It has not been—it is. The signaletic transformation of photography

Mette Sandbye*
Department of Arts and Cultural Studies, Copenhagen University, Denmark

Abstract
Inspired by the concept of “the signaletic,” this article proposes a new understanding of photography as a social and performative device related to everyday life, to communication, and to presence. Today photography is a ubiquitous, social activity to a much larger extent than before the digital revolution and the introduction of the Internet, creating relational situations and communication as well as new affective involvements between human bodies and the photographic, media-convergent technologies. In the light of this epistemological change, the medium of photography demands a theoretical reformulation, and contemporary art works can help us articulate “the signaletic paradigm” in photography. To illustrate this, the article includes an analysis of Christian Marclay’s prize winning “The Clock” and David Claerbout’s “Sections of a Happy Moment”. It is my argument that although the traditional photography, such as the early photography theories by Bazin and Barthes have described, confirmed “what-has-been” (Barthes) and fulfilled a “mumification desire” (Bazin), the new digital practices at the Internet show “what-is-going-on” (presence) and thereby rather fulfills the user’s existential desire to “feel time.”

Keywords: new media ecology; Web 2.0; digital photography; video art; Christian Marclay; David Claerbout; presence; database

In 2011, the use and spread of private photographs at websites such as Facebook, Picasa, and Flickr are as extensive as ever before. Millions of photographs of private and apparently insignificant everyday moments and situations are being uploaded daily. Also, in that year, Swiss-American, British-based artist and composer Christian Marclay (born 1955) won the exclusive Venice Biennial “Golden Lion Grand Prize” for his film “The Clock” from 2010. It is a 24-hour-long film that painstakingly assembles sampled sequences from a massive number of movies to track the viewer through a full day. At the same time, the film is synchronized to real time: that is, to the time in which it actually plays. In this article, I intend to show a connection between several seemingly disparate elements: Marclay’s film and a film by another artist, David Claerbout (born in

*Correspondence to: Mette Sandbye, Department of Arts and Cultural Studies, Copenhagen University, Karen Blixens Vej 1, DK-2300 Copenhagen S, Denmark. Email: sandbye@hum.ku.dk

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1969); the general development of digital amateur photography; and “the paradigm of the signal,” as Bodil Marie Thomsen names one of the major recent developments within electronic and digital media. I intend to show how we can grasp and use this concept of “the signaletic” about the medium of photography in order to describe and to theorize the new use of digital photography. Departing from “The Clock,” but analyzing another art work more in depth, namely Belgian artist David Claerbout’s video “Sections of a Happy Moment” (2007), I will show how contemporary art works can give insight into what happens with photography in the light of its recent and very radical digital changes. I will argue that concepts such as presence, performance, and even esthetic involvement are much more relevant than realism, nostalgia, and the freezing of time to describe what goes on in the new digital photography. Inspired by the concept of “the signaletic,” I will propose a new understanding of photography as a social device related to everyday life, to communication, to presence, and to the blurring of boundaries between fiction and the real, the body, and the outside world.

PHOTOGRAPHY AND WEB 2.0

Maybe what’s happening now for photography was always its destiny and fate. But it’s not the end of photography as we know it. To understand this change, we need a new media ecology. When digital photography became widespread from the mid-1990s, people started to predict the “death of photography,” referring especially to its realism and non-manipulated objectivity, but of course analog photography has always been manipulated to a certain degree. Instead, I will propose that the real change of the conception and use of photography came much later, namely with the Internet, the advent of Web 2.0 and its focus on user-generated content. Especially, vernacular photography has changed dramatically in less than a decade, to such an extent that we can now talk about analog “old photography” and digital “new photography.” When we use these terms it is important to underline that the concept of “new” is very much related to the use of photography, which has changed dramatically with the advent of the Internet. Photography is not any more what it was when both the general public and the following development of a theory of photography during the twentieth century attached the medium to realism, objectivity, indexicality, and a melancholic freezing of the past, preserving it for eternity. Although the “old” photography—as the early phenomenological photography theories by André Bazin and Roland Barthes have described—confirmed “what-has-been”3 (Barthes) and fulfilled a “mumification desire”4 to embalm time (Bazin), the new digital practices on the Internet show “what-is-going-on,” i.e. presence.

