

- com/partizan/awards/?type=Commercials&year=2004 [last checked 15 February 2009].
- 9 For more on the new regime of the test as a paradigm of the control society, see Avital Ronell, *The Test Drive* (Bloomington: University of Illinois Press, 2005).
 - 10 As demonstrated, for instance, by their series *Equilibres - Quiet Afternoon* (1984), part of the Fischli & Weiss "Flowers & Questions" retrospective at the Tate Modern in London October 2006 to January 2007.
 - 11 A "Warp" function in the "TestTube" section of the YouTube platform now allows one to "explode" such clusters around the selected video and see the tag clouds scatter. Thanks to Pepita Hesselberth for drawing my attention to this feature.
 - 12 There is an excerpt from "Der Lauf der Dinge" appearing as an "Amazing Rube Goldberg Fire Machine" on YouTube – www.youtube.com/watch?v=pX8fpPf7Y0g.
 - 13 "What's the difference between God and Google? God—as revealed through Jesus Christ—is the finite infinite, and Google—as experienced by its users—is the infinite finite." Father James Schall, S.J., in a personal conversation, New York, February 2007.
 - 14 "GOOD and EVIL are often very close, for example when the candle on the swing sets fire to the detonating fuse. Because they are nice and childish, the candle and the swing tend towards the good, whereas the detonating fuse is evil because you don't need it for harmless things. On the other hand, every object in our installation is good if it functions, because it then liberates its successor, gives it the chance of development." Fischli & Weiss "Flowers & Questions" retrospective at the Tate Modern in London October 2006 to January 2007.
 - 15 The link between interactive storytelling and Buñuel has been made before, most systematically by Marsha Kinder, "Hotspots, Avatars and Narrative Fields Forever: Buñuel's Legacy for New Digital Media and Interactive Database Narrative," *Film Quarterly* no. 4, 2002, pp. 23–45.

Kathrin Peters and Andrea Seier

Home Dance: Mediacy and Aesthetics of the Self on YouTube

"After all, isn't the body of the dancer precisely a body dilated along an entire space that is both exterior and interior to it?"
(Michel Foucault)¹

Whatever we know about ourselves we know through and from the media.² Every self is bound to an exterior, which it addresses and in which it is reflected. The Internet platform YouTube naturally offers potential for media-based self-referentiality. At the moment, YouTube is probably the most prominent example of a media practice that allows the individual to record the minutest details of his or her life and to distribute them. By introducing a gap between self and world,³ media enable a distance required for any relation to the self. Various technical apparatuses—from the quill to the webcam—place the self at a distance and at the same time bridge that distance to the extent that they make it accessible and accessible for alteration. Seen in this light, historically different media have always played a decisive role in historically different self-relations. Processes of mediation are, thus, not only intimately linked to processes of subjectification; they are also their prerequisite.

Just as media apparatuses on the one hand and practices of self-treatment on the other hand are not simply givens, the relation between the two is subject to constant shifts that cannot be attributed to the transformation of the apparatuses themselves. Instead, it seems sensible to posit complex networks in which apparatuses and individuals interact without mutually determining one another. The partial and highly selective self-referentiality that YouTube allows raises questions that

we will explore in the following article by looking at a specific genre: dance performances of individuals of both genders on YouTube, where performers play back pop songs in private and dance to them. Remakes, interpretations of pop songs, and in part the presentation of music composed by the performer him or herself represent a large portion of the videos on YouTube. As a subgroup of these musical appropriations, the “home dances” form an interesting example that combines questions of relations of the self, body practices and media technologies. In short, can YouTube dance videos be seen as technologies of the self? How can this form of mediated self-practice be discussed? Do YouTube videos introduce new aspects of self-constitution, and if so, which ones?

