When is a Poet an Instapoet?

The effect of platformization on the practice of being a poet, and instapoets as examples of poetry content creators in the Social Media Entertainment ecosystem

sciendo

CAMILLA HOLM SOELSETH, PhD Candidate, OsloMet – Oslo Metropolitan University, camil@oslomet.no

ABSTRACT

Through professional social media accounts, poets can become actors in the ecosystem of Social Media Entertainment (SME). In this article, using an ecological perspective, the accounts of five poets are treated as exhibits of processes they take part in, both platform-specific practices related to content creation in the SME, and practices showing the interlocking and overlapping of the SME with other ecosystems of cultural production. By doing this, the article aims to show how platformization as a socio-technological process is shaping the practice of being a poet. The article identifies the platform-specific practices the poets partake in that make it possible to say when they are being instapoets on Instagram. For the concept of "instapoet" to be fruitful when referring to poets, it is not enough for them to merely be on social media. A poet is an instapoet when they take on the platform-specific tasks of a social media creator, which is more than just producing content. Often, poets are not only instapoets. Rather, how much of an instapoet you are depends on how platform-dependent you are.

INTRODUCTION

Instapoets are those producing instapoetry. A simple definition that unravels the moment we ask: what does it mean to produce instapoetry? What processes are typical of an instapoet and the production of instapoetry? How does an instapoet differ from a "regular" poet? How do we define instapoetry?

While many call instapoetry a genre (Kovalik & Curwood 2019; Manning 2020; Matthews 2019; Miller 2021: 167), a better understanding of the phenomenon is as a particular result of the platformization of cultural production and deep mediatization, where the production and distribution of poetry become deeply entangled with social media. While not very specific, this loose definition at least shies away from descriptive definitions of certain instapoets' poetry, which fails to apply to the instapoetry of other instapoets[1]. It also hints at something more than just putting images of poetry up on Instagram.

Leaving the troublesome definition of instapoetry aside, this article instead aims to make it easier to define what an instapoet is. Not by asking *what* an instapoet is, but instead by asking *when* is a poet an instapoet, a question which has not yet been addressed academically, even if both Lili Pâquet (2019) and Alyson Miller (2021) have addressed some aspects of it in their

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1   The different poetry produced by the instapoets discussed in this article is already proof of that.

articles on instapoetry. Pâquet addresses self-branding through poetry and selfies as an aspect of being an instapoet (Pâquet 2019: 297). Additionally, literary scholar Aarthi Vadde briefly defines instapoets as "young writers who built their popularity through social media and self-publishing" (Vadde 2021) in an article focused more on platforms and cultural production. A definition that this article challenges through focusing on the patterns and processes related to being a poet on a social media platform.

Audiences, artists, and artworks are all part of an assemblage wherein technologies and practices of distribution carry out crucial connections between them (Daugaard 2018: 75). Digital platforms, such as social media, have reshaped and restructured relations between actors in the grander ecosystem of cultural production. The ecology of cultural production has expanded, allowing for new circuits and the reconfiguring of established circuits of cultural production, while also changing the practices of labor and creativity (Duffy, Poell, & Nieborg 2019: 2). As such, it is possible to speak of a platformization[2] of cultural production, fundamentally affecting the operations of cultural industries (Nieborg & Poell 2018: 4276). Platformization is a socio-technical process "reconfiguring the production, distribution, and monetization of cultural content in staggering and complex ways" (Duffy et al. 2019: 2), rooted in the interactions between platforms and cultural producers (Poell, Nieborg, & Duffy 2021: 4), where platform infrastructure impacts practices (Poell et al. 2021: 54).

