to advocate for a shift toward mixing methods, adding the digital to the ethnographic and vice versa, to gain better insight into the workings of platforms internally and within people’s lives and society.

This reflection on methodology, together with the conclusions drawn from the research findings, also show the limitations of the study. A research project cannot cover everything. For this project, I deliberately chose to focus on liveness from the perspective of event-joiners in three specific eventspheres, studying their practices. This inevitably results in other aspects being underrepresented, of which I will name five.¹¹⁶ For one, the project does not examine the more exact technological workings of the platforms and their functionalities, which could have been done in a more digital methods-oriented study. Second, by focusing on the practices and perspectives of these event-joiners, the study does not in-

¹¹⁶— The preface of this dissertation includes a more elaborate reflection on these limitations.

investigate what and who is excluded or rendered invisible. Third, it does not analyze the marketing or promotional perspectives of the event organizers and artists, which also thoroughly shape the event environment and a large part of the media content in the eventspheres. Fourth, it does not address the specific ways in which the ideal of liveness is shaped and promoted by media producers and platforms (see Van Es, 2017). Fifth, and largely connected to the previous point, the study does not examine the economic models behind liveness and the data collection that is carried out through the platforms, features, and apps that event-joiners use (for a non-event related study of this, see Nieborg & Helmond, 2018).

DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

It is particularly in addressing live instances as situated in physical and mediated contexts that this study contributes and shows valuable avenues for future research. While there is a growing body of work on the affordances of media technologies in social media research (e.g., Bucher & Helmond, 2017; Hutchby, 2001; Langlois, 2014), as well as geographic studies of affordances of physical places (e.g., Heft, 2010; Maier et al., 2009; Raymond et al., 2017), the insights from this study prompt new studies to extend existing notions of affordances. Recent scholarship has developed some promising conceptualizations in this direction, such as “affordances-in-practice” (Costa, 2018), “imagined affordances” (Nagy & Neff, 2015), “vernacular affordances” (McVeigh-Schultz & Baym, 2015), and “post-affordances” (Shirtcliff, 2019). By recognizing both physical and mediated environments as having a formative, albeit not determining, influence on how we “do live,” this study provides a perspective and approach that sets the stage for future research – both within the academic disciplines of media and social studies, and within the professional fields of media and cultural events. I will sketch some directions for both paths below.

ACADEMIC RESEARCH IN MEDIA AND SOCIAL STUDIES

This study deliberately took a broad view on media practices, examining the most common practices – both broadcast and social media – in the studied eventspheres, and not limiting analysis to a single media outlet or platform. While my conclusions indicate that the particularities of specific platforms and features are crucial in event-joiners’ practices – and my analysis has provided examples of how temporality, spatiality, and sociality are shaped through these practices – further research in the form of smaller in-depth studies of the workings of particular platform environments in eventspheres would be valuable. Case studies of single platforms or features could provide more detailed insight into their specific impact on the performance of memory, embodiment, and social identity. I would, for instance, be interested in a study of embodied event experiences through TikTok, as this app

revolves around the creation of content through embodied performances such as dances, reenactments, and physical jokes. Further, with TikTok's roots in Musical.ly, and the prominence of music on the platform, such a study might reveal specific user cultures relevant in the field of festivals, given that music is central to many events.

Other avenues for research would follow from applying the perspective and approach of this study within other field sites. Whereas the situatedness of this study provides richness, it also entails specificity, and it would be useful to explore how live instances are established within other settings. This could be in other places in the world – with different media landscapes – or within other types of eventspheres – such as news, sports, ceremonial, personal, or political events. For instance, it would be interesting to study topical issues as they take shape on social media as live eventspheres (Rambukkana, 2015; Rogers, 2019a), by investigating how people write themselves into and shape these spheres through platformed content. An example of such research is my study of the “ballot selfie” (Hammelburg, 2015) through which people write themselves into unfolding elections, a research interest that I share with Tim Highfield (2016). As another example, Marloes Geboers studies the expression of solidarity with victims of the Syrian war through platformed images (2019). I would love to collaborate with her in the future to study how people enact and shape such involvement with an issue through their media practices, establishing a sense of liveness. Most recent and close to home, I have noticed how people inhabit a position within the COVID-19 pandemic¹¹⁷ through their media practices, for example through masked profile pictures, throwback images enacting pre-COVID nostalgia, and vaccine selfies. I would love to explore how these media practices help people to process, cope, vent, critique, celebrate, and deal with this (or a next) crisis.

Along this line of thought, insights from this study can help to examine how individual experiences are made eventful – meaningful as kairotic now here together – through media practices, particularly through practices of imaging and ongoing conversations in direct messaging and social networking platforms. Platformed images are part of our everyday lives, and are commonly made to affirm and enact lazy days, love for pets, dinners with friends, staying fit, and so forth. We enact and shape memories, embodiment, and identity through these practices, not only in eventspheres, but also in daily life. Moreover, constant positioning in both physical and mediated environments is not only event-related; our everyday experiences are also augmented by distant times, places, and others, and I would find it interesting to learn more about how this impacts our daily life and social world.¹¹⁸

RESEARCH FOR INNOVATION IN THE FIELDS OF MEDIA AND CULTURAL EVENTS

In the professional field, insights from this study can help event organizers and media developers aiming to create strong live instances. This objective has be-

¹¹⁷— At the time of writing, the Netherlands is carrying out a vaccination operation, and slowly reopening after more than a year of multiple lockdowns.

¹¹⁸— Lupinacci's (2019) ongoing study is also concerned with these questions.

come increasingly urgent in the COVID-19 crisis, resulting in event organizers, the cultural sector more broadly, and media developers searching for new ways of being now here together under lockdowns, and in an uncertain post-COVID situation. Over the past year, the cultural and event sector, as well as many media and tech companies, have carried out experiments aiming to realize true and meaningful live moments. I noticed that many of these experiments were disappointing, because they were based on the conception of liveness as mediated presence, trying to establish experiences that would approximate or even replace physical presence.¹¹⁹ Whereas I suspect, and hope, that some of these clumsy efforts will remain only as funny memories, this time of experimenting has also kickstarted innovation; this extreme situation of physical distancing has accelerated processes of mediatization, made us discover new ways of sharing culture, and has led to new understandings of what “live” means.

Whereas I do not provide a fixed recipe for the perfect live experience, my research can provide guidance on points of focus or fine-tuning for the design of cultural events and media products. First and foremost, live instances should be designed as unique configurations – not as replacements or simulations – incorporating the specific physical and mediated environments. The three constituting facets of the live instance – time, place, and the social – and the human concerns through which these are realized – memory, embodiment, and identity – can work as very concrete elements to consider in the design of an event or media format. Further, more specific applied knowledge from this study, such as about particular user cultures, notions of authenticity, or visual languages, can inform design choices. In recent years, both before and during the COVID-19 crisis, I already shared findings geared toward innovation in the professional field. For instance, student teams of the Amsterdam University of Applied Sciences working with the Dutch media company Ex Machina have used my findings to inform the development of prototypes for new Twitch extensions. I also advised the organizers of 3FM Serious Request in their process of developing a new format for the event. Recently, I took part in an innovation event organized by and for the Dutch Public Broadcaster (NPO), sharing expertise gained from this study to speak about “experiencing together.” Further, in the past year,

I have contributed insights from this study to a research grant proposal with the Institute of Network Cultures at the Amsterdam University of Applied Sciences concerning hybrid events in the cultural sector.¹²⁰ These ideas and activities toward further research and implementation of insights from this study show its urgency, relevance, and possible impact, as well as my future-oriented outlook and ambition to contribute to knowledge and innovation concerning

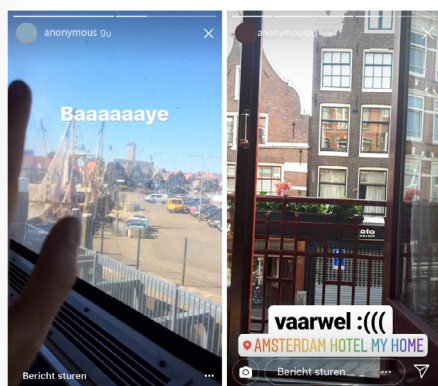
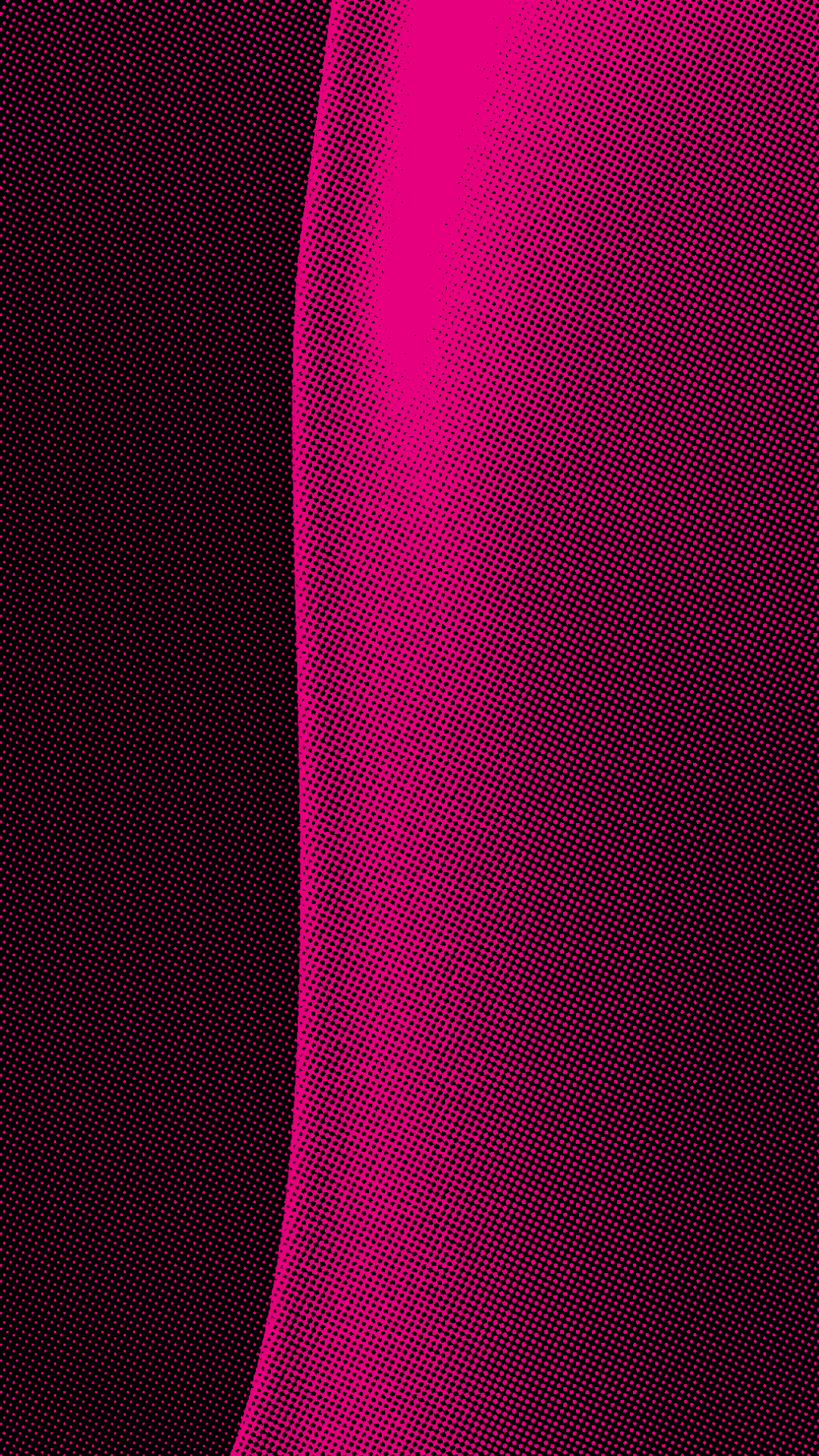


Figure 58: Instagram Stories Bidding Farewell to Oerol17 and Pride18.

119 — The most interesting experiments were the more artistic ones, in which performers dealt with mediated relations with audiences, not by trying to simulate, but rather by articulating their sense of loss, shock, support, and joy, playing with the possibilities and restrictions of mediated connections.

120 — This research project is embedded in a large consortium of partners in the cultural field.

liveness. It is my aspiration to understand and realize instances of liveness: extraordinary moments of being now here together.



APPENDIX A:

Overview of Times and Locations of Observations and Interviews (Tables 4–6)

EVENT	TIME	PLACE	TYPE
	Saturday June 10, 2017, afternoon/evening	Various places on the island	Observations
	Sunday June 11, 2017, morning/afternoon	Groene strand, West-Terschelling	Longer interviews
	Monday June 12, 2017, morning	Camping Cupido, Hee	Longer interviews
	Tuesday June 13, 2017, morning	Cabin, Midsland	Longer interviews
	Tuesday June 13, 2017, afternoon	Westerkeyn, Midsland	Observations and longer interviews
	Tuesday June 13, 2017, early evening	Duinmeertje, Hee	Observations and longer interviews
		West-Terschelling	Observations
	Wednesday June 14, 2017, afternoon	Groene strand, West-Terschelling	Observations and longer interviews
		Café terrace, West-Terschelling	Longer interview
	Wednesday June 14, 2017, evening	Camping de Kool, Hee	Observations and longer interview
	Thursday June 15, 2017, morning	Location for street theater, Midsland	Observations and short interviews
		Westerkeyn, Midsland	Observations
	Thursday June 15, 2017, afternoon	De Betonning, West-Terschelling	Observations and short interviews
	Friday June 16, 2017, afternoon	De Betonning, West-Terschelling	Observations and short interviews
	Friday June 16, 2017, evening	Westerkeyn	Observations and short interviews
	Saturday June 17, 2017, morning	Oerol expedition, duinmeertje Hee	Observations and short interviews
		Oerol expedition, wandeling stilté	Observations and short interviews
	Saturday June 17, 2017, afternoon	Dansen bij Eb singlesfeestje, Noordsvaarder beach	Observations and short interviews
	Sunday June 18, 2018, afternoon	De Betonning and Noordsvaarder, West-Terschelling	Observations
	Monday June 19, 2017, afternoon	Ferry Terschelling-Harlingen	Short and longer interviews

Table 4: Overview of Observations and Interviews Oerol17.