The discussion concerning Web 2.0 often focuses on an increasing practice of self-staging and self-stylization, which in turn is considered a trademark of digital mass culture. Facebook, MySpace, Flickr and Twitter, blogs and personal homepages can indeed be considered plausible evidence for the multiplication of possibilities for public self-thematization. Findings from the realm of governmentality studies on the practice of self-management also seem to support this conclusion. In this context, practices of self-staging are not primarily evaluated as media processes, but above all as political and social processes of transformation. Furthermore, the context is posited as a growing “economization of the social” that turns the self into an infinite project involving strategies of optimization and revision, thus motivating comparisons of achievement and constant self-observation.⁴



21 “Private dancer” by aurorabeau



22 “Video killed the radio star” by ziamb05

Arguments from media history and the social sciences seem here to coincide almost too perfectly. To sketch out the problematic: on the one hand, the positing of an increasing compulsion to self-represent and -stage often entails an under-defined concept of superficial masquerade, simulation or deceit, raising the question of the authentic subjectivity that provides the foil for comparison.⁵ On the other hand, the discussion about the increasing mediation of everyday and professional life involves a presumption of a new and fundamental saturation of these realms by the media. This assumption in turn implies that work and private life were previously media-free spaces that are now subject to mediation. Early works of cultural studies, however, problematized this assumption. Studies in the realm of television research, for example, referred to the mutual effects of everyday life and television programming through the structuring of times of day, weekdays and weekends.⁶

Thus, one needs to take a closer look at the relationship between practices of the self and media apparatuses. In so doing, it becomes clear that processes of subjectification in new media necessarily repeat and vary older and other forms of mediated processes of subjectification. The points of comparison are thus not unmediated subjects, but relations of the self that are mediated in a different way. To account for the current variety of media self-models, Jörg Dünne and Christian Moser have developed the concept of “auto-mediacy.” They propose a concept of self-referentiality that both historicizes and accounts for media differences. “The increasing technologization of the media has not caused an impoverishment in subjective interiority; on the contrary,

it has generated a greater variety of self-referentialities.”⁷ In this article we will hence investigate YouTube videos as a form of automediacy, exploring the specific intersection of processes of subjectification and mediation. Central to our exploration of home-dance videos are above all their media-specific, aesthetic, governmental and utopian potentials.

“Video Killed the Radio Star”: Remediation and Reenactment

There are several combinations of music and image, sound and vision. They stretch from classic formats like musicals or music films to the latest developments of VJing in clubs. In VJing, there is an overlapping of music, image and dance in which all three media mutually enrich and amplify one another, thus creating a synesthetic experience. With the invention of the Walkman in 1979, a portable device was able to turn a listener’s surroundings into a kind of moving image, an image track that seemed to accompany the soundtrack on the headphones. The listener’s movement insured the emergence of constantly new images, like the individual’s very own “film.” This is probably why portable listening in transportational situations is so popular. The car radio could once be considered an early form of audiovisual reception, in which the speed of travel caused an animated sequence of images on the windshield. The Walkman—which has since been replaced by MP3 players and iPods—now belongs to the prehistory of a fusion of sound and vision, which began with the music video in the early 1980s.

When it began broadcasting in 1981, MTV presented as its first video clip “Video Killed the Radio Star” by the Buggles. The clip shows men in satin jackets playing keyboards, while a woman in a 1920s outfit dances in a plastic tube. A song of departure is sung to an allegory of radio. “We can’t rewind we’ve gone too far/Pictures came and broke your heart, look I’ll play my VCR.” Today, no VCR is necessary to see the video—it is of course available on YouTube with other appearances by the Buggles. In a critical vein directed at both the self and the media, some commentaries on the site state that “YouTube killed the video star.” Of course, this is not really true, because we are still dealing with video formats, albeit digital ones. YouTube does not seem to be killing off the video star, but rather preserving and multiplying this phenomenon. An overwhelming number of performances of this song can in

fact be found on the site. In one video, two very young men mockingly imitate a Buggles performance, with a green wall as their backdrop. In another, two sisters do a remake—which is pretty advanced in terms of choreography and post-production—in what is probably their parents’ house. Decisive in this remake are the dance performances before living-room walls as well as the sunglasses—both references to the ‘80s, yet a bit off-target.