When I look at almost any of the millions of publicly accessible private photograph albums at, for instance, Picasa or Facebook, I am struck by at least two major differences from traditional analog photography albums: first, a specific situation is often depicted in many, almost identical images, sometimes up to several hundred being stored in the albums as an archival database. This presentation is, of course, due to the fact that it is free to take as many photographs as you want of a given situation, whereas before you had to pay for each development of an analog photograph and thus became more cautious about how many you actually took. But the technological development has opened up the possibility to use the still camera in a more “filmic” way, exposing with intervals of a few seconds. In that way, you can make photographs that unfold in time without being a film and many people do indeed use that possibility. These stored photographs thereby enhance the feeling of experiencing the moment rather than embalming it. Second, and this, of course, relates to the same technological development, the subjects are often much more apparently insignificant than with “old photography”: a flower, a cat, a half-eaten meal, 50 images of two kids playing in a swimming pool, and 30 images of a cloud crossing the sky. I would propose that these images are presented in public on a global scale in order to communicate the feeling of presence with an audience, known or unknown.

Today photography is much more a social everyday activity than a memory-embalming activity, creating presence, relational situations, and communication as well as new affective involvements between bodies and the new photographic, media-convergent technologies such as the mobile phone. Look at people photographing in the
streets at spectacular events as well as in their daily life: the camera(-phone) is often held out in the stretched arm as a bodily extension, whereby we “touch” the world, and the assessment of the photograph immediately following the shooting situation is part of a social act. The medium of photography demands a reformulation in the light of this epistemological change that photographic historians and theoreticians have had problems articulating. Increasingly, everyday amateur photography will be regarded as a performative practice connected to “presence” as opposed to the storing of “precious” memories for eternity, which is how it has hitherto been conceptualized.

In 2001, the first mobile phone camera was put on the market, but it only took on in 2004, the same year that the web platform Flickr was invented. Photography is a very central part of these new digital communities in Web 2.0. Photography is converging not only with the Internet but also with mobile phones. In 2004, 246 million camera phones (mobile phones with digital cameras) were sold worldwide—nearly four times the sales of digital cameras. And mobile phone commercials increasingly highlight the camera. While “analog photography” was directed at a future audience (because it took time to have the film roll developed and the images printed), pictures taken by camera phones can be seen immediately by people at-a-distance with mobiles with MMS or email service. In the United Kingdom where around one in two mobiles were camera phones in 2007, “448,962,359 MMS picture messages were sent in 2007, the equivalent of 19 million traditional (24 exposure) rolls of camera film.” The affordances of digital photography potentially make photographic images both instantaneous and mobile.

“NEW” PHOTOGRAPHY

Within the past 5–7 years, the material base of photography has been revolutionized to such an extent that we can talk about “new photography,” the digital. The future of the medium seems inextricably linked to mobile phones and to the Internet and, to a much lesser degree, to paper images, albums, and traditional cameras. All this indicates that digital photography is a complex technological network in the making rather than a single fixed technology. We therefore also need to rethink the theory of photography. Although photography scholars used to theorize photography as a distinct technology with a “life of its own,” photography has now converged with the omnipresent technologies of the Internet and mobile phones. We cannot theorize or research especially amateur photography without including such media. At the same time, this new media convergence and proliferation of amateur photography does not mean the end of photography, as many proclaimed with the advent of digital photography around 1990, but the end—or at least the radical change—of photography “as we know it,” as Martin Lister states in the quote above. These developments represent a radical moment, a paradigm shift, in the understanding and conception of photography. Instead of words such as index, referent, nostalgia, melancholic freezing, and mummification desire, we need a new conceptual framework to fully grasp and acknowledge the change of the medium of photography with digital cameras, Web 2.0, and mobile phones: a new media ecology, as Lister calls it.

Here, the concept of “the signaletic,” as developed in Bodil Marie Thomsen’s introduction to this issue, seems highly applicable to the medium of photography.

While much (earlier) writing on digital photography either focused on the dualism truth/analog vs. construction/digital or resembled technological determinism by only considering technical affordances, today we must realize that technologies cannot be separated from embodied practices, from doings. The specific affordances of technologies shape, but do not determine if and how they can be used and made sense of in practice. This also means that digital photographs can be many different “things” according to how they are made meaningful and performed in specific contexts. Photography must be understood as at the same time a social practice, a networked technology, a material object, and an image. Both the phenomenological version of photography as a memento morti and the sociological (Bourdieu) and constructivist approach (represented by especially the Anglo-American school of Discourse Criticism with scholars such as John Tagg, Allan Sekula, and Martha Rosler) must be supplemented by an analytical approach that includes both the practices, the affect, the performative self-construction, and the creation of...
“presence,” sociability, and community that is embodied in the digital everyday photography.