OEROL 17

TIME	PLACE	TYPE
Monday December 18, 207, afternoon	Train station Apeldoorn (arrival DIs)	Train station Apeldoorn (arrival DIs)
Monday December 18, 2017, evening	Marktpllein Apeldoorn, revelation and opening Glass House	Marktpllein Apeldoorn, revelation and opening Glass House
Tuesday December 19, 2017, afternoon/evening	Marktpllein Apeldoorn (Glass House) and around the city	Marktpllein Apeldoorn (Glass House) and around the city
December 20–22, 2017	Video call	Video call
Wednesday December 20, 2017, evening	Marktpllein Apeldoorn (Glass House)	Marktpllein Apeldoorn (Glass House)
Thursday December 21, 2017, afternoon	Marktpllein Apeldoorn (Glass House)	Marktpllein Apeldoorn (Glass House)
Friday December 22, 2017, afternoon	Marktpllein Apeldoorn (Glass House)	Marktpllein Apeldoorn (Glass House)
Saturday December 23/Sunday December 24, 2017, night/early morning	Marktpllein Apeldoorn (Glass House)	Marktpllein Apeldoorn (Glass House)
Sunday December 24, 2017, afternoon/evening	Marktpllein Apeldoorn (Glass House)	Marktpllein Apeldoorn (Glass House)
January 3–16, 2018	Marktpllein Apeldoorn (Glass House): finale Video call	Marktpllein Apeldoorn (Glass House): finale Video call
Tuesday January 16, 2018	Office space AUAS	Office space AUAS

Table 5: Overview of Observations and Interviews SR17.

EVENT	TIME	PLACE	TYPE
PRIDE18	Saturday July 28, 2018, morning/afternoon	Westermarkt to Vondelpark: Pride walk	Observations and short interviews
	Monday July 30, 2018, afternoon	Vondelpark: Pride Park	Observations and short interviews
	Tuesday July 31, 2018, evening	Zandvoort: Pride at the beach	Observations and short interviews
		OBA: Queer faces migrant voices	Observations and short interviews
	Friday August 3, 2018, evening/night	Westermarkt: Drag Olympics	Observations and short interviews
		Dam square: Street party	Observations and short interviews
		Paradiso: Danserette	Observations and short interviews
		Oosterdok: embarking boats Canal Parade	Observations and short interviews
	Saturday August 4, 2018, morning–night	Prinsengracht: Canal Parade	Observations and short interviews
		Reguliersdwarstraat: Street party	Observations and short interviews
		Westermarkt: Street party	Observations and short interviews
		Paradiso: Ultrasexi	Observations and short interviews
	Sunday August 5, 2018, afternoon/evening	Dam Square: Closing party	Observations and short interviews
	August 5–8, 2018	Video call	Longer interviews with Canal Parade boats
	August 6–10, 2018	Video call	Longer interviews based on media diaries

Table 6: Overview of Observations and Interviews Pride18.

Oerol 2017 (Oerol17)¹²¹

Approaching Oerol17 as a pilot study, I tried different forms of automated data collection and analysis to investigate what would work well. Doing this during the Digital Methods Summer School 2017 at the University of Amsterdam (Digital Methods Initiative, 2017) enabled me to get acquainted with software for automated data collection and analysis, and provided technical support and cooperation during analysis. I would like to thank Donato Ricci, Emile den Tex, Andre Mintz, and Carlo De Gaetano for their methodological and technical/software support (and lending computers when mine couldn't process the large files); and Lauren Drakopoulos, Andrea Benedetti and Gabriele Colombo for their collaboration in designing the different forms of automated analysis.

DATA SETS

The data set for Oerol17 contains 5,784 unique images collected from public Instagram profiles using Visual Tagnet Explorer (VTE) (Rieder, 2015).

Before collecting data, Coosto (Coosto, 2018) was used to explore the timing of online activity for the event in past years, and to get a sense of the most prominent hashtags. Table 7 shows the searches performed through VTE.

Three location searches to cover Terschelling	Six tag searches using the most-used hashtags for
53.347114, 5.175368, 5000 meter radius	Oerol17
53.375048, 5.263879, 5000 meter radius	#oerol
53.401886, 5.350061, 5000 meter radius	#festivaleiland
	#oerol2017
	#oerol17
	#oerolfestival
	#oerolterschelling

Table 7: Queries Used in VTE for Oerol17
Data Collection from Instagram.

In Excel, the 9 spreadsheets from the VTE searches were combined, and subsequently all posts from before January 1, 2017, and all duplicates were removed. The result is a data set that contains 5,784 unique images about Oerol posted on Instagram between January 1, 2017 and June 28, 2017: 4,511 posts made during the festival, 833 before and 440 after the festival.

¹²¹— Parts of the text in this section were published before in the project report of the DMI Summer School 2017 (Hammelburg et al., 2017).

DATA ANALYSIS

Exploration of the image data set was done along three lines:

- 1. Time: when are posts made; how can these Instagram images provide insight in temporal aspects of “being there live”?
- 2. Content: what is shown in the images; what content is created in the interplay between event-joiner, event and platform vernacular?
- 3. Place: where are images posted; how is presencing done geographically?

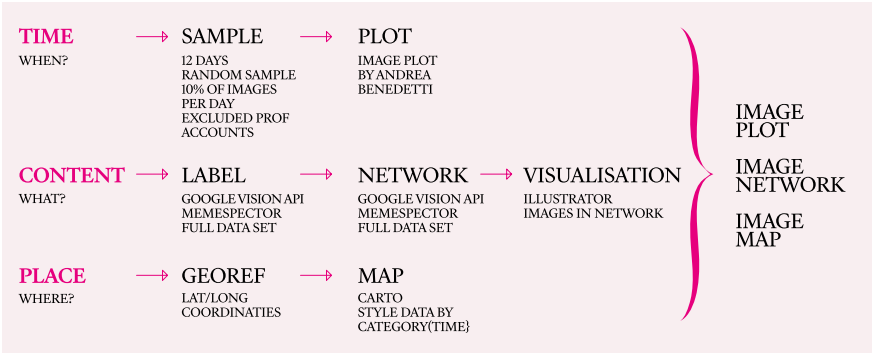


Figure 59: Data Analysis Oerol17.

This resulted in three different outcomes that can be used for further visual content analysis: an image time plot, an image network and an image map (see Figure 59).

Image time plot (with Andrea Benedetti and Gabriele Colombo)

Using ImagePlot visualization software (Software Studies Initiative, 2017), images were plotted in stacks using days on the horizontal axis and hours on the vertical axis (see Figure 60 on the next page). Including the day before and the day after the festival, 12 days were visualized: June 8 until June 19, 2017. As the full data set for these days would be too large for a readable visualization, I made a random sample of 10% of the images of each selected day (see Table 8).

To keep focus on event-joiners’ practices, posts from professional accounts were excluded: posts by the festival account (“oerolterschelling”) were excluded before sampling; and in the sample of 479 images, 15 images were manually replaced by random post from approximately the same date and time.

Reading the stacks of images plotted along axes of days and hours gives insight into which kinds of images are posted when; both during the event and during the day. The most relevant observation came from comparing stacks, exploring variations between days. This made discernible how event-joiners visualize arrival, being there and fare-well at Oerol17, hints explored further in the full dataset, as well as in the

June 8: 115 total > 12 in sample
June 9: 337 total > 34 in sample
June 10: 488 total > 49 in sample
June 11: 476 total > 48 in sample
June 12: 418 total > 42 in sample
June 13: 402 total > 40 in sample
June 14: 436 total > 44 in sample
June 15: 478 total > 48 in sample
June 16: 472 total > 47 in sample
June 17: 500 total > 50 in sample
June 18: 504 total > 50 in sample
June 19: 153 total > 15 in sample

Table 8: Samples for Image Plot Per Day, Oerol17.

data of the other events.

The analytical value of this method for examining temporality in the context of this study is, however, limited by the fact that the time stamp included in the metadata reflects the time of posting, and does not reveal anything about when the picture was taken. This automated analysis thus reveals more about the rhythm of posting – the temporality of Instagram use – than about the timing of media practices at the event.

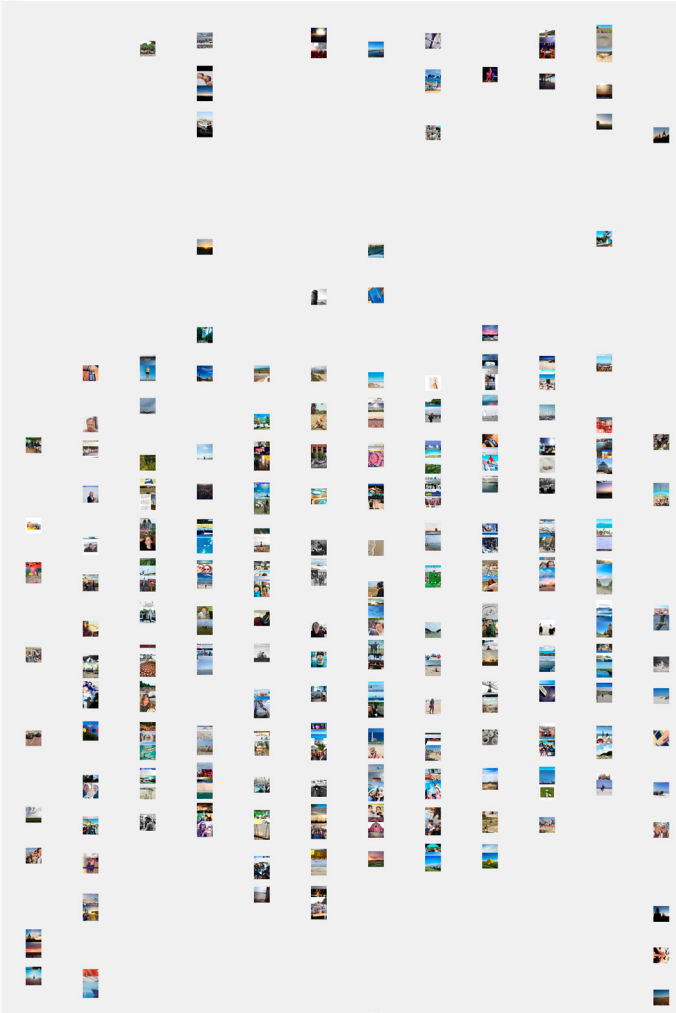


Figure 60: Image Time Plot for Instagram Data Set Oerol17.

Image network (with Lauren Drakopulos, Donato Ricci, Emile den Tex, Andre Mintz, and Carlo De Gaetano)

To explore what content is created on Instagram around Oerol17, we created a visual network based on content labelling by the Google Vision API. The data set of 5784 images was run through Google Vision API using Meme-

spector (Rieder et al., 2018), resulting in a database of images with content labels. Using Gephi (Gephi Consortium, 2012), a network visualization was made from this output, in which similar labels were clustered. With Adobe Illustrator (Adobe Inc., 2016) the images were inserted into the network visualization to create the visual image network of the full dataset.

The resulting visualization (see Figure 63 on the next page) provides a way to visually explore this large data set, examining clusters to see whether these are meaningful for investigating how being there live is imaged. For instance, Figure 61 shows a couple of interesting clusters: boats, bikes, sunsets, selfies and wristbands. Taking a closer look at these clusters helps to distinguish the specific visual forms event-joiners use for performative display of them being there live, such as the wristbands featured in Figure 62 that sparked my exploration of the “I’m-in-photo” (see section 6.2.2).

This pilot showed that making an image network is a useful way to explore Instagram data sets. However, making a network with the full data set requires so much memory that I could not perform this on my own computer, and navigation of the network is problematic for the same reason. Further, if this would have been the core analysis in this study, I would have wanted to take more time to manually review the Google Vision API labels, and work on it more extensively in Gephi to get clearer clusters. Seeing that this analysis is complementary to my ethnographic fieldwork, I decided to make less extensive image networks for SR17 and Pride18.

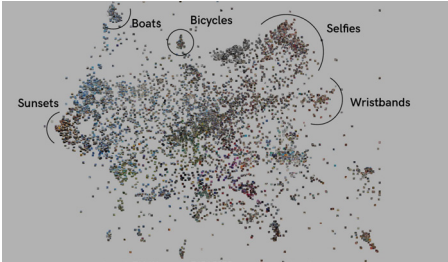


Figure 61: Clusters Identified in the Image Network for Instagram Data Set Oerol17.

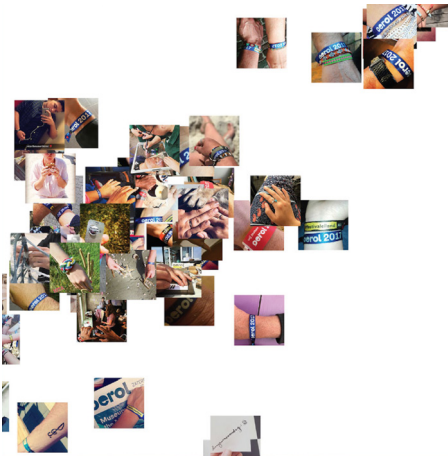


Figure 62: : Cluster of Wristbands, Oerol17.