23 Boffopy’s “Video killed the radio star”

These remakes are attempts at reenacting what is now a historical music video, which itself declares another medium historical. That is a “classic new wave music video,” as one user writes. To be able to decide who really was there, the users ask one another, “How old are you?” But of course, in the process of remediation taking place here, that is, in the process of gaining something “new” from imitating, quoting and varying the “old,”⁸ it hardly makes a difference whether the video was actually seen on TV in 1981 or on YouTube in 2009. For “Video Killed the Radio Star” awaits with a series of allusions, reminiscences and condensations that describe and initiate a break in the history of media. In many ways the key transformation introduced by YouTube has to do with the possibility of creating remakes or reenactments as home videos and distributing them easily. Movement and dance are not just elements of the video clip that is being consumed, but can be added in home videos as an activity of the “prosumer.”⁹ What was previously done with pop songs at home using mobile audio devices, be they on

record, cassette or videotape, can now be recorded and presented to a major audience as an audiovisual file.

But what does the audience get to see? The props, costumes and setting are usually quite minimal in these home videos, and this often includes a funny T-shirt, a wig or a pair of sunglasses. Backdrops for playbacks are often simply the rooms as they are. The “filmic” space depends on the possible camera positions, and cameras built into laptops are often used.¹⁰ This naturally results in limited possibilities when it comes to set design, hence the genre displays an endless series of private spaces, especially teenager’s bedrooms: full shelves in the background; the edge of a desk at the bottom of the image; posters, sofas and houseplants. Artemisbell, a famous YouTube cover dancer, performs in her stocking feet, in front of a floor-length curtain or a white wall. On the right we see a detail of a painting. Others dance while sitting in front of their computers, set to record their performance. The dance floor is simply constituted by the performers’ own four walls: here, no disco lighting submerses the surrounding space in obscurity—which is necessary in club culture for liberating people from everyday life and allowing them to “make an appearance” on the dance floor. The pragmatism in design could be attributed to a lack of aesthetic ability, or even ignorance when it comes to questions of composition. And of course, the interiors usually attest to a certain average taste—and how could it be otherwise? Furthermore, in adapting the image to the conditions created by the available space and technical equipment, a certain



24 Minimal setting in “Video killed the radio star”

aesthetic randomness is apparently accepted easily: this randomness contrasts profoundly with the thoroughly designed video clips to which the performances refer. But it is precisely this lack of self-consciousness that leads to considerations that not so much emphasize the amateur status of the YouTube video,¹¹ but makes their very mediacy the center of attention.

For instance, a logic of recording is clearly active here, one to which the digital or digitalized video is still subject. Naturally, a video camera registers whatever is visible from a certain angle, even if it is contrary to the maker’s intent. While the focus is solely on the performance of the actors, the framing of the images reveals much more: the room décor thus supplements the video. This supplementary aspect of the image in turn forms the aesthetic surplus of the YouTube video. Moreover, these videos find their way into VJ sets¹² as artifacts of an “authenticity” that can scarcely be achieved professionally; they are also broadcast on MTV or reused in advertising.¹³ These remediations make it clear that the break between analog and digital media is based less on the materiality of the recording process than the increased and instantaneous possibilities of distributing what is recorded.

However, it also becomes clear that home dances are not just about amateur self-alteration along professional aesthetic standards. The difference between professional and amateur does not seem particularly applicable here, for it is questionable whether the so-called amateurs judge themselves according to professional standards, or according to the commentaries and answers of other users listed on the YouTube website. In fact, the obvious imperfection of the videos creates a kind of archive of poses and images, its range of elements played repeatedly and varied. This archive is accessible by means of a computer only, through YouTube to be specific. The computer is thus the center of events. As a consequence, there are hardly any home videos that negate or conceal the digital device to which they are addressed. Either the action takes place directly in front of the computer, or computers are more or less explicitly part of the image. The computer is thus always a node in this arrangement—as a medium of reference to existing texts, poses and videos already in circulation—and at the same time as a medium of distribution of the performer’s own performance in the future. It could also be said that the actors are engaged with symbolic structures and mediation while a new media structure is in the process of inauguration