It is most remarkable that one of the most widely read anthologies on photography, The Photography Reader, opens with the question “What is a photograph?” and that methodology books and readers on visual culture almost exclusively discuss the methods to analyze photographs that already exist as signs to be deciphered—as if they were texts. One of the more recent general overviews of the state of photographic theory is James Elkins’ Photography Theory. In this book, the main theoretical foci are (still) the questions of indexicality, truth, and referentiality, that is, the question of what photography is. It is highly problematic that photography as a practice has been so relatively little discussed in academic photography literature. Technology cannot be separated from the question of performative practice. The performative aspects of photography are obvious not only when people take photographs, staging and posing, but also when editing their photographs, putting them in frames and albums, on blogs, and on websites. An important aspect of photography as performance is to articulate and transmit a feeling of presence.

CLOCKS AND MOMENTS

I will now return to the question of how a work of art can assume the function of articulating sensations and new emotional, as well as conceptual, paradigms, and epistemologies in other ways than descriptive and/or analytical words, i.e. how a work of art can provide us with the insights that academic photograph literature is lacking. There are many explanations behind the allure of Christian Marclay’s 2011-Golden Lion-winning film “The Clock.” First of all, the cinematic experience of floating in a comfortable sofa in a dark cinema room in the middle of the hot, buzzy, and very fatiguing adventure of the Venice Biennial, experiencing a seemingly unending row of clips with famous actors from famous Hollywood films, was fantastic. In that sense, the film can be seen as a tribute to the classic Hollywood film and the film experience per se. “The Clock,” which lasts 24 hours, is constructed out of moments in cinema when time is expressed or when a character interacts with a clock, or just a particular time of day, where a clock appears in a specific film. It is about how time gets lived in movies and portrayed back to us. You could even argue that we learn to live out time partly by having seen how it plays out in film. Among the thousands of clips collected and sampled by the artist during several years, the film includes clips from such diverse films as “High Noon,” starring Gary Cooper; “Titanic,” with Leonardo DiCaprio; “Easy Rider” with Peter Fonda; and the Arnold Schwarzenegger action movie “Eraser.” It is, of course, not a real-time movie but rather a simulation of the experience of time passing. At the same time, as the film thematizes time and our constant dependence on and interaction with clocks, it transfers a bodily experience of the passing of time in itself directly to the audience, since the film is synchronized to the real time of the actual playing of it. The film, thus, functions as a clock in itself. So when it was 1.15 PM in the film, it was 1.15 PM in Venice. The film manages to depict the passing of time at the same time as the bodily feeling of being in time, in a very original way. In 1907, the French philosopher Henri Bergson wrote L’Evolution créatrice in which he articulated a phenomenological experience of time being divided between the rational, cosmological, measurable time and the sensed, psychologically and personally experienced time, la durée: an opposition that has been a focal point for phenomenology during the twentieth century. I would suggest that Marclay’s film simultaneously includes both aspects of time, and in that sense, it points toward an alternative way of understanding the relationship between time and visual media.

But, let me turn to another film that condenses this experience to the medium of photography and thereby brings us even further in the search for an understanding of the new media ecology of photography: “Sections of a Happy Moment” (2007) by Belgian artist David Claerbout. It is a 25-minute-long video consisting of b/w still images of the same constructed family photograph “decisive moment.” In the silent and therefore non-dialogue film we meet an Asian-looking family consisting of what appears to be six family members in the courtyard of a non-descript high rise estate. A little boy has just thrown a ball in the air to what seems to be his sister, who raises her arms to catch the ball. We watch the two children and the other four family members—two men and two women, probably parents and grand
parents—all smiling and looking up in the air at the ball. It seems to be three generations gathered in this “happy moment.” The situation could be seen in any “classical” family photograph, but here it is depicted in hundreds of photographs. The video is a visually complex depiction of that very moment depicted simultaneously with at least 15 cameras from many different angles and mounted into one sequence lasting 25 minutes in perception time but less than a second in depicted time.