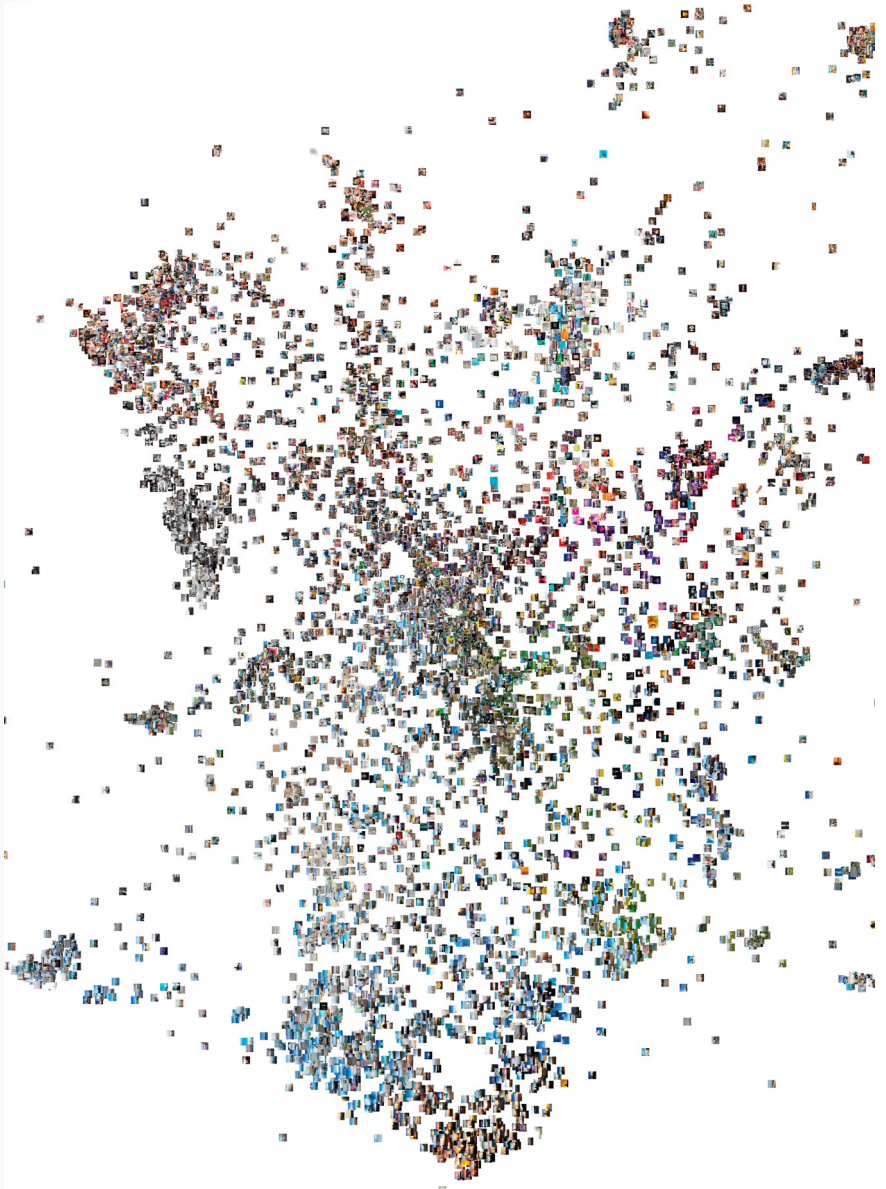


Figure 63: Image Network for Instagram Data Set
Oeroll17.

Image map (with Lauren Drakopoulos)

To explore the geospatial patterns in the data set an image map was made in Carto (Carto, n.d.) (see Figure 64). Mapping images allows for analysis of where particular kinds of content is shared.

For this map the full data set of 5,784 images was used, yet only a small portion of these images included full latitude/longitude coordinates, resulting in a much smaller portion of images plotted on the map. To distinguish between images posted during the event and those shared before or after, images were categorized by date: during Oerol17, within two weeks from Oerol17 (before or after), and longer before/after Oerol17. In the map a popup was included with relevant metadata: image URL to display image when clicked, hashtags and captions, and number of likes.

Mapping event-joiners' posts in this way exhibits that the event-sphere extends beyond the bounded location of the event itself. Most interesting is the clear path that becomes visible along the ferry route to the island. This observation, combined with the images themselves (see Figure 65), and the interviews shows the significance of “on the road photos” in the event-sphere. However, as so little images include correct geographical coordinates, and these coordinates are telling of the place of posting and not of the place where images were made, I decided to not repeat this form of analysis for the other events.

Placing Liveness at Oerol

WHEN PHOTOS ARE TAKEN	
OEROL	●
TWO WEEKS FROM OEROL	●
FURTHER FROM OEROL	●

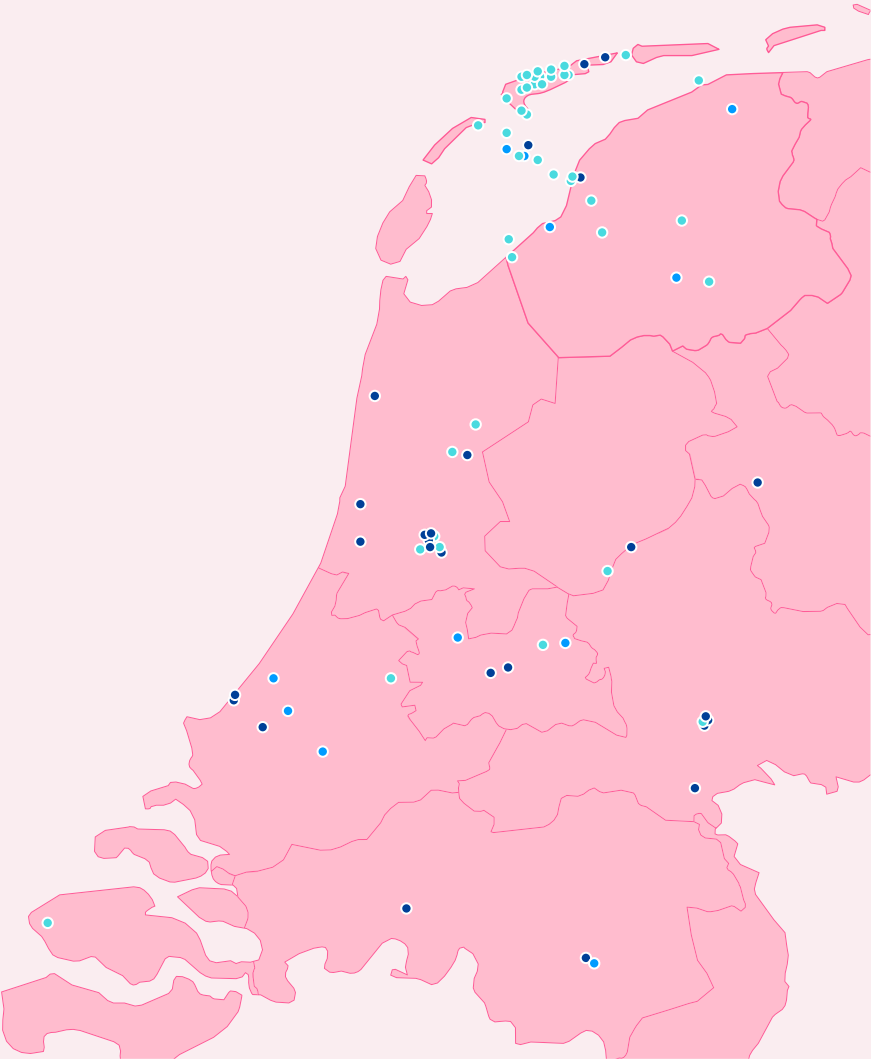


Figure 64: Image Map for Instagram Data Set Oerol17.

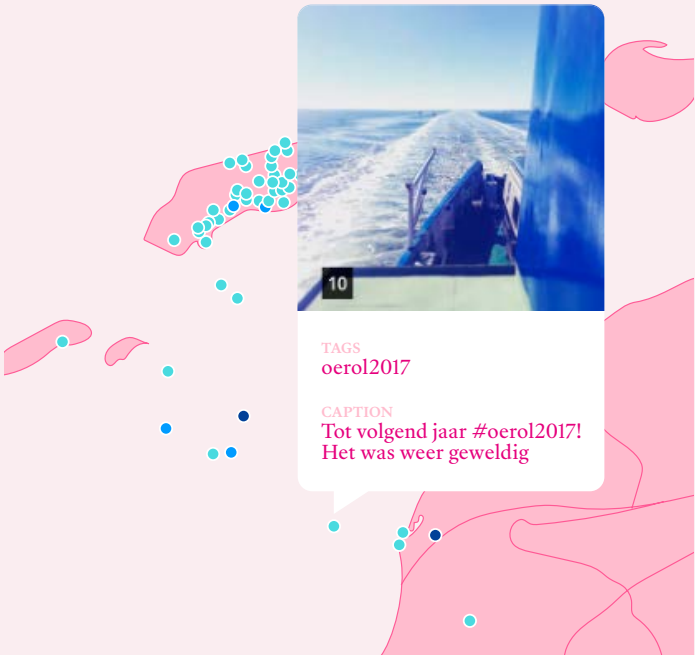


Figure 65: Example of Image Posted on the Ferry Route to Oerol17.

3FM SERIOUS REQUEST 2017 (SR17)

DATASETS

The data set for SR17 contains 6,862 unique images about SR17: 3,240 collected from public Instagram profiles using VTE; and 3,622 collected from public Twitter profiles using Twitter Capture and Analysis Tool (TCAT) (Borra & Rieder, 2014) (see Table 9).

Before collecting data, Coosto (Coosto, 2018) was used to explore the timing of online activity for the event in previous years, and to get a sense of the most prominent hashtags. Due to API restrictions, VTE was not steadily working in the months after SR17, and the first hashtag search performed – “#sr17” – was stopped during the process. Data from Twitter was collected from September 26, 2017 until January 8, 2018 through TCAT. Tweets including an image were selected, and these images downloaded.

Instagram queries VTE	Twitter queries TCAT		
#sr17	‘breng ze weer samen samen’ ‘glazen huis’ ‘kom in actie’ ‘serious request’ 3fmseriousrequest	brengzesamen brengzeweersamen glazenhuis glazenhuis17 glazenhuis2017 glazenhuisapeldoorn	kominactie seriousrequest sr17 sr2017 sra17 sra2017

Table 9: Queries Used in VTE and TCAT for SR17 Data Collection from Instagram and Twitter.

A review of the data set showed prominence of non-related content from a fashion brand (Sueños Reales) also using “#sr17”, which was then filtered out.

DATA ANALYSIS

Following the outcomes of my explorations in data analysis with the Oerol17 data set, automated analysis for SR17 was much more limited. I used a random sample of 1,000 images from the Instagram data set for the image network analysis (see Figure 66 on next page). This sample of 1,000 images was run through Google Vision API using Memespector (Rieder et al., 2018), resulting in a database of images with content labels. Using Gephi (Gephi Consortium, 2012), a network visualization was made from this output, in which similar labels were clustered. Subsequently, Gephi’s (newly developed) image plugin allowed us to insert the images into the network visualization. Further¹²² analysis was done both automated – using ImageSorter ((Pixolution, 2012) – and manually (see Section 2.3.3).

¹²²— My gratitude goes out to Carlo de Gaetano for his help with the final step in this process, and to Marloes Geboers for her guidance in the previous steps.

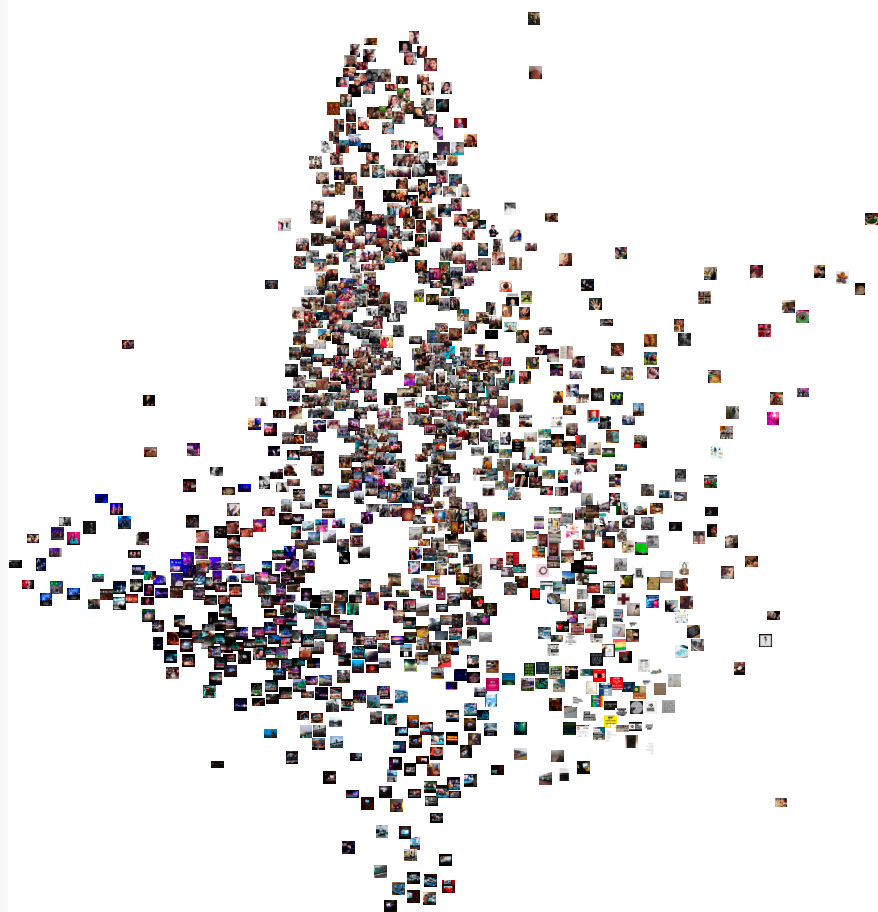


Figure 66:
Image Network for Sample of 1000
Images from Instagram Data Set SR17

PRIDE AMSTERDAM 2018 (PRIDE18)

DATASETS

The dataset for Pride18 contains 2,590 unique images about Pride Amsterdam 2018 and 2019, collected from public Instagram profiles using VTE. Due to API restrictions, I could not perform a search through VTE until the summer of 2019. As a search for Pride18 content at that time gave limited results, I decided to search for content using the more general hashtag “#prideamsterdam”, resulting in a data set that included images from other years.¹²³ VTE was not able to complete the full search and the result was a fairly distorted spreadsheet that needed a lot of cleaning. Also, to remain focus on 2018 and 2019 editions of Pride Amsterdam, I filtered out images from before 2018.

DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis was performed in the same way as for SR17. Figure 67 shows the image network for Pride18.

¹²³— Because I was aware of these limitations during Pride18 I have manually collected images and increased online observation during Pride18.

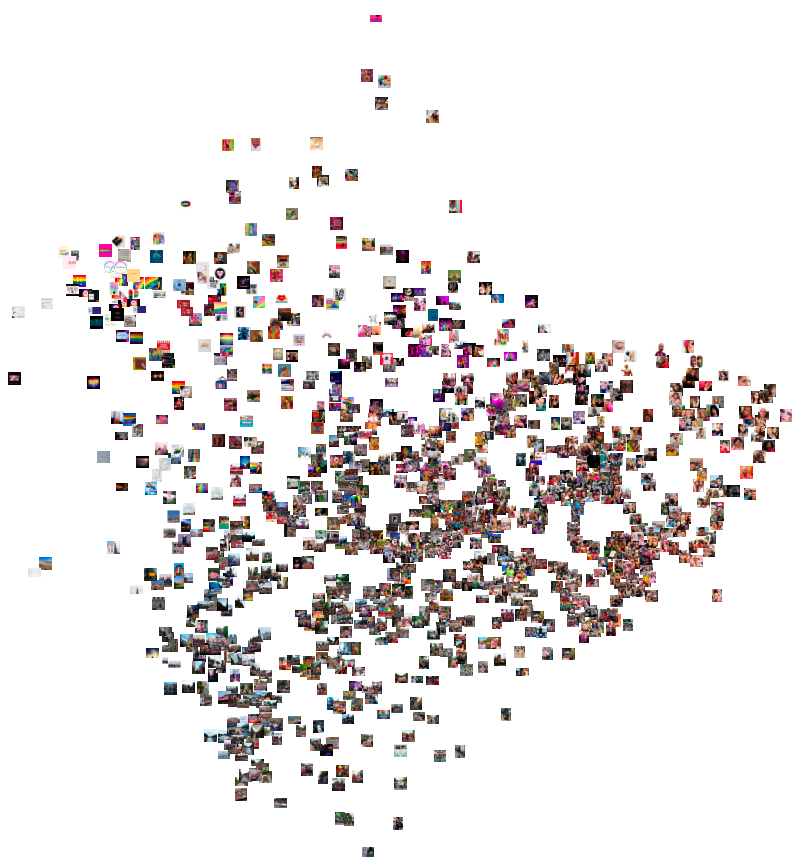


Figure 67:
Image Network for Sample of 1000
Images from Instagram Data Set
Pride18.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abidin, C. (2016). "Aren't these just young, rich women doing vain things online?": Influencer selfies as subversive frivolity. *Social Media + Society*, 2(2). <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305116641342>
- Abidin, C. (2021). From "networked publics" to "refracted publics": A companion framework for researching "below the radar" studies. *Social Media + Society*, 7(1). <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305120984458>
- Abidin, C., & de Seta, G. (2020). Private messages from the field: Confessions on digital ethnography and its discomforts. *Journal of Digital Social Research*, 2(1), 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.33621/jdsr.v2i1.35>
- Adobe Inc. (2016). *Adobe Illustrator*. <https://adobe.com/products/illustrator>
- Ahva, L. (2017). Practice theory for journalism studies: Operationalizing the concept of practice for the study of participation. *Journalism Studies*, 18(12), 1523–1541. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2016.1139464>
- Allon, F. (2004). An ontology of everyday control: Space, media flows and 'smart' living in the absolute present. In N. Couldry & A. McCarthy (Eds.), *MediaSpace: Place, scale, and culture in a media age*. Routledge.
- Altheide, D. L. (2018). The media syndrome and reflexive mediation. In C. Thimm, M. Anastasiadis, & J. Einspänner-Pflock (Eds.), *Media logic(s) revisited* (pp. 11–39). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-65756-1_2
- Altheide, D. L., & Snow, R. P. (1979). *Media logic*. Sage Publications.
- Amit, V. (2000). *Constructing the field: Ethnographic fieldwork in the contemporary world*. Routledge.
- Ang, I. (1985). *Watching Dallas: Soap opera and the melodramatic imagination* (D. Couling, Trans.). Methuen.
- Association of Internet Researchers (AoIR), & Markham, A. (2016). *AoIR ethics chart*. <http://aoir.org/ethics/>
- Auslander, P. (2002). *Liveness: Performance in a mediated culture*. Routledge.
- Auslander, P. (2012). Digital liveness: A historico-philosophical perspective. *PAJ: A Journal of Performance and Art*, 34(3), 3–11.
- Bakardjieva, M. (2003). Virtual togetherness: An everyday-life perspective. *Media, Culture & Society*, 25(3), 291–313. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443703025003001>
- Bakker, P. (2019, March 22). De tv-generatiekloof: Jongeren kijken minder en minder televisie. *Stimuleringsfonds voor de Journalistiek (SVDJ)*. <https://www.svdj.nl/generatiekloof-jongeren-minder-televisie/>
- Barassi, V. (2015). *Activism on the web: Everyday struggles against digital capitalism*. Routledge.
- Barnes, B. (2001). Practice as collective action. In K. Knorr Cetina, T. R. Schatzki, & E. von Savigny (Eds.), *The practice turn in contemporary theory* (pp. 25–36). Routledge.
- Barreneche, C. (2012). The order of places: Code, ontology and visibility in locative media. *Computational Culture*, 2, 15.
- Bartlett, D. (1995). News radio: More than masters of disaster. In E. C. Pease & E. E. Dennis (Eds.), *Radio: The forgotten medium* (pp. 31–41). Transaction Publishers.
- Berenstein, R. (2002). Acting live: TV performance, intimacy, and immediacy (1945–1955). In J. Friedman (Ed.), *Reality squared: Televisual discourse on the real* (pp. 25–49). Rutgers University Press.
- Berry, D. M. (2011). *The philosophy of software: Code and mediation in the digital age*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Berry, D. M., & Fagerjord, A. (2017). *Digital humanities: Knowledge and critique in a digital age*. Polity Press.
- Blumer, H. (1954). What is wrong with social theory? *American Sociological Review*, 19(1), 3–10. JSTOR. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2088165>
- Bolderman, L. (2020). *Contemporary music tourism: A theory of musical topophilia*. Routledge.
- Bolter, J. D., & Grusin, R. (1999). *Remediation: Understanding new media*. The MIT Press.
- Bolter, J. D., MacIntyre, B., Nitsche, M., & Farley, K. (2013). Liveness, presence, and performance in contemporary digital media. In U. Ekman (Ed.), *Throughout: Art and culture emerging with ubiquitous computing*. The MIT Press.
- Borra, E., & Rieder, B. (2014). Programmed method: Developing a toolset for capturing and analyzing tweets. *Aslib Journal of Information Management*, 66(3), 262–278. <https://doi.org/10.1108/AJIM-09-2013-0094>
- Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The logic of practice*. Stanford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1996). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste* (Reprint 1984). Harvard University Press.

- Bourdon, J. (2000). Live television is still alive: On television as an unfulfilled promise. *Media, Culture & Society*, 22(5), 531–556.
- Bourdon, J. (2020). From correspondence to computers: A theory of mediated presence in history. *Communication Theory*, 30(1), 64–83. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ct/qtz020>
- Bowen, G. A. (2006). Grounded theory and sensitizing concepts. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 5(3), 12–23. <https://doi.org/10.1177/160940690600500304>
- Boy, J. D., & Uitermark, J. (2017). Reassembling the city through Instagram. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 42(4), 612–624. <https://doi.org/10.1111/tran.12185>
- boyd, d. (2007). Why youth (heart) social network sites: The role of networked publics in teenage social life. *MacArthur Foundation Series on Digital Learning – Youth, Identity, and Digital Media Volume*, 119–142.
- boyd, d. (2008). *Taken out of context: American teen sociality in networked publics* [PhD thesis, University of California]. <http://www.danah.org/papers/TakenOutOfContext.pdf>
- boyd, d. (2010). Social network sites as networked publics: Affordances, dynamics, and implications. In Z. Papacharissi (Ed.), *Networked self: Identity, community, and culture on social network sites* (pp. 39–58). Routledge.
- boyd, d. (2012). Participating in the always-on lifestyle. In M. Mandiberg (Ed.), *The social media reader* (pp. 71–76). New York University Press.
- BrabantKennis. (2018). *Festivalisering: Over (de toekomst van) de Brabantse festivalcultuur* (p. 9). BrabantKennis.
- Bruns, A. (2018). Facebook shuts the gate after the horse has bolted, and hurts real research in the process. *Internet Policy Review*. <https://policyreview.info/articles/news/facebook-shuts-gate-after-horse-has-bolted-and-hurts-real-research-process/786>
- Bruns, A., & Burgess, J. (2011). The use of Twitter hashtags in the formation of ad hoc publics. *Proceedings of the 6th European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) General Conference 2011*, 1–9.
- Bryman, A. (2012). *Social research methods* (4th ed). Oxford University Press.
- Bucher, T. (2014). *Theorizing “right time”: Kairos and algorithmic culture*. Social Media and the Transformation of Public Space, Amsterdam.
- Bucher, T. (2018). *CHECK!! IF...THEN: Algorithmic power and politics*. Oxford University Press.
- Bucher, T. (2020). The right-time web: Theorizing the kairologic of algorithmic media. *New Media & Society*, 22(9), 1699–1714. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444820913560>
- Bucher, T., & Helmond, A. (2017). The affordances of social media platforms. In J. Burgess, T. Poell, & A. Marwick (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of social media* (pp. 233–253). SAGE Publications.
- Caldwell, J. T. (2000). Live Slippages: Performing and programming televisual liveness. In G. Hallenberger & H. Schanze (Eds.), *Live is life: Mediale Inszenierungen des Authentischen*. Nomos.
- Carto. (n.d.). CARTO. <https://carto.com/>
- Castells, M. (1999). Grassrooting the space of flows. *Urban Geography*, 20(4), 294–302. <https://doi.org/10.2747/0272-3638.20.4.294>
- Castells, M. (2001). *The internet galaxy: Reflections on the internet business, and society*. Oxford University Press.
- CBS. (2020). *StatLine—Bevolkingsontwikkeling; maand en jaar*. <https://opendata.cbs.nl/statline/?dl=2C8D4#/CBS/nl/dataset/83474NED/table>
- Cefai, S., & Couldry, N. (2017). Mediating the presence of others: Reconceptualising co-presence as mediated intimacy. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549417743040>
- Charmaz, K. (2014). *Constructing grounded theory: 2nd edition*. SAGE Publications.
- Cocker, E. (2018). What now, what next—Kairotic coding and the unfolding future seized. *Digital Creativity*, 29(1), 82–95. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14626268.2017.1419978>
- Coleman, R. (2020). Making, managing and experiencing ‘the now’: Digital media and the compression and pacing of ‘real-time.’ *New Media & Society*, 22(9), 1680–1698. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444820914871>
- Coosto. (2018). <https://www.coosto.com>
- Cordelois, A. (2010). Using digital technology for collective ethnographic observation: An experiment on ‘coming home.’ *Social Science Information*, 49(3), 445–463. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0539018410371266>
- Corner, J. (2004). Television’s “event worlds” and the immediacies of seeing: Notes from the documentary archive. *The Communication Review*, 7(4), 337–343. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10714420490886934>
- Costa, E. (2018). Affordances-in-practice: An ethnographic critique of social media logic and context collapse. *New Media & Society*, 20(10), 3641–3656. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444818756290>

Couldry, N. (2003). *Media rituals: A critical approach*. Routledge.

Couldry, N. (2004a). Liveness, "reality," and the mediated habitus from television to the mobile phone. *The Communication Review*, 7(4), 353–361. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10714420490886952>

Couldry, N. (2004b). Theorising media as practice. *Social Semiotics*, 14(2), 115–132. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1035033042000238295>

Couldry, N. (2008). Mediatization or mediation? Alternative understandings of the emergent space of digital storytelling. *New Media & Society*, 10(3), 373–391. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444808089414>

Couldry, N., & Hepp, A. (2017). *The mediated construction of reality*. Polity.

Couldry, N., & Van Dijck, J. (2015). Researching social media as if the social mattered. *Social Media + Society*, 1(2), 2056305115604174. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305115604174>

Crang, M. (1997). Picturing practices: Research through the tourist gaze. *Progress in Human Geography*, 21(3), 359–373. <https://doi.org/10.1191/030913297669603510>

Crossley, N. (2013). Habit and habitus. *Body & Society*, 19(2–3), 136–161. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1357034X12472543>

Dayan, D., & Katz, E. (1992). *Media events: The live broadcasting of history*. Harvard University Press.

de Souza e Silva, A., & Sheller, M. (2015a). Introduction: Moving toward adjacent possibles. In A. de Souza e Silva & M. Sheller (Eds.), *Mobility and locative media: Mobile communication in hybrid spaces* (1 Edition). Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

de Souza e Silva, A., & Sheller, M. (Eds.). (2015b). *Mobility and locative media: Mobile communication in hybrid spaces* (1 Edition). Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

De Vries, I. (2012). *Tantalisingly close: An archaeology of communication desires in discourses of mobile wireless media*. Amsterdam Amsterdam University Press.