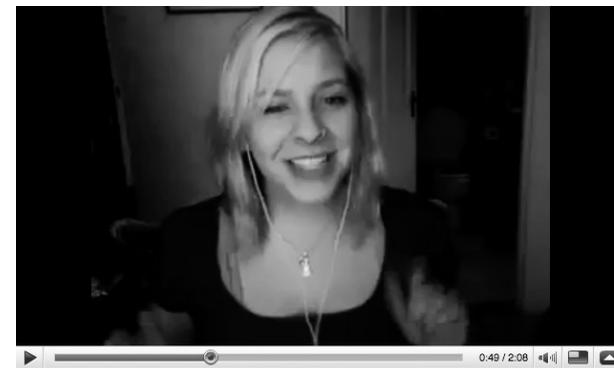
at the same time. This disperses any clear references to superstars or competition winners, rather establishing referential chains or a spreading network among video clips and commentaries, where the goal is to attract attention. Without striving for direct communication with a concrete partner, the dancing takes place quite concretely before the computer itself, in the light of the ceiling lamp.

“Dancing with Myself”: Ranking and Competition

While techniques of competition and ranking serve as the dramaturgical foundation of entire television shows like *Pop Stars* and *Pop Idols*, the logic of competition also plays a central role in YouTube home dances, for YouTube does not consist of videos alone. As on other sharing sites, symbols, signs and lists that lead to other sites and other content are arranged around these videos. Beside the clip itself, there are (to the right) lists with similar videos, and beneath it responses and comments; that is, a writing-image relation with a web of paratexts established by the functionality of YouTube. The hit numbers reflect the video’s popularity, and the stars that can be given, up to a maximum of five, represent an average evaluation. Even though YouTube lets the user community as a whole function as the televisual jury, common ranking techniques develop their normalizing effectiveness precisely in the exclusion of expert opinions. In effect, evaluation by mouse click, points and written comments serves as a motor. An informal struggle for recognition is thus taking place as expressed by a user: “One of the best on Youtube. The wrong people get recognition. Try again gents. Too funny.” From the community of users, so-called YouTube stars emerge, and in 2008, they were given a live stage and a live stream on a YouTube gala. Despite the quirkiness that is typical of YouTube stars, the popularity ranking culminates in a star system which has washed away countless videos under a wave of attention.

However, perhaps even more interesting are the commentaries on users’ performances. This is also the place where aesthetic critique is expressed. Two aspects are regularly up for debate: on the one hand, the value of the original song and its singer, and on the other hand, the quality of the YouTuber’s performance. While in the case of the first, the memories of the commentators themselves always play a role, the

comments about the latter often revolve around “talent”: “This is my favorite vid, you’re so talented,” or “Talent. Pure, raw talent.” Like talent competitions in other media, here talent is established as a basic quality that one either has—or does not. It is a kind of ultimate explanation that encourages the fantasy that the greatest talent need only be found among an endless flood of candidates in order to produce stars. Work on the self, practice, failure and the significance of networks in achieving recognition no longer seem to be of any importance.



25 Julia Nunes’ version of “It’s raining men, the weather girls”

While YouTube comments follow this contextual logic also, the frequent use of the word “talent” can be understood in an entirely different way. Expressed in this writing style are not least the difficulties of formulating aesthetic criticism, since what is needed here is not just talent, but also knowledge, practice and work that go beyond spontaneous expressions of approval or disapproval. Seen in this way, it is much less an omnipresent excellence and talent scouting perpetuated amongst the users; rather, talent is used as a basically empty signifier whenever the writer is at a loss for words, whenever an aesthetic critique cannot be formulated. Series of exclamation points or the repetition of a single letter often also point to the void of not having anything substantial to say: “Rock it cutie!!!!!!!!!!”; “Hmmmmmmmmmmm ...”