Apart from the six figures placed in the middle of the courtyard, five other people can be seen: an old man carrying a plastic bag has stopped to watch the scenery. He is situated a few meters from the group, contemplating them with an empathic smile. Two teenage girls are crossing the square, turning their backs at the group, thereby not watching the ball in the air or the other persons. They seem to be lost in their own conversation, and they are moving out of the “situation frame.” Lastly, an elderly couple is caught in the act of sitting down in each of their plastic chair outside one of the entrances to the high rise building. The fact that they are in the midst of sitting down enhances the photographic momentariness of the situation. Judging from the clothes of the figures it seems to be summer, and since they are all casting long shadows, it is probably late afternoon. The film is in black and white. First of all, this choice removes the attention from the narrative and raises the effect of a moment being sculpted in time, one could say. Second, it raises the contrast between the smiling people and the modernist concrete and almost inhuman architecture that surrounds them. Incidentally, the film seems to articulate a critical attitude toward the ideas behind classical modernist, mass produced architecture.9 This is also underlined in a sculpture of naked human figures, made in a modernist, vitalistic, almost abstract style that was seen in the middle of the twentieth century, which appears in this high rise building “plaza” as a piece of dead material, contrasting the lively family group.

The film consists of hundreds of different still images of the same moment, each shown between 5 and 13 seconds, and accompanied by a simple, contemplative composition for one piano. The artist has placed at least 15 cameras in and all around the scenario, which is depicted from many different angles and focus points: as extreme close-ups focusing on the facial expression or bodily gesture, as full-frames depicting all 11 figures in one shot, in frog’s or bird’s eye perspective, etc. Some of the shots are taken from a high perspective inside the buildings. Invoking the gaze of a sniper looking out, but half covered behind a curtain or a glass wall, some of these images add a slightly uncanny feeling to the film: the family is being watched.

**DATABASE TIME IMAGES**

As viewers we experience an ongoing moment without beginning and end; one could call it a radical performance of the momentality, intensity, and presence of time itself. It certainly is a family photograph that we see, but we do not relate it to an indexical, nostalgic freezing of the past and a specific memorable moment but much more to a performance of a photographic presence that we experience with our own body over 25 minutes. The “digitality” of the images makes some of them look slightly “paint-brushed” or softened, especially the ones where a cropped or zoomed detail fills most of the screen and where we thus focus on, for instance, the girl’s ponytail or the little boy’s necklace. The black-and-white film appears as a haptic surface where you can sense the materiality of time in itself, as a sculpture of time sculpted out of the very moment via the many cameras used by Claerbout and his crew. The images in the film are not related to narration, but are rather used as signifiers of pure time in order to make the audience “sense” time.

In interviews, the artist has mentioned that he has been inspired by the “time philosophy” of Henri Bergson, especially as it is echoed in Deleuze’s film books and his notion of the “time-image.”10 And, you can remark that the film is an artistic articulation of the bergsonian la durée, the psychologically imagined as well as bodily felt duration of time as opposed to the experience of time cut up in rationally divided frames of minutes and seconds. Actually, the rational time, the clock time, is exactly the subject of Marclay’s film, but synchronizing the filmic time with the perception time, he manages to show how the clock time is bodily experienced as a psychological “durée” just as much as Clearbout’s extended moment. So, by a first look, Marclay’s
film seems to represent the rational time, whereas Claerbout’s demonstrates the psychological time. But my point is that they do both at the same time, thereby inviting us to re-articulate the relationship between time and photography in favor of a more presence-oriented conception of time in relation to photography. In different ways, and through film as well as still photography, both films are magical contemplations of time itself and of the possibility of photograph-based media to articulate time. In her introduction to this issue, Bodil Marie Thomsen quotes Maurizio Lazzarato’s “video philosophy” in order to use his description of the “haptic” video image to describe “the signaletic image” as: “ein Ort, ein Bewegungsraum für die Zeit als solche. Es handelt sich nicht mehr einfach um ein Bild, das gesehen werden soll, sondern um ein Bild, in dem man sich einmischt, mit dem man arbeitet (eine Zeit des Ereignisses).” Likewise, these two artworks become not only representations of people and situations but also places for contemplation of time as presence.