Deacon, D., & Stanyer, J. (2014). Mediatization: Key concept or conceptual bandwagon? *Media, Culture & Society*, 36(7), 1032–1044. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443714542218>

Delli Paoli, A., & D'Auria, V. (2021). Digital ethnography: A systematic literature review. *Italian Sociological Review*, 11(4S), 243.

Deuze, M. (2012). *Media life*. Polity.

Digital Methods Initiative. (2017). *Get the picture: Digital methods for visual research* (Digital Methods Summer School 2017). University of Amsterdam. <https://wiki.digitalmethods.net/Dmi/SummerSchool2017>

Domingo, D. (2015). Follow them, closely. *Social Media + Society*, 1(1). <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305115578134>

Ekstrom, A. (2016). When is the now? Monitoring disaster in the expansion of time. *International Journal of Communication (Online)*, 10, 5342–5361.

Ellison, N., & Boyd, D. (2013). Sociality through social network sites. In W. Dutton (Ed.), *The Oxford handbook of internet studies* (pp. 151–172). Oxford University Press.

Endemol BV. (1999). *Big brother* [TV Series].

Erl, A., & Nünning, A. (Eds.). (2010). *Cultural memory studies: An international and interdisciplinary handbook* (S. B. Young, Trans.). de Gruyter.

Ernst, W. (2013). From media history to zeitkritik. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 30(6), 132–146. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276413496286>

Evans, L. (2015). *Locative social media: Place in the digital age*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Farman, J. (2012). *Mobile interface theory: Embodied space and locative media* (1st ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203847664>

Farman, J., & Frith, J. (2016). Location-based media. In A. de Souza e Silva (Ed.), *Dialogues on Mobile Communication*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315534619>

Feuer, J. (1983). The concept of live television: Ontology as ideology. In E. A. Kaplan (Ed.), *Regarding television: Critical approaches—An anthology* (pp. 12–21). American Film Institute.

Fiesler, C., & Proferes, N. (2018). "Participant" perceptions of Twitter research ethics: *Social Media + Society*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305118763366>

Floris. (2017, December 22). *3FM Serious Request 2017 | Powerrrr*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O5CVpv3F-9Y>

Fornas, J. (2016). The mediatization of third-time tools: Culturalizing and historicizing temporality. *International Journal of Communication (Online)*, 5213–.

franzke, aline shakti, Bechman, A., Zimmer, M., Ess, C., & Association of Internet Researchers. (2020). *Internet research: Ethical guidelines 3.0*. <https://aoir.org/reports/ethics3.pdf>

- Frosh, P., & Pinchevski, A. (2017). Media and events after Media Events. *Media, Culture & Society*, 0163443717726007. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443717726007>
- Gadamer, H.-G. (1975). *Wahrheit und Methode: Grundzüge einer philosophischen Hermeneutik* (4. Aufl., unveränderter Nachdr. der 3., erw. Aufl.). Mohr.
- Gadamer, H.-G. (1989). *Truth and method* (J. C. Weinsheimer & D. G. Marshall, Trans.; 2nd rev. ed). Sheed & Ward.
- Garde-Hansen, J., Hoskins, A., & Reading, A. (Eds.). (2009). *Save as... digital memories*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Geboers, M. (2019). 'Writing' oneself into tragedy: Visual user practices and spectatorship of the Alan Kurdi images on Instagram: *Visual Communication*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1470357219857118>
- Gephi Consortium. (2012). *Gephi*. <https://github.com/gephi/gephi>
- Gerbaudo, P. (2012). *Tweets and the streets: Social media and contemporary activism*. Pluto Press. <https://library.oapen.org/handle/20.500.12657/30772>
- Gerbaudo, P. (2015). Protest avatars as memetic signifiers: Political profile pictures and the construction of collective identity on social media in the 2011 protest wave. *Information, Communication & Society*, 18(8), 916–929. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2015.1043316>
- Gibbs, M., Meese, J., Arnold, M., Nansen, B., & Carter, M. (2015). #Funeral and Instagram: Death, social media, and platform vernacular. *Information, Communication & Society*, 18(3), 255–268. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2014.987152>
- Giddens, A. (1990). *The consequences of modernity*. Polity Press.
- Gillespie, T. (2017). The platform metaphor, revisited. *Digital Society Blog*. <https://www.hiig.de/en/the-platform-metaphor-revisited/>
- Gingrich, A. (2013). Methodology. In J. G. Carrier & D. Gewertz (Eds.), *The handbook of sociocultural anthropology* (pp. 107–124). Bloomsbury Academic.
- Global citizen of New York City. (2020, April 18). *One world: Together at home*.
- Goffman, E. (1959). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. Doubleday & Company.
- Goldfarb, J. C. (2017). Media Events, solidarity, and the rise and fall of the public sphere. *Media, Culture & Society*, 0163443717726010. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443717726010>
- Goldkuhl, G., & Cronholm, S. (2010). Adding theoretical grounding to grounded theory: Toward multi-grounded theory. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 9(2), 187–205. <https://doi.org/10.1177/160940691000900205>
- Gripsrud, J. (1998). Television, broadcasting, flow: Key metaphors in TV theory. In C. Geraghty & D. Lusted (Eds.), *The television studies book* (pp. 17–32). Arnold.
- Grusin, R. (2010). *Premediation: Affect and mediality after 9/11*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hammelburg, E. (2015). #Stemfie: Reconceptualising liveness in the era of social media. *Tijdschrift voor mediageschiedenis*, 18(1), 85–100. <https://doi.org/10.18146/tmg18224>
- Hammelburg, E., Drakopoulos, L., Benedetti, A., and Colombo, G. (2017). *Studying liveness @ OerolFestival2017*. In: Get the picture: Digital methods for visual research. Digital methods summer school 2017. <https://wiki.digitalmethods.net/Dmi/InstagramLivenessOerolFestival>
- Hammelburg, E. (2020) Live event-spaces: Place and space in the mediated experience of events. In: *Locating imagination in popular culture: Place, culture & belonging*. Van Es, N., Reijnders, S.L., Bolderman, S.L. & Waysdorf, A Eds.). Routledge.
- Hammelburg E. (2021) Being there live: An ethnographic approach for studying social media use in mediated live events. *Social Media + Society*. January 2021. doi:10.1177/2056305120984454.
- Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (2007). *Ethnography: Principles in practice*. (3rd ed.). Routledge.
- Hand, M. (2020). Photography meets social media: Image making and sharing in a continually networked present. In G. Pasternak (Ed.), *The Handbook of Photography Studies*. Routledge.
- Hasebrink, U., & Hepp, A. (2017). How to research cross-media practices? Investigating media repertoires and media ensembles. *Convergence*, 23(4), 362–377. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354856517700384>
- Hassan, R., & Purser, R. E. (Eds.). (2007). *24/7 Time and temporality in the network society*. Stanford Business Books.
- Heft, H. (2010). Affordances and the perception of landscape: An inquiry into environmental perception and aesthetics. *Innovative Approaches to Researching Landscape and Health*, 9–32.
- Heidegger, M. (2010). *Being and time* (D. J. Schmidt, Ed.; J. Stambaugh, Trans.). State University of New York Press.
- Helmond, A. (2015). *The web as platform: Data flows in social media* [University of Amsterdam]. <http://dare.uva.nl/document/2/164023>
- Hepp, A. (2019). *Deep mediatization*. Routledge.

- Hermes, J. (2005). *Re-reading popular culture*. Blackwell.
- Hermes, J., Horselsenberg, P., Van Kuijeren, H., Van Teylingen - Geerlings, B., & Wierda, W. (2013). *Oerol in de branding*. Hogeschool In Holland. <https://www.inholland.nl/media/10676/oerol-in-de-branding.pdf>
- Hesselberth, P. (2017). Discourses on disconnectivity and the right to disconnect. *New Media & Society*, 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444817711449>
- Highfield, T. (2016). *Social Media and Everyday Politics*. Polity.
- Highfield, T., & Leaver, T. (2016). Instagrammatics and digital methods: Studying visual social media, from selfies and GIFs to memes and emoji. *Communication Research and Practice*, 2(1), 47–62. <https://doi.org/10.1080/22041451.2016.1155332>
- Hine, C. (2015). *Ethnography for the Internet: Embedded, embodied and everyday*. Bloomsbury.
- Hjarvard, S. (2013). *The mediatization of culture and society*. Routledge.
- Hjorth, L. (2013a). The place of the emplaced mobile: A case study into gendered locative media practices. *Mobile Media & Communication*, 1(1), 110–115. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2050157912459738>
- Hjorth, L. (2013b). Relocating the mobile: A case study of locative media in Seoul, South Korea. *Convergence*, 19(2), 237–249. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354856512462360>
- Hjorth, L., & Sharp, K. (2014). The art of ethnography: The aesthetics or ethics of participation? *Visual Studies*, 29(2), 128–135. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1472586X.2014.887261>
- Hoskins, A. (2009). Digital network memory. In A. Erll & A. Rigney (Eds.), *Mediation, remediation, and the dynamics of cultural memory* (No. 6; Issue 6, pp. 91–106). Walter de Gruyter.
- Humphreys, L. (2020). Birthdays, anniversaries, and temporalities: Or how the past is represented as relevant through on-this-date media. *New Media & Society*, 22(9), 1663–1679. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444820914874>
- Hutchby, I. (2001). Technologies, texts and affordances. *Sociology*, 35(2), 441–456. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0038038501000219>
- Ihde, D. (1990). *Technology and the lifeworld: From garden to earth*. Indiana University Press.
- Instagram. (n.d.). *About us*. Instagram. Retrieved January 7, 2018, from <https://www.instagram.com/about/us/>
- Isaac, M. (2016, August 2). Instagram takes a page from Snapchat, and takes aim at it, too. *New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/03/technology/instagram-stories-snapchat-facebook.html>
- Ito, M. (2008). Introduction. In K. Varnelis (Ed.), *Networked publics*. MIT Press.
- Ito, M., & Okabe, D. (2005). Intimate visual co-presence. *Position Paper for the Seventh International Conference on Ubiquitous Computing, Tokyo*, 11–14. <http://keital.sfc.keio.ac.jp/lab/blog/pdf/ito.ubicomp05.pdf>
- Jongenelen, S. (2010). De festivalisering van Nederland. *Boekman*, 83, 6–12.
- Katz, E., & Dayan, D. (1985). Media events: On the experience of not being there. *Religion*, 15(3), 305–314. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0048-721X\(85\)90017-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/0048-721X(85)90017-X)
- Katz, E., & Dayan, D. (2017). L'esprit de l'escalier: 25 years of hindsight. *Media, Culture & Society*, 0163443717726015. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443717726015>
- Katz, E., & Liebes, T. (2007). 'No more peace!': How disaster, terror and war have upstaged media events. *International Journal of Communication*, 1(1), 10.
- Kaun, A. (2016). Archiving protest digitally: The temporal regime of immediation. *International Journal of Communication*, 10(0), 14.
- Kaun, A., Fornäs, J., & Ericson, S. (2016). Media times| Mediating time—temporalizing media: Introduction. *International Journal of Communication*, 10(0), 7.
- Kaun, A., & Stierstedt, F. (2014). Facebook time: Technological and institutional affordances for media memories. *New Media & Society*, 16(7), 1154–1168. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444814544001>
- Keane, W. (2014). Affordances and reflexivity in ethical life: An ethnographic stance. *Anthropological Theory*, 14(1), 3–26. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1463499614521721>
- Keightley, E. (2013). From immediacy to intermediacy: The mediation of lived time. *Time & Society*, 22(1), 55–75. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0961463X11402045>
- Kelman, H. (1969). Kairos: The auspicious moment. *The American Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 29(1), 59–83. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF01872669>
- Korin, E. (2016). Nowstalgia: Articulating future pasts through selfies and GoPro-ing. *Medien & Zeit: Kommunikation in Vergangenheit Und Gegenwart*, 31(4), 50–60.
- Kress, G., & Van Leeuwen, T. (2021). *Reading images: The grammar of visual design* (3rd edition). Routledge.
- Krotz, F. (2018). Media logic and the mediatization approach: A good partnership, a mésalliance, or a misunderstanding? In C. Thimm, M. Anastasiadis, & J. Einspänner-Pflock (Eds.), *Media logic(s) revisited* (pp. 41–61). Springer International Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-65756-6>