Comments thus stand in the context of a subjectification that takes place through the expression of thrill, agreement or rejection. Roland Barthes once made a list of things that he loved, and a list of things

that he did not love. These lists have no normative character, they are subjective in the best sense: "I like, I don't like: this is of no importance to anyone; this, apparently, has no meaning. And yet all this means: my body is not the same as yours."¹⁴ Similarly, YouTube commentaries lead to the formation of preferences and communities that at times diverge from the concept of clearly defined subcultures based on music or dance styles. Far more diffuse, fleeting and unpredictable units, like specific movements, gestures, poses, views and facial expressions, come into focus instead. In responses to the videos, they are met with declarations of approval or displeasure from other users, and this usually means, in the realm of dance, answered, imitated or varied with their bodies. Self-constitution and self-transgression go hand in hand: with the help of YouTube home dancing, the individual body is both rendered open to experience and deterritorialized, and also inscribed in a general archive of gestures, poses and images through imitation and procedures of repetition.



26 JemessandEm's "Abba-dancing queen"

For the specific form of circular reference and activities within the user community, the structure of the YouTube page is important. It pools the activities of the prosumer and makes rapid links between videos possible. Without the portal function of YouTube, the circular activity of receiving, producing and commenting would be theoretically possible, but much more complicated, and thus not very enticing. Regarding the situation of reception, YouTube realizes in contrast to television a form

of media use that appears both self-driven and controlled. "Flow" here does not consist in the avoidance of interruption, as is standard for television, but results from a bundling of dispersed elements. The next click to the next video is not prescribed, and in that sense can be considered self-chosen. But it also does not require an independent search among the endless data available on the Internet. The linking of individual pages is even controlled by the prosuming activity of the users to the extent that previous pages viewed prestructure the website's setup. It is thus the classic principle of liberal governmental technology that seems to be at work when surfing through the offerings on YouTube. The impression of an autonomous and individual state of reception is solely due to the control exercised by the link structure. Bundling and dispersal, autonomy and control remain dependent on one another. But the Web portal does more than enable and evoke the networking of users. The aforementioned composition of the page, which has links from one video to numerous others that are "similar," needs to be considered a constant discursive summoning and restating of a concept of networking.

"Everyone's a Winner": Transgressions

On YouTube there is both a "female" and a "male" dance version of the 1978 Hot Chocolate song "Everyone's a Winner"—both by LilyKerrigan. In the female version, pink shirts hang in the background, the dancer is wearing a low-cut, black dress and a pageboy haircut. In the male version, the corner of the room is bathed in blue light, the protagonist has her hair tied back and is wearing a blue T-shirt. In the first video, arms and hair fly about, in the other legwork dominates. The repertoire of movements that LilyKerrigan uses cannot be pinned down precisely. Instead of quoting concrete individuals, an imaginary is cited within which gender poses are constantly repeated and perpetuated. In so doing, these gender poses are always linked to cultural spaces and media modes of representation: in the home dances, the setting of pop music, which has formed over decades—from the disco ball to the dancing crowds to the DJ—is brought up to date. Subjective experiences are inseparably fused with media reception as a result. Pop's horizon of knowledge and experience includes both sweating in the disco and watching MTV. Technologies of the self and

media technologies are mutually determinant. For not only are disco nights or raves themselves complex media arrangements consisting of sound systems, records, orders of space and fashion, lighting and actors, they also form new media imagos that are then processed in video clips. Gender-specific dance moves and dress codes are embedded in this structure, and realized, exceeded and even shifted within it.

Even if LilyKerrigan's female version of "Everyone's a Winner" is watched ten times more often than the male version (as one would



27 Female and male: LilyKerrigan's "Every 1's a winner"

expect), the differences between the two can only really be seen in a direct comparison (which is made easier by a split-screen version that the user also uploaded). That the gender coding of dance movements, despite all their sexual equivocalness, can also result in ambiguities is made clear by an additional example. In a corner of his room, a teenager performs Prince's "Kiss" from 1986, wearing a three-quarter T-shirt and a leather jacket and precisely imitating the singer's hip movements. Then a friend comes into the image from the side, playing air guitar, his stature still relatively untouched by puberty. As the word "kiss" is sung, the older boy kisses the younger one, who giggles and retreats from his advances, and the sexual tension immediately explodes into fragments of a childish game, unspoken homoeroticism and intense embarrassment. What moves into the image here is the teenager's room as the "narcissistic cell of star/fan subjectification," as Tom Holert writes, but who is a fan of whom remains unclear.¹⁵ Even beyond the