Both “The Clock” and “Sections of a Happy Moment” could in principle have been made with traditional analog technology, but it is the “signaletic” qualities of digital media that provides them with both the practical tools and the very idea behind the works. One could argue that the “digital epistemology” was needed in order to “think” these works. They explore “the database logic of new media” to use a phrase from Lev Manovich; that is, they collect an immense amount of filmic/photographic database material, which is digitally stored and composed with an archival, repetitive, circular, or “flat” logic rather than structured by traditional, progressive narrative. Manovich:

After the novel, and subsequently cinema privileged narrative as the key form of cultural expression of the modern age, the computer age introduces its correlate—database. Many new media objects do not tell stories; they don’t have beginning or end; in fact, they don’t have any development, thematically, formally or otherwise which would organize their elements into a sequence. Instead, they are collections of individual items, where every item has the same significance as any other.

In Web 2.0, we can meet 200 almost identical images of two boys playing in a swimming pool on their mother’s private Picasa website, and many private photography websites are structured as such database collections without a beginning or an end. Manovich calls the database the new symbolic form of the computer age: “A new way to structure our experience of ourselves and the world,” and he analyzes various art works articulating the “poetics of the database.” “The Clock” and “Sections of a Happy Moment” are not constructed around a traditional narrative, but as collections of almost similar or only slightly differing data “objects.” It is the transmission of the signal of timeliness in itself that is the message in Marclay’s and Claerbout’s works. As Saint Augustine famously stated in his Confessions (year 398): “What is time? If one asks me, I know. If I wish to explain to someone who asks, I no longer know.” Both art works give form to duration, a form that needs to be experienced over time. “Time” is not being depicted as “sign,” it is happening here and now—as “signal.” “Time” is not the subject matter as much as it is a constitutive matter to be bodily experienced. They manage to make “time” felt; the photographic freezing and at the same time prolonging of time in Clearbout’s work and the physical effect of the passing of time in Marclay’s filmic work. As Claerbout has expressed it: “In my work I think of the digital as a platform in which past, present, and future are not distinguishable from one another and instead coexist happily.” The notion of “the signaletic” is related to the transmission of real-time signals in digital, global media such as in surveillance cameras, for instance. In that sense, the two artworks described are not “signaletic,” nor is the abovementioned database of private family photographs. But, it is my argument that they nevertheless philosophically and esthetically articulate aspects of “the signaletic” that we can use to enhance our understanding of contemporary digital photography, as it is used for instance in private Web 2.0 photograph albums.

**PHOTOGRAPHY AS SIGNALETIC PRESENCE**

Digital collections of photographs, for instance, at Flickr and Picasa, can be seen as such archival databases filled with often very similar images. Showing us the signaletic database logic of photography especially, Claerbout proposes a new
understanding of photography that throws light on these Web 2.0 practices. “Sections of a Happy Moment” thus helps us formulating an epistemologically new conception of photography as process, presence, and bodily “affect.” Having formulated this new theory of photography, we will also be able to look back into the history of the medium and highlight the everyday, social, performative, as well as material aspects of photography, which have hitherto been neglected.

I realize that we are just starting to see how the digital production, perception, and use of photography will develop in new and truly ubiquitous ways that we cannot dream of even today and that this development in the near future will have important implications for our very understanding of the thing or phenomenon we call “photography.” Works like “The Clock” and “Sections of a Happy Memory” are still extremely difficult and time consuming to produce, but soon technological improvements will make anyone with a computer able to compile thousands of clips as done by Marclay, or photograph the same moment from a hundred different angles as Claerbout. Therefore, we will see artists pushing technology even further in the years to come, thereby articulating other and new philosophical aspects of technology.

However, as classifications such as Jay David Bolter’s “remediation” have demonstrated, the conceptualization of a new medium is often based on the preceding. Thus, the digital photograph albums that we meet in Web 2.0 are to a large extent still constructed and perceived as the traditional analog precursor. Simultaneously, as they remediate older forms, new media inventions or practices can also shed light on older practices. So the new use of photography we experience with Web 2.0, which—I argue—is conceptualized in “Sections of a Happy Moment,” can actually highlight the aspects of the medium that was always already there: the conception of photography as a primarily social, participatory, and performative phenomenon. More philosophically put, it might change our concepts of what authenticity and identity mean in relation to photography.

To return to my introduction, the way photography is used and presented at social networks like Picasa, Facebook, and Flickr differs from the function of photography described by Barthes and Bazin. Susan Murray has described sites like Flickr this way:

On these sites, photography has become less about the special or rarefied moments of domestic/family living (for such things as holidays, gatherings, baby photos) and more about an immediate, rather fleeting display of one’s discovery of the small and mundane (such as bottles, cupcakes, trees, debris, and architectural elements). In this way, photography is no longer just the embalmer of time that André Bazin once spoken of, but rather a more alive, immediate, and often transitory, practice/form.