- Kumar, S. (2012). The fatal snare of proximity: Live television, new media and the witnessing of Mumbai attacks. *South Asian History and Culture*, 3(4), 532–548. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19472498.2012.720068>
- Kumar, S. (2019). Twitter as liveness: #ShamedInSydney and the paradox of participatory live television. In A. Punathambekar & S. Mohan (Eds.), *Global Digital Cultures: Perspectives from South Asia* (p. 19). University of Michigan Press.
- Langlois, G. (2014). *Meaning in the age of social media*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Larsen, J., & Sandbye, M. (2014). Introduction: The new face of snapshot photography. In M. Sandbye & J. Larsen (Eds.), *Digital snaps: The new face of photography*. IB Taurus.
- Leaver, T., Highfield, T., & Abidin, C. (2020). *Instagram: Visual social media cultures: Vol. chapter 2*. Polity.
- Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The production of space* (D. Nicholson-Smith, Trans.). Blackwell.
- Lehmuskallio, A., & Gómez Cruz, E. (2016). Why material visual practices? In E. Gómez Cruz & A. Lehmuskallio (Eds.), *Digital photography and everyday life: Empirical studies on material visual practices*. Routledge.
- Licoppe, C. (2004). 'Connected' presence: The emergence of a new repertoire for managing social relationships in a changing communication technoscape. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 22(1), 135–156. <https://doi.org/10.1068/d323t>
- Liebes, T., & Blondheim, M. (2005). Myths to the rescue: How live television intervenes in history. In E. W. Rothenbuhler & M. Coman (Eds.), *Media anthropology*. SAGE.
- Lingel, J. (2017). Networked field studies: Comparative inquiry and online communities. *Social Media + Society*, 3(4). <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305117743139>
- Livingstone, S. (2004). The challenge of changing audiences or, what is the audience researcher to do in the age of the internet? *European Journal of Communication*, 19(1), 75–86. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323104040695>
- Livingstone, S. (Ed.). (2005). *Audiences and publics: When cultural engagement matters for the public sphere*. Intellect.
- Lohmeier, C., & Pentzold, C. (2014). Making mediated memory work: Cuban-Americans, Miami media and the doings of diaspora memories. *Media, Culture and Society*, 6, 776–789. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443713518574>
- Lombard, M., & Ditton, T. (1997). At the heart of it all: The concept of presence. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 3(2), 0–0. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1083-6101.1997.tb00072.x>
- Luka, M. E., & Millette, M. (2018). (Re)framing big data: Activating situated knowledges and a feminist ethics of care in social media research. *Social Media + Society*, 4(2). <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305118768297>
- Lunt, P. (2004). Liveness in reality television and factual broadcasting. *The Communication Review*, 7(4), 329–335. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10714420490886925>
- Lunt, P., & Livingstone, S. (2016). Is 'mediatization' the new paradigm for our field? A commentary on Deacon and Staney (2014, 2015) and Hepp, Hjarvard and Lundby (2015). *Media, Culture & Society*, 38(3), 462–470. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443716631288>
- Lupinacci, L. (2019, May 3). *Research*. Ludmila Lupinacci. <https://ludmilalupinacci.com/research/>
- Lupinacci, L. (2021). 'Absentmindedly scrolling through nothing': Liveness and compulsory continuous connectedness in social media. *Media, Culture & Society*, 43(2), 273–290. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443720939454>
- Madianou, M. (2013). Humanitarian campaigns in social media. *Journalism Studies*, 14(2), 249–266. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2012.718558>
- Madianou, M. (2015). Polymedia and ethnography: Understanding the social in social media. *Social Media + Society*, 1(1). <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305115578675>
- Madianou, M. (2016). Ambient co-presence: Transnational family practices in polymedia environments. *Global Networks*, 16(2), 183–201. <https://doi.org/10.1111/glob.12105>
- Maier, J. R. A., Fadel, G. M., & Battisto, D. G. (2009). An affordance-based approach to architectural theory, design, and practice. *Design Studies*, 30(4), 393–414. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.destud.2009.01.002>
- Manovich, L. (2017). *Instagram and contemporary image*. CUNY. http://manovich.net/content/04-projects/154-instagram-and-contemporary-image/instagram_book_manovich_2017.pdf
- Marcus, G. E. (1995). Ethnography in/of the world system: The emergence of multi-sited ethnography. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 24(1), 95–117. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.an.24.100195.000523>
- Marino, S. (2015). Making space, making place: Digital togetherness and the redefinition of migrant identities online. *Social Media + Society*, 1(2), 205630511562247. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305115622479>

- Markham, A. (2006). Ethic as method, method as ethic: A case for reflexivity in qualitative ICT research. *Journal of Information Ethics*, 15(2), 37–54. <https://doi.org/10.3172/JIE.15.2.37>
- Markham, A., Tiidenberg, K., & Herman, A. (2018). Ethics as methods: Doing ethics in the era of big data research. *Social Media + Society*, 4(3). <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305118784502>
- Marres, N. (2017). *Digital sociology: The reinvention of social research*. Polity.
- Matelski, M. J. (1995). Resilient radio. In E. C. Pease & E. E. Dennis (Eds.), *Radio: The forgotten medium* (pp. 5–14). Transaction Publishers.
- Mattoni, A., & Treré, E. (2014). Media practices, mediation processes, and mediatization in the study of social movements. *Communication Theory*, 24(3), 252–271. <https://doi.org/10.1111/comt.12038>
- McQuire, S. (2013). Photography's afterlife: Documentary images and the operational archive. *Journal of Material Culture*, 18(3), 223–241. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1359183513489930>
- McVeigh-Schultz, J., & Baym, N. K. (2015). Thinking of you: Vernacular affordance in the context of the microsocial relationship app, Couple. *Social Media + Society*, 1(2). <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305115604649>
- Meese, J., Gibbs, M., Carter, M., Arnold, M., Nansen, B., & Kohn, T. (2015). Selfies at funerals: Mourning and presencing on social media platforms. *International Journal of Communication*, 9(0), 14.
- Merleau-Ponty, M. (1962). *Phenomenology of perception: An introduction*. Routledge.
- Meyrowitz, J. (1985). *No sense of place: The impact of electronic media on social behavior*. Oxford University Press.
- Milan, S. (2015a). When algorithms shape collective action: Social media and the dynamics of cloud protesting. *Social Media + Society*, 1(2), 2056305115622481. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305115622481>
- Milan, S. (2015b). From social movements to cloud protesting: The evolution of collective identity. *Information, Communication & Society*, 18(8), 887–900. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2015.1043135>
- Miller, C. R. (1994). Opportunity, opportunism, and progress: Kairos in the rhetoric of technology. *Argumentation*, 8(1), 81–96. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00710705>
- Miller, D., & Slater, D. (2000). *The internet: An ethnographic approach*. Berg.
- Mintz, A., & Silva, T. (2019). *Interrogating Vision APIs*. Digital Media Winter Institute 2019. <https://smart.inovamedialab.org/smart-2019/project-reports/interrogating-vision-apis/>
- MMNieuws. (2013, October 28). Festival fever: Groei in de Nederlandse festivalwereld. *MMNieuws*. <https://www.mmnieuws.nl/article/festival-fever-groei-in-de-nederlandse-festivalwereld/>
- Moores, S. (2000). *Media and everyday life in modern society*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Moores, S. (2004). The doubling of place: Electronic media, time-space arrangements and social relationships. In N. Couldry & A. McCarthy (Eds.), *MediaSpace: Place, scale, and culture in a media age*. Routledge.
- Morley, D. (1974). Reconceptualising the media audience: Towards an ethnography of audiences. *CCCS Selected Working Papers*, 2, 15.
- Morley, D. (1992). *Television, audiences, and Cultural Studies*. Routledge.
- Morley, D. (2001). Belongings: Place, space and identity in a mediated world. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 4(4), 425–448. <https://doi.org/10.1177/136754940100400404>
- Murdoch, G., & Pink, S. (2005). Picturing practices: Visual anthropology and media ethnography. In E. W. Rothenbuhler & M. Coman (Eds.), *Media anthropology*. SAGE.
- Myrick, D., & Sánchez, E (Directors). (1999). *The Blair witch project* [Film].
- Nagy, P., & Neff, G. (2015). Imagined affordance: Reconstructing a keyword for communication theory. *Social Media + Society*, 1(2), 2056305115603385. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305115603385>
- Nieborg, D. B., & Helmond, A. (2018). The political economy of Facebook's platformization in the mobile ecosystem: Facebook Messenger as a platform instance. *Media, Culture & Society*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443718818384>
- Niederer, S. (2018). *Networked images: Visual methodologies for the digital age*. Inaugural lecture at Amsterdam University of Applied Sciences, Amsterdam.
- Niemeyer, K. (2014). Introduction: Media and nostalgia. In K. Niemeyer (Ed.), *Media and nostalgia* (pp. 1–23). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137375889_1
- Niemeyer, K., & Keightley, E. (2020). The commodification of time and memory: Online communities and the dynamics of commercially produced nostalgia. *New Media & Society*, 22(9), 1639–1662. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444820914869>
- Nissenbaum, H. (2011). A contextual approach to privacy online. *Daedalus*, 140(4), 32–48. Gale Academic OneFile.
- Oerol. (n.d.). *Oerol.nl*. Retrieved November 23, 2019, from <https://www.oerol.nl/nl/>

- Okabe, D. (2004). Emergent social practices, situations and relations through everyday camera phone use. *International Conference on Mobile Communication and Social Change*, Seoul, Korea. http://www.itofisher.com/mito/archives/okabe_seoul.pdf
- Oz, A. (2005). *A Tale of Love and Darkness*. Vintage.
- Özkul, D. (2015). Location as a sense of place: Everyday life, mobile, and spatial practices in urban spaces. In A. de Souza e Silva & M. Sheller (Eds.), *Mobility and locative media: Mobile communication in hybrid spaces* (1 Edition). Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Papacharissi, Z. (2015a). *Affective publics: Sentiment, technology, and politics*. Oxford University Press.
- Papacharissi, Z. (2015b). We have always been social. *Social Media + Society*, 1(1), 2056305115581185. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305115581185>
- Pearce, W., Özkula, S. M., Greene, A. K., Teeling, L., Bansard, J. S., Omena, J. J., & Rabello, E. T. (2018). Visual cross-platform analysis: Digital methods to research social media images. *Information, Communication & Society*, 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2018.1486871>
- Peeren, E., Celikates, R., Kloet, J., & de, Poell, T (Eds.). (2018). *Global cultures of contestation: Mobility, sustainability, aesthetics & connectivity*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pentzold, C. (2018). Between moments and millennia: Temporalising mediatisation. *Media, Culture & Society*, 40(6), 927–937. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443717752814>
- Pentzold, C., Konieczko, S., Osterloh, F., & Plöger, A.-C. (2020). #qualitytime: Aspiring to temporal autonomy in hurried leisure. *New Media & Society*, 22(9), 1619–1638. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444820913566>
- Peters, J. D. (2001). Witnessing. *Media, Culture & Society*, 23(6), 707–723. <https://doi.org/10.1177/016344301023006002>
- Pink, S. (2009). *Doing sensory ethnography*. SAGE.
- Pink, S. (2021). *Doing visual ethnography* (4th edition). Sage.
- Pink, S., Horst, H. A., Postill, J., Hjorth, L., Lewis, T., & Tacchi, J. (2016). *Digital ethnography: Principles and practice*. SAGE.
- Pink, S., & Lanzen, D. (2018). Future anthropology ethics and datafication: Temporality and responsibility in research. *Social Media + Society*, 4(2). <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305118768298>
- Pixolution. (2012). *Image Sorter* (4.3) [Computer software].
- Poell, T. (2019). Social media, temporality, and the legitimacy of protest. *Social Movement Studies*, 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2019.1605287>
- Postill, J. (2008). Localizing the internet beyond communities and networks. *New Media & Society*, 10(3), 413–431. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444808089416>
- Postill, J., & Pink, S. (2012). Social media ethnography: The digital researcher in a messy web. *Media International Australia*, 145(1), 123–134. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1329878X1214500114>
- Pride Amsterdam. (2018). *Jaarverslag Pride Amsterdam 2018*. https://issuu.com/amsterdamgaypride/docs/jaarverslag_pride_amsterdam_2018
- Pride Amsterdam, & Spee, L. (2018). *Vergunningaanvraag Pride Amsterdam 2018*.
- Pride Foundation. (n.d.). Pride. Retrieved October 22, 2020, from <https://pride.amsterdam/stichting-amsterdam-gay-pride/?lang=en>
- Puschmann, C. (2019). An end to the wild west of social media research: A response to Axel Bruns. *Information, Communication & Society*, 22(11), 1582–1589. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2019.1646300>
- Rakić, T., & Chambers, D. (2012). Rethinking the consumption of places. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39(3), 1612–1633. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2011.12.003>
- Rambukkana, N. (2015). Hashtags as technosocial events. In N. Rambukkana (Ed.), *Hashtag Publics: The Power and Politics of Discursive Networks*. (pp. 1–10). Peter Lang.
- Raymond, C. M., Kyttä, M., & Stedman, R. (2017). Sense of place, fast and slow: The potential contributions of affordance theory to sense of place. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 8, 1674. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2017.01674>
- Reay, D. (2004). 'It's all becoming a habitus': Beyond the habitual use of habitus in educational research. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 25(4), 431–444. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0142569042000236934>
- Respons. (2012). *Festival monitor online*. <https://respons.nl/producten/#tab-id-3>
- Ricci, D. (2017). *Visualizations for analytical work*. DMI Summer School, Amsterdam.
- Richardson, I., & Wilken, R. (2012). Parerga of the third screen: Mobile media, place and presence. In R. Wilken & G. Goggin (Eds.), *Mobile Technology and Place* (pp. 181–197). Routledge.
- Rickert, T. (2007). Invention in the wild: On locating kairos in space-time. In C. J. Keller & C. R. Weisser (Eds.), *The Locations of Composition*. SUNY Press.