realm of traditional dance forms, dance movements have always been learned through practice, and this was done in the privacy of the teenager's bedroom.¹⁶ And this has always contained a specific ambivalence of self-control and self-forgetting, discipline and pleasure. For social discipline and aesthetic subjectification are equally dependent on practice, on repetition, the setting of different levels and the production of difference.¹⁷ The corrective within this setting of practice might be a mirror or a friend, now it can also be a YouTube video.



28 The teen remediation of "Kiss"

If we wanted to define teenager's bedrooms as heterotopias as described by Foucault, they might be understood as equally private *and* public, actually existing *and* utopian, performative *and* transgressive spaces. At issue in this utopia is not an imaginary that appears in strict separation from the given as its "beyond," but the transgression and transformation potentials of the given. In a radio version of the heterotopia essay, Foucault explores in quite emphatic terms heterotopias as counterspaces:

These counter-spaces, these localized utopias, the children know them perfectly. Of course, there is the garden, there is the attic, or rather the Indian tent in the attic. And, on Thursday afternoon, there is the parents' bed. [...] These counter-spaces were not truly invented by the children alone, quite simply because it seems that children never invent anything. On the contrary, it is the adults who have invented the children

and whispered to them their wonderful secrets, and then the parents, the adults are surprised when the children blurt them out.¹⁸

Accordingly, would not playing air guitar in a teenager's room represent one of the most wondrous heterotopias? But what happens when playing air guitar on YouTube is inscribed in an evaluative ranking of air guitar playing? Does it lose its utopian potential if it appears on a Web portal that combines the professional and the private? Does the empowerment to engage in self-performances, which initially suspends the usual prejudice of affirmation and critique, automatically lead to a loss of distinction, to a leveling of difference? Or does this not amplify the utopian potential of transgression through the possibility of all-embracing dispersal and multiplication? The answer does not lie in reading the performances of the home dancers as either a form of media-generated empowerment *or* an example of self-governance, where the sole issue is using the self as a creative and economic resource. Neither the genre of the home-dance video as a whole nor the individual contributions can be clarified in this sense.

Conclusion: "Dance Me to the End of Love"

The questions posed at the beginning of this article were as follows: how could a concept of automediacy be productive if practices of self-constitution in digital media cultures are not automatically suspected of superficial masquerade or neo-liberal self-marketing? How can the portion of these self-practices involving media, aesthetic and cultural technique be analyzed without claiming the priority of the media or the self? The home-dance videos offered an opportunity to discuss the intersection of subjectification and mediation on YouTube. Without being able to provide definitive answers, or even wanting to, we would like to sum up our considerations in three arguments.

Firstly, YouTube's "home-dance videos" represent a specific form of self-practice based on the playful practice and expansion of the physical technique of dance. At issue in these dance videos are an aesthetic and existential self-reference¹⁹ as well as pleasurable performance and transgression. The ambivalence of dance between constitution and transgression of the self seems to amplify itself once more through the practice of recording and distribution, because it results in a clear form

of mediated self-alienation. Home-dance video production can thus be understood as self-performances in which not just internal and external rule overlap, but where the self is equally situated and transgressed on the basis of the repetition of references from popular culture. In this way, body and media techniques and those of the self all fuse in home-dance videos. They form in this fusion an agency in which the dancers, the video images, website functionality, the images of existing performance interact, whereby it is impossible to predict the goal or aim of these acts.²⁰

Secondly, in forming an intersection of physical practices, self-relations and media techniques, the home-dance videos can be understood as an "automediated" practice that not only represents a model of the self, but generates and multiplies self-referentialities. Prior forms of subjectification, or those taking place in other media, are again picked up on YouTube, whereas at the same time they shift in their repetition. This remediation takes place above all in quoted pictures, gestures and poses. The homemade remakes in front of living-room shelves and in teenagers' bedrooms produce—whether intentionally or not—new aesthetic forms that for their part flow into a pop and media-culture archive. Which bands and music and dance styles deserve to be archived in such a way is the subject of constant debate in the commentaries. The question of the canon's legitimacy becomes a point of constant negotiation.