By putting the prefix *insta-* in front of *poet*, there is a claim to an entanglement with a specific social medium: Instagram. An entanglement that this article argues is the involvement of the poet as a content creator in a new social media ecosystem of cultural production. However, the article also shows how the poet is not just a specific type of content creator, but also at

times working in multiple ecosystems at once, which speaks more to the changing role of the artist at large. Traces of other ecosystems in the account, exhibits of the poets, in this article show how ecosystems of cultural production overlap, interlock, and interact. Simply being *on* social media as a poet also means that the tasks of a poet are expanded and reconfigured, including the typical roles from the literary field of performing authorship, "selling literature", curating the public life of literature, and consecrating the literary (Murray 2015: 9). Focusing specifically on poets online, Julie Pennlert found poets on the Swedish platform for poets, *Poeter.se*, taking on tasks traditionally associated with publishers and editors, such as taking charge of the production and distribution of their poetry (Pennlert 2018: 91–92).

As such, it is *when* these poets are platform-dependent, meaning that their creativity and success are not to be separated from the platform on which they operate (Nieborg & Poell 2018), that they are truly instapoets. In this way, poets are instapoets when they resemble the type of platform-dependent author as described by publishing scholar Miriam J. Johnson, that is, someone sharing works among communities on social media platforms, managing and engaging with communities, and also developing relationships directly with readers (Johnson 2017: 399). It is when they are actors in the new ecosystem of cultural production: Social Media Entertainment.

Social Media Entertainment (SME) is the new ecosystem operating interdependently, and disruptively, alongside the older established media industries (Cunningham & Craig 2019a). SME is a media ecology of platforms, content, creators, and cultural practices (Scolari, Fraticelli, & Tomasena 2021: 76), and a place and space for interactive, audience-centred media constantly appealing to authenticity and community, as well as creativity (Duffy 2018; Scolari et al. 2021: 76). SME is both interacting and overlapping with, in this case, the literary ecosystem of cultural production.

While much contemporary research

2   In this article I am using the American spelling of this phenomenon.

concerns the specificities on new native-to-online actors in this ecosystem (such as influencers, TikTokers, and YouTubers) and the specificities of this ecosystem (Cunningham & Craig 2021), there is still much to be done on the overlaps, interlockings, and interactions between other ecosystems. This includes, for instance, when established cultural producers, such as poets, enter the SME. Or rather, when they start as poets, in the SME.

In this article, I will therefore analyse the Instagram accounts of different poets, labelled as instapoets, and demonstrate when it makes sense to say someone is an instapoet, as well as identify the platform-specific practices they partake in that make it possible to say they are an instapoet. The different poets range from those balancing between different ecosystems, to someone almost exclusively working in the SME. As well as someone showing signs of withdrawing from it.

Empirically, I use the professional Instagram accounts of five different instapoets, as exhibits. These instapoets are selected from a bigger study of instapoetry in Scandinavia currently being conducted[3]. I argue that instapoetry is not just about what is produced, but the way of producing it. It is an example of how the production and distribution of poetry, and of being a poet, can and has been affected by platformization.

The article will start with a contextual background for the changing role of the artist, to be exemplified with the new role of the artist as producer. The article then goes on to give an overview of changes brought on by the platformization of cultural production, which has also seen the development of the new ecosystem of cultural production (SME). The article will then go on to specifically the practices of the content creator in the SME ecosystem. The analysis will be informed by this literature, taking up platformization as a process, and the platform-specific and platform-dependent practices of content creators.

3   This article is the first to come from the study.

POET, AUTHOR, PRODUCER, CREATOR

In *The Death of the Artist: How Creators are Struggling to Survive in the Age of Billionaires and Big Tech*, essayist and literary critic William Deresiewicz presents a well-researched argument for how we are now progressing with great speed into a fourth paradigm for the artist: the artist as producer (Deresiewicz 2020). This is supported by research done on artists' relation to social media and the internet (Marshall, Moore, & Barbour 2019; Marwick 2015; Parnell 2021; van Driel & Dumitrica 2021). Research related to the literary industry also points to two co-existing modes of capitalism making up the literary field: conglomerate capitalism and platform capitalism (Parnell & Driscoll 2021: 1). Parnell and Driscoll show that success in the post-digital book culture of today means strategic alliances of traditional institutions and