- Rieder, B. (2013). Studying Facebook via data extraction: The Netvizz application. *Proceedings of the 5th Annual ACM Web Science Conference*.
- Rieder, B. (2015). *Visual Tagnet Explorer, version 1.1*. <https://tools.digitalmethods.net/netvizz/instagram/>
- Rieder, B. (2018, August 11). Facebook's app review and how independent research just got a lot harder. *The Politics of Systems: Thoughts on Software, Power, and Digital Method*. <http://thepoliticsofsystems.net/>
- Rieder, B., Den Tex, E., & Mintz, A. (2018). *Memespector*. <https://github.com/bernorieder/memespector/>
- Rogers, R. (2019a). *Doing digital methods*. SAGE.
- Rogers, R. (2019b). *The Digital Methods Initiative—About Us*. <https://wiki.digitalmethods.net/Dmi/DmiAbout>
- Rogers, R. (2020, January 13). *Post-API research: On the contemporary study of social media data*. Digital Methods Winter School and Data Sprint 2020, Amsterdam. https://docs.google.com/presentation/d/1W6BQTQyVcaDEKqwaribYZPSl3Olx0LEgb0vPJJKJsel/edit#slide=id.g6d59a7bd4f_0_45
- Roscoe, J. (2004). Multi-platform event television: Reconceptualizing our relationship with television. *The Communication Review*, 7(4), 363–369. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10714420490886961>
- Rose, G. (2016). *Visual methodologies: An introduction to researching with visual materials*. SAGE.
- Rosenberger, R., & Verbeek, P.-P. (Eds.). (2015). *Postphenomenological investigations: Essays on human-technology relations*. Lexington Books.
- Rushkoff, D. (2013). *Present shock: When everything happens now*. Penguin group.
- Rustema, R. (2000). Big Brother als 'pure televisie'. In M. Reesink & I. Costera Meijer (Eds.), *Reality Soap! Big Brother en de opkomst van het multimediaconcept*. Boom.
- Saker, M., & Frith, J. (2019). From hybrid space to dislocated space: Mobile virtual reality and a third stage of mobile media theory. *New Media & Society*, 21(1), 214–228. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444818792407>
- Scannell, P. (1996). *Radio, television and modern life: A phenomenological approach*. Blackwell.
- Scannell, P. (2014). *Television and the meaning of "live": An enquiry into the human situation*. Polity Press.
- Schatzki, T. R. (2001). Introduction: Practice theory. In K. K. Cetina, T. R. Schatzki, & E. von Savigny (Eds.), *The practice turn in contemporary theory*. Routledge.
- Schreiber, M. (2017). Audiences, aesthetics and affordances analysing practices of visual communication on social media. *Digital Culture & Society*, 3(2), 143–164. <https://doi.org/10.14361/dcs-2017-0209>
- Schrooten, M. (2012). Moving ethnography online: Researching Brazilian migrants' online togetherness. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 35(10), 1794–1809. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2012.659271>
- Schulz, W. (2004). Reconstructing mediatization as an analytical concept. *European Journal of Communication*, 19(1), 87–101. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323104040696>
- Schwartz, R. (2015). Online place attachment: Exploring technological ties to physical places. In A. de Souza e Silva & M. Sheller (Eds.), *Mobility and locative media: Mobile communication in hybrid spaces* (1 Edition). Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Schwarz, O. (2010). On friendship, boobs and the logic of the catalogue: Online self-portraits as a means for the exchange of capital. *Convergence*, 16(2), 163–183. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354856509357582>
- Sheller, M. (2004). Mobile publics: Beyond the network perspective. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 22(1), 39–52. <https://doi.org/10.1068/d324t>
- Shircliff, B. (2019). Transformative power of city play: Social media and place in a post-affordance world. *Cities & Health*, 3(1–2), 127–140. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23748834.2018.1551115>
- Snap Inc. (n.d.). *Snap Inc.* Retrieved January 7, 2018, from <https://www.snap.com>
- Software Studies Initiative. (2017). *ImagePlot*. <http://lab.softwarestudies.com/p/imageplot.html>
- Sonnevend, J. (2017). The lasting charm of Media Events. *Media, Culture & Society*, 0163443717726013. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443717726013>
- Sontag, S. (1977). *On photography*. Macmillan.
- Sørensen, I. E. (2016). The revival of live TV: Liveness in a multiplatform context. *Media, Culture & Society*, 38(3), 381–399. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443715608260>
- Stauff, M. (2016). Taming distraction: The second-screen assemblage, television and the classroom. *Media and Communication*, 4. <https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v4i3.538>
- Stern, D. (2003). The practical turn. In S. Turner & P. Roth (Eds.), *The Blackwell guide to the philosophy of the Social Sciences* (pp. 185–206). Blackwell.
- Stichting KijkOnderzoek. (2021). *Rapportage live kijkers*.
- Stichting KijkOnderzoek (SKO). (n.d.). *Kijkonderzoek: Jaar top 100 inclusief sport*. Retrieved March 9, 2021, from <https://kijkonderzoek.nl/component/kijkcijfers/file,j1-0-1-p>

- Stichting KijkOnderzoek (SKO). (2021). *Jaarpersbericht TV kijkcijfers*. Stichting KijkOnderzoek (SKO). https://kijkonderzoek.nl/images/Persberichten/2020/Jaarpersberichten/Jaaroverzicht_SKO_2020.pdf
- Strauss, A. L., & Corbin, J. M. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. (2nd ed). Sage Publications.
- Sutton, T. (2017). Disconnect to reconnect: The food/technology metaphor in digital detoxing. *First Monday*. <https://doi.org/10.5210/fm.v22i6.7561>
- Syvetsen, T., & Enli, G. (2019). Digital detox: Media resistance and the promise of authenticity. *Convergence. The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354856519847325>
- Thrift, N. (2003). Space: The fundamental stuff of human geography. In S. Rice & G. Valentine (Eds.), *Key concepts in geography* (pp. 95–108). SAGE.
- Tiidenberg, K. (2018). *Selfies: Why we love (and hate) them*. Emerald Publishing Limited.
- Tiidenberg, K., & Gómez Cruz, E. (2015). Selfies, image and the re-making of the body. *Body & Society*, 21(4), 77–102. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1357034X15592465>
- Tromble, R. (2021). Where have all the data gone? A critical reflection on academic digital research in the post-API age. *Social Media+ Society*, 7(1). <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305121988929>
- Tuan, Y.-F. (1977). *Space and place: The perspective of experience* (8. print 2011). Univ. of Minnesota Press.
- Tuters, M., & Varnelis, K. (2006). Beyond locative media: Giving shape to the internet of things. *Leonardo*, 39(4), 357–363. <https://doi.org/10.1162/leon.2006.39.4.357>
- Urry, J. (2002a). Time, complexity and the global. In *Social conceptions of time* (pp. 11–23). Palgrave Macmillan, London. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230501928_2
- Urry, J. (2002b). Mobility and proximity. *Sociology*, 36(2), 255–274. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038502036002002>
- Van der Veer, N., Boekee, S., Hoekstra, H., & Peters, O. (2018). *Nationale Social Media Onderzoek 2018*. Newcom.
- Van der Veer, N., Boekee, S., & Peters, O. (2017). *Nationale social media onderzoek 2017*. Newcom.
- Van Dijk, J. (2007). *Mediated memories in the digital age*. Stanford University Press.
- Van Dijk, J. (2008). Digital photography: Communication, identity, memory. *Visual Communication*, 7(1), 57–76. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1470357207084865>
- Van Dijk, J. (2013a). *The culture of connectivity: A critical history of social media*. Oxford University Press.
- Van Dijk, J. (2013b). ‘You have one identity’: Performing the self on Facebook and LinkedIn. *Media, Culture & Society*, 35(2), 199–215. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443712468605>
- Van Dijk, J., & Poell, T. (2013). Understanding social media logic. *Media and Communication*, 1(1), 2–14.
- Van Es, K. (2017). *The future of live*. Polity.
- Van Gijssel, R. (2019, May 31). Nederland is wereldkampioen festivals vieren en daar moeten we trots op zijn. *De Volkskrant*.
- Van House, N. A. (2011). Personal photography, digital technologies and the uses of the visual. *Visual Studies*, 26(2), 125–134. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1472586X.2011.571888>
- Van Stuivenberg, R., Ravensbergen, S., Bartholomé, G., & De Haan, I. (2018). *Multimediale bereiksrappportage 3FM Serious Request 2017* (p. 46). 3 FM.
- Van Vliet, H. (2012). Festivals: Een introductie. In *Festivalbeleving: De waarde van publieksevenementen*. Hogeschool Utrecht.
- Van Vliet, H. (2019). *Festival atlas 2018*. MXStudio/Hogeschool van Amsterdam. <http://www.festivalatlas.nl/files/FA2018NLweb.pdf>
- Venturini, T., Jacomy, M., & Pereira, D. (2014). *Visual network analysis*. http://www.tommasoventurini.it/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/Venturini-Jacomy_Visual-Network-Analysis_WorkingPaper.pdf
- Verbeek, P.-P. (2008). Obstetric ultrasound and the technological mediation of morality: A postphenomenological analysis. *Human Studies*, 31(1), 11–26. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10746-007-9079-0>
- Vianello, R. (1985). The power politics of “live” television. *Journal of Film and Video*, 37(3), 26–40. <https://doi.org/10.2307/20687672>
- Villi, M. (2015). “Hey, I’m here right now”: Camera phone photographs and mediated presence. *Photographies*, 8(1), 3–22. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17540763.2014.968937>
- Vinterberg, T (Director). (1998). *Festen* [Film].
- Volkmer, I., & Deffner, F. (2010). Eventspheres as discursive forms: (Re-)negotiating the “mediated center” in new network cultures. In N. Couldry, A. Hepp, & F. Krotz (Eds.), *Media events in a global age*. Routledge.

- von Trier, L (Director). (2000). *Dancer in the dark* [Film].
- Waite, C. (2020). Making place with mobile media: Young people's blurred place-making in regional Australia. *Mobile Media & Communication*, 8(1), 124–141. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2050157919843963>
- Warfield, K. (2020). Selfies: Positioning the photographed body in social media. In H. Friese, M. Nolden, G. Rebane, & M. Schreier (Eds.), *Handbuch Soziale Praktiken und Digitale Alltagswelten*. Springer.
- Waterloo, S., Wennekers, A., & Wiegman, P. (2019). *Media:Tijd 2018*. NOM NLO SKO PMA SCP. <https://www.mediatijd.nl>
- Waysdorf, A., & Reijnders, S. (2017). *The role of imagination in the film tourist experience: The case of Game of Thrones*. 14(1), 22.
- Weiss, G. (2003). The body as narrative horizon. In J. J. Cohen & G. Weiss (Eds.), *Thinking the limits of the body*. State University of New York Press.
- Weltevrede, E., Helmond, A., & Gerlitz, C. (2014). The politics of real-time: A device perspective on social media platforms and search engines. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 31(6), 125–150. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276414537318>
- Wennekers, A., de Haan, J., & Huysmans, F. (2016). *Media:Tijd in kaart*. Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau. https://digitaal.scp.nl/mediatijd/kijken_in_beeld
- White, M. (2004). The attractions of television: Reconsidering liveness. In N. Couldry & A. McCarthy (Eds.), *MediaSpace: Place, Scale, and Culture in a Media Age*. Routledge.
- Williams, R. (1975). *Television: Technology and cultural form* (E. Williams, Ed.; 2nd edition). Routledge.
- Ytre-Arne, B., Syvertsen, T., Moe, H., & Karlsen, F. (2020). Temporal ambivalences in smartphone use: Conflicting flows, conflicting responsibilities. *New Media & Society*, 22(9), 1715–1732. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444820913561>
- Ytreberg, E. (2009). Extended liveness and eventfulness in multi-platform reality formats. *New Media & Society*, 11(4), 467–485. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444809102955>
- Ytreberg, E. (2017). Towards a historical understanding of the media event. *Media, Culture & Society*, 39(3), 309–324. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443716643155>
- Zappavigna, M. (2016). Social media photography: Construing subjectivity in Instagram images. *Visual Communication*, 15(3), 271–292. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1470357216643220>
- Zhao, S. (2003). Toward a taxonomy of copresence. *Presence: Teleoperators and Virtual Environments*, 12(5), 445–455.
- Zhao, S., & Zappavigna, M. (2018a). Beyond the self: Intersubjectivity and the social semiotic interpretation of the selfie. *New Media & Society*, 20(5), 1735–1754. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444817706074>
- Zhao, S., & Zappavigna, M. (2018b). The interplay of (semiotic) technologies and genre: The case of the selfie. *Social Semiotics*, 28(5), 665–682. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10350330.2018.1504724>

SUMMARY

BEING THERE LIVE: HOW LIVENESS IS REALIZED THROUGH MEDIA USE AT CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL EVENTS

Liveness has always been a key concern in media studies, particularly as a phenomenon related to broadcasting. While internet and social media scholars generally employ different vocabulary, this study is an appeal for preserving liveness as a concept that continuously evolves as new media technologies emerge. In addition, it argues for and contributes empirical work to media scholarship on liveness, examining actual situated live instances and the media practices of people experiencing them. With its empirical focus on three annual Dutch cultural events – Oerol Festival 2017 (a festival for location-based theater and art), 3FM Serious Request 2017 (a national cross-media fundraising event), and Pride Amsterdam 2018 (a large Pride festival) – this research project explores **how liveness is established in people's practices of media use at contemporary cultural events**.

This exploration is done through ethnographic– fieldwork – observations and interviews with 379 event-joiners – complemented with digital and visual methods: a research design that allowed for the study of live media practices in online and offline event environments. The matter of live media practices at cultural events is topical against the background of processes of **mediatization and festivalization** in the 2010s, **and the intersection of these processes** as the COVID-19 crisis boosted mediated communication and restricted physical gathering. By examining event-joiners' live media practices at these three events, this study provides practical insights into live media use at cultural events and advances our theoretical understanding of liveness.

In this thesis, I challenge media theory's conceptualization of liveness as mediated presence to an unfolding reality that exists in and of itself. I assert that this is not only an outdated understanding, but one that impedes comprehending what “truly being there live” means. My empirical observations and analysis reveal the constructive role live media practices play in realizing live instances. Live instances, this study suggests, are realized when event-joiners align their physical event environment and the various mediated contexts in which they are continuously involved as users of smartphones, social media, TV, and direct messaging apps. It is through their live media practices that they constitute their sense of “being there live” as “being now here together,” in relation to distant times, places, and others. In Chapter 1, in line with this insight, a kairotic understanding of liveness is developed – drawing on the Greek understanding of *kairos* as the opportune moment – as the opportune time and the right place within a fitting social context. I argue that liveness should be comprehended as a **historically evolving practice of establishing instances of “now here together” through media practices which align physical and mediated environments**. I develop this argument throughout the thesis: on a theoretical level, I show how time, place, and the social are the three constituting facets of liveness,

and on a practical level, I examine how live instances are realized in media practices at the studied events.