Thirdly, the YouTube home-dance videos represent a governmental practice of self-regulation and self-management that is closely linked to the logic of competition and ranking. At the same time, we should note that the almost excessive evaluations, rankings and commentary, anchored in the software, in contrast to the widespread television contest practices, do not target the best "adaptation" to a given model (such as a professional music video), but often unforeseen criteria which also vary greatly depending on the priorities of individual communities. The attraction of placing videos of performances on YouTube seems to inhere in a certain self-expression, and thus self-distantiation beyond the exhaustive, hierarchical procedures of traditional media institutions. This makes it interesting to question which direction the potential of an aesthetic of the self will develop if the creation of YouTube stars becomes established.

Endnotes

- 1 Michel Foucault, "Utopian Body," in Caroline A. Jones, ed. *Sensorium. Embodied Experience, Technology, and Contemporary Art* (Cambridge, MA/London: MIT Press, 2006), pp. 229–234, 232.
- 2 This can be read as a rephrasing of one of Niklas Luhmann's best-known formulations: "Whatever we know about society or the world in which we live, we know it from the mass media." Niklas Luhmann, *The Reality of the Mass Media* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), p. 1.
- 3 Christoph Tholen, *Die Zäsur der Medien. Kulturphilosophische Konturen* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2002).
- 4 See Ulrich Bröckling, Susanne Krasmann & Thomas Lemke, *Gouvernementalität der Gegenwart. Studien zur Ökonomisierung des Sozialen* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2000).
- 5 For example, discussions in dating forums often revolve around the subject of participants not presenting themselves as they really are—but as they want to be.
- 6 See John Fiske, *Television Culture* (London: Routledge, 1987).
- 7 Jörg Dünne & Christian Moser, eds. *Automedialität. Subjektconstitution in Schrift, Bild und neuen Medien* (Munich: Fink, 2008), p. 14.
- 8 Jay David Bolter & Richard Grusin, *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000).
- 9 This term refers to a type of cooperation that subverts the distinction between passive consumption and active production. Alvin Toffler developed it in the 1980s with an eye on the coming technoculture of the 21st century. For a discussion, see Alvin Toffler, *The Third Wave. The Classic Study of Tomorrow* (New York: Random House, 1989).
- 10 However, at issue here are not closed-circuit installations; in other words, the actors cannot follow their performances on screen.
- 11 See Ramón Reichert, *Amateure im Netz. Selbstmanagement und Wissenstechnik im Web 2.0* (Bielefeld, Germany: Transcript, 2008).
- 12 See for example the YouTube parties of the artist Bjørn Melhus.
- 13 See for example the advertising campaign of Stiegl, an Austrian beer, that uses YouTube performances of "ski jumps" on escalators for an advertising clip. Many thanks to Jana Herwig for this reference.
- 14 Roland Barthes, *Roland Barthes by Roland Barthes* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977).
- 15 Tom Holert, "Digitale Ich-Maschine," *Jungle World*, 22 January 2009.
- 16 On YouTube there are many videos that teach specific dance moves, for example hip hop.
- 17 See Christoph Menke, "Two Kinds of Practice: On the Relation between Social Discipline and the Aesthetics of Existence," *Constellations* no. 2, 2003, pp. 199–210.
- 18 Michel Foucault, "Les Hétérotopies. Radio France 7. Décembre 1966." Quotation taken from Michel Foucault, *Die Heterotopien. Les Hétérotopies. Der utopische Körper. Le corps utopiques* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2005), pp. 40–41.
- 19 Michel Foucault, *Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology*, ed. James D. Faubion (New York: New Press, 1999).
- 20 See Ilka Becker et al., eds., *Unmengen – Wie verteilt sich Handlungsmacht?* (Munich: Fink, 2008).