According to Søren Mørk Petersen, Flickr is really about articulating an esthetics of the everyday and the ephemeral. Like Murray he stresses the presence character of the images and the photo sharing at Flickr. His fieldwork demonstrates how people take photographs with their cell phones and upload them directly in order to get a quick and “fresh” comment by other “Flickrs” and that this element—closely related to pervasive computing within everyday life—is the primary function of Flickr. It thereby contradicts Barthes’ and Bazin’s phenomenological connection of photography to death: “[...] when it registers the banal and mundane aspects of everyday life and not least when it is shared, it becomes a practice closer to life than death.” “The practice of mob logging, everyday photography, and photo sharing express a desire to retain the experience and sensation of presence and the affective character of everydayness. Uploading becomes a practice that can negotiate the different sensations of presence and the present.”

In summary, I have described two new “signaletic” databased photograph practices. One, the ubiquitous presence of everyday Web 2.0 photography from mobile phones to social network sites, is extremely widespread but not yet comprehensively theorized. The other practice, the two video works, is self- and media-reflexive “niche products” of the same technological as well as epistemological development, of the database logic as symbolic form. Artists such as Marclay and Claerbout can be said to react to the new media developments; and by exploiting them they are enhancing our understanding of the nature of the media. By bringing attention to their presentation of the photographic construction of presence, I hope to have inspired my readers to theorize “photography” differently and to develop a new media ecology, which is now only in embryo.
The signaletic transformation of photography

Courtesy David Claerbout
Notes

1. According to Facebook, February 2010, 2.5 billion photographs are uploaded each month: http://www.facebook.com/blog.php?post=C30206178097130.
2. Media and Photography Professor Martin Lister at the conference ‘Private Eyes’, Copenhagen University, November 2009.
3. Roland Barthes, Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981).
4. André Bazin, ‘The Ontology of the Photographic Image’, in Classic Essays on Photography, ed. Alan Trachtenberg (New Haven: Leete’s Island Books, 1980 [1945]), 237–44.
5. http://www.text.it/mediacentre/press_release_list.cfm?thePublicationID=2C4FB155-15C5-F4C0-99FCB4EAAED7A798.
6. Liz Wells, ed., The Photography Reader (London: Routledge, 2003), 1.
7. James Elkins, ed., Photography Theory (London: Routledge, 2007).
8. Claerbout was also shown at the Venice Biennial 2011, at Palazzo Grassi, with his “The Algiers’ Sections of a Happy Moment” (2008), which is a further development of the concept from “Sections of a Happy Moment” (2007).
9. A more in-depth analysis of this critical stance would be most interesting in a thematic reading of the film, but lies outside the scope of this article.
10. Gilles Deleuze, Cinema 1: The Movement-Image and Cinema 2: The Time-Image (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986, 1989).
11. Maurice Lazzarato, Videophilosophie. Zeitwahrnehmung in Postfordismus (Berlin: b_books, 2002), 79.
12. Lev Manovich, The Language of New Media (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001), chap. V.
13. Ibid., 194.
14. http://picasaweb.google.com/hstebby47 (accessed November 20, 2011).
15. Manovich, The Language of New Media, 194.
16. Artinfo, http://www.artinfo.com/news/story/31145/ori-gersht-puts-five-questions-to-david-claerbout/ (accessed May 1, 2009).
17. Jay David Bolter and David Grusin, Remediation. Understanding New Media (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999).
18. For instance, as in Christopher Pinney’s studies of Indian studio photography, where a heavy amount of staging and image manipulation such as hand-coloring is perceived as authentification tools. His fieldwork in these Indian villages has implications for our traditional Western conceptual connection between concepts such as authenticity, truth, indexicality, and non-manipulation. Christopher Pinney, Camera Indica (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).
19. Susan Murray, ‘Digital Images, Photo-Sharing, and our Shifting Notions of Everyday Aesthetics’, Journal of Visual Culture 7 (2008): 147–63, 151.
20. Søren Mørk Petersen, ‘Common Banality: The Affective Character of Photo Sharing, Everyday Life and Produsage Cultures’ (PhD diss., IT University, 2008), 146.
21. Ibid., 154.