The temporal facet of liveness is addressed in Chapter 3. In this chapter, I examine how the **kairotic now** is established as memorable live instance in diverse practices of making and sharing media content, and by deliberate non-use of media, with the intention of grasping the moment and not missing the opportunity of being a witness. The live instance, I argue, is constructed through pre-living and reliving. This memorable live instance takes shape in different ways, and is influenced by different platformed contexts, as each platform has its own temporal conventions and typical way of asserting nowness through the conjunction of immediacy and durability. I distinguish two types of now which are established through particular media practices. The **experiential now** is impulsive and transitory, and established in live media practices that amplify the experiential memorable instance, such as in-the-moment sharing and streaming, ephemeral content, and deliberate non-mediation. The **now as future memory** is reflective and lasting, seizing the moment to make a durable future memory, enacted through practices of taking photos and making videos, often to post on Instagram or Facebook, but also to keep. Both these nows are particular realizations of memory: enactments of the aspiration to grasp the memorable moment. These moments are, however, not only captured, but also created through these practices: the memorable moment is *raison d'être* for the live media practice, while concurrently the live media practice affirms that moment as memorable.

Chapter 4 takes up the **spatial facet of liveness** by scrutinizing how the right place – **the kairotic here** – is established as event-joiners **realize embodied being-in-place** through their practices of media use. In this chapter, I argue that event-joiners position themselves as participating witnesses in the unfolding event through live media practices such as watching broadcast television and livestreams, visual presencing, locative practices, and livestreaming. My analysis shows that being-in-place in the physical event environment per se, without enacting this within platform environments, is not by definition experienced as being the most there. Moreover, based on my empirical observations, I propose that, in such thoroughly mediated events, embodied being-in-place is always articulated through or in relation to media. It is through the alignment of their physical and mediated environments, I argue, that **event-joiners inhabit place**. This inhabiting does not merely involve the articulation of proximity and distance, it is a practice of “placemaking” and constitutes place in these eventspheres. Through the use of locative functionalities and hashtags, often alongside platformed images, event-joiners turn their physical locations – whether an event location or their living room – into event locales, which in conglomerate create a meaningful event-space.

Chapter 5 revolves around **the social facet of liveness**, examining how a sense of togetherness – **the kairotic us** – is established as event-joiners **realize social identity** by inviting distant others in, or excluding them, through their media practices. My analysis shows that the specific

socialities established through social media practices at the events, rely on event-joiners' **expectations of platforms concerning automated connectivity, intimacy, visibility, and receptiveness of understanding others**. I discern different connective and collective (social media) practices that hinge on these expectations, and argue that event-joiners' social media practices involve **implied (non-)audiences**: the anticipation, rooted in sociality, of content to matter in particular ways to particular audiences in particular mediated environments. These practices, as my analysis shows, are performances of social identity and situate event-joiners within manifold social circles that continuously augment their live experiences. Analysis of the concrete socialities established in the studied events again reveals the double bind of liveness: through their media practices event-joiners concurrently join and help construct social circles at the events.

Throughout Chapters 3–5, it is apparent that **visibility and imaging** are pivotal in event-joiners' live media practices. In Chapter 6, I address these topics by exploring how the situated live instance – as assemblage of the memorable moment, embodied being-in-place, and social identity – is realized in event-joiners' visual practices. I examine how event-joiners' behavior at the events is shaped by platform-specific types of imaging. Further, I examine how truly being there live – the recurrent theme of **authenticity** – is articulated through event-joiners' visual practices of **seeing, performative display, and authorship**. I argue that differing and shifting notions of authenticity are manifested through practices of imaging, indicating that the sense of truly being there live is established at these events when **physical event and mediated environments are aligned**.

Truly being there live, this study indicates, **is a performative practice**: through live media practices – such as livestreaming, posting a selfie, or deliberately putting their phone away to experience the moment – event-joiners realize their memories, embodied being-in-place, and social identity. Liveness at these thoroughly mediatized events should not be understood as one singular communal live experience of an unfolding event, but rather as a **plurality of instances of liveness which are unique temporal, spatial, and social configurations**. These instances are particular realizations of the kairotic now, here, and us, in which event and mediated environments provide two inextricable layers of being there live.

By arguing that live instances are situated in both physical and mediated contexts, this study contributes to and **shows valuable directions for future academic research. It also offers tools that can be used for innovating the design of future media and cultural events**. The conclusion sketches some directions for both paths. I argue for extending existing notions of affordances, by combining insights from media studies and (social) geography to recognize that both physical and mediated environments have a formative, albeit not determining, influence on how we “do live.” Considering the societal relevance and impact of this study brings us back to the concept of mediatization. By providing insight into the particular ways in which memory, embodiment, and identity are enacted through and shaped by live

media practices, and affected by the media technologies at use, this thesis informs the debate about how we establish (social) life through media. This, I believe, is **crucial to finding freedom and agency in a mediatizing world.**

SAMENVATTING

ER LIVE BIJ ZIJN: HOE WE LIVE-EVENTS BELEVEN MET MEDIA

Doe even je ogen dicht en denk aan een mooie live-ervaring die je had. Een situatie waarin je dat sterke gevoel had van erbij zijn op het moment dat 'het' gebeurt. Een moment dat je niet had willen missen. Was je er fysiek bij of beleefde je het via tv of livestream? Hoe herinner je je dit moment, hoe voelde je fysiek dat je aanwezig was en wat zegt je betrokkenheid over jou? Heb je foto's of video's gemaakt en gedeeld, gelivestreamd, of juist heel bewust je telefoon in je zak gehouden?

Dit onderzoek laat zien hoe sterke livebelevingen tot stand komen met en via media. Het adresseert vragen die zijn ontstaan door maatschappelijke processen van festivalisering en medialisering. Die vragen zijn nu urgenter door de COVID19-crisis. Na jaren van groei in de eventsector werden we ineens geconfronteerd met een verbod op fysiek samenzijn in grote groepen. Noodgedwongen werd er geëxperimenteerd met online events en andere manieren om via media te verbinden. Nu we nieuwe mogelijkheden hebben gezien en bewuster zijn geworden van de waarde van fysiek samenkomen rijst de vraag hoe we de komende jaren op nieuwe manieren krachtige livebelevingen kunnen ontwerpen. Dit onderzoek geeft richting aan deze verkenning.

Ik sprak met 379 mensen, observeerde online en offline en analyseerde duizenden Instagramposts rond drie grote en zeer verschillende Nederlandse events: Oerol, 3FM Serious Request en Pride Amsterdam. Op basis daarvan laat ik zien dat "er live bij zijn" neerkomt op een gevoel van nu hier samen en dat dit altijd tot stand komt met of in relatie tot media. Daarmee weerspreekt dit onderzoek de gangbare aanname dat het bij livebelevingen via media (alleen) gaat om het via media volgen of delen van gebeurtenissen. Hedendaagse live events zijn beter te begrijpen als event-spheres: het event komt tot stand als hybride vorm van gebeurtenissen en activiteiten in fysieke eventlocaties en diverse media-omgevingen.

Kort samengevat leverde dit onderzoek drie kerninzichten op:



Deze inzichten zijn maatschappelijk relevant, omdat ze preciezer zicht geven op het proces van medialisering en dan specifiek op hoe we tegenwoordig samen beleven. We komen samen in app-groepen, via live televisieuitzendingen, of door Instagram hashtags. Deze inzichten geven ook handvatten voor maatschappelijke organisaties in het streven om mensen te verbinden. Voor eventorganisatoren en mediamakers biedt het ontwerpprincipes voor het ontwikkelen van hybride events, formats, concepten en verhalen.

LIVE IS NU

Live is 'erbij zijn' op het juiste moment. Toch krijgt de livebeleving niet alleen vorm in het moment zelf: het is in de combinatie van anticipatie, beleving en herinnering dat het livemoment tot stand komt. Bijna alle mensen die ik interviewde spraken meer over herinnering dan over beleving, of vertelden over hun beleving in relatie tot herinnering. Ze wilden het moment vastleggen om later naar terug te kijken, of legden juist bewust hun telefoon weg omdat ze het liever willen herinneren vanuit eigen beleving dan van een scherm. Ze gebruikten vooraf foto's van eerdere edities om voorpret op te wekken en achteraf om naar terug te verlangen. Het betekenisvolle "nu" krijgt vorm in relatie tot herinnering en de manier waarop we herinneren wordt sterk bepaald door de media die we daarin gebruiken. Zo tekenden zich twee verschillende belevingen van het nu af, twee verschillende manieren van omgaan met het moment in relatie tot de herinnering. Er is het impulsieve en vergankelijke nu als ervaring dat vooral tot uiting komt in direct delen en streamen via social media en in het bewust creëren van mediavrije tijd in ervaringen. Daarnaast is er het nu als toekomstige herinnering dat meer reflectief en duurzaam is en tot uiting komt in het maken van foto's en video's, vaak om te 'posten' op Instagram of Facebook, maar ook om zelf te bewaren.

LIVE IS HIER

Live is op de juiste plaats zijn, jezelf positioneren in het event en dit zintuiglijk ervaren. De plaats van event is echter niet eenduidig en wordt altijd met media geconstrueerd. Als je eventgangers vraagt wanneer ze zich het meest in het event voelen, het meest nabij, dan krijg je uiteenlopende antwoorden. Sommigen beschrijven de fysieke sensatie – zien, voelen, ruiken, horen – van het zijn op een plek die ze eerder via media zagen. Anderen beschrijven het gevoel van er echt bij zijn via televisie of online video's: een combinatie van heel dichtbij kunnen komen via de camera en fysiek comfort in de eigen omgeving. En voor veel mensen is het delen van 'er zijn' via social media – met foto's en video's, vaak met locatie of hashtags – essentieel voor hun gevoel van aanwezigheid. Het is vaak via of in relatie tot media dat mensen positie innemen in het event. Events zijn hybride plaatsen – ze omvatten zowel fysieke als media-omgevingen – en er live bij zijn behelst het in lijn brengen van deze omgevingen.

LIVE IS SAMEN

Live beleef je samen: het juiste moment en de juiste plaats zijn alleen betekenisvol in een sociale context. Dit kan het publiek zijn waar je middenin staat, maar ook die ene vriend die meteen jouw ervaring begrijpt als je een fotootje deelt via WhatsApp, of een wereldwijde community rond een event die je bereikt via een hashtag bij je video op Instagram. Deze sociale cirkels krijgen voor een groot deel vorm via social media in een samenspel tussen het gedrag dat een platform uitlokt (affordances) en verwachtingen van gebruikers rond connectiviteit, zichtbaarheid, intimiteit en ontvankelijkheid van anderen. Live-ervaringen worden op social media gedeeld vanuit de inschatting dat deze content gewaardeerd wordt door specifieke ontvangers in specifieke mediaomgevingen. Hiermee geven eventgangers vorm aan hun sociale identiteit: jouw livebeleving zegt iets over wie jij bent en wat je belangrijk, mooi of goed vindt.

LIVE IS VAAK VISUEEL

Veruit de meeste live mediacontent in de bestudeerde events was visueel: Instagramposts en -stories, kiekjes via WhatsApp, tv-beelden, livestreams, foto's op Facebook, verhalen op Snapchat. Deze verschillende manieren van visualisering van de live-ervaring zijn heel bepalend voor hoe mensen gaan en staan in het event, hoe ze het event zien en beleven. Er is het meer rauwe spontane verbeelden van het moment in stories en streams, het verzamelen van foto's van bijzondere momenten voor een collage op Facebook en de zoektocht naar het mooie plaatje als Instagrampost. Het maken van beelden vormt de manier waarop we live beleven. Dit werd ook duidelijk in gecombineerde analyses van interviewmateriaal en duizenden Instagram-posts waarin ik ontwaarde hoe de gesitueerde livebeleving wordt gerealiseerd in drie populaire visuele perspectieven: de selfie, de "360" en de first-person.

LIVE IS ECHT

“Ik was er echt live bij” is een ervaring die veel van de mensen die ik sprak hadden. Ondanks de verschillende manieren waarop dit ‘live’ werd ingevuld en geuit – fysiek ergens zijn, via televisie volgen, livestreamen of een livestream volgen, het kijken of delen van Instagramstories – voelen dit soort momenten echt. Live mediagebruik is niet louter transmissie van het event, het geeft vorm aan het event en de beleving ervan.

Tien ontwerpprincipes voor krachtige hybride livebelevingen

1. Ontwerp elke livebeleving als unieke configuratie. Probeer niet om een livesetting te vervangen of na te bootsen.
2. Benoem wat je wil bereiken bij wie. Wie wil je verbinden en hoe duurzaam moet dat zijn?
3. Inventariseer de fysieke en mediaomgevingen waarin een eventganger zich bevindt. Als je deze meeneemt in het design dan kun je ze bewust inzetten of uitschakelen.
4. Ontwerp de beleving als een moment van “nu hier samen”. De livebeleving is een samenspel van tijd, plaats en sociale context.
5. Vraag je af hoe je wil dat mensen dit beleven en herinneren. Is het een vergankelijk moment met de nadruk op beleving of een memorabel moment dat mensen gaan vastleggen?
6. Beschrijf hoe mensen fysiek gaan voelen dat ze er live bij zijn. Welke zintuigen worden aangesproken?
7. Inventariseer de sociale cirkels die in de livebeleving voor de eventganger van belang zijn. Hoe intiem of groot wil je de beleving ontwerpen?
8. Benoem punten waarop het event raakt aan de identiteit van bezoekers/volgers. Zijn er mensen die uit zichzelf als ambassadeur kunnen gaan handelen en hoe doen ze dat dan?
9. Onderzoek de mogelijkheden van verschillende mediaplatforms en -functionaliteiten. De nieuwste tool is nooit de oplossing, maar brengt wel nieuwe mogelijkheden.
10. Maak een bewuste afweging van live en “on demand”. Niet alles hoeft of werkt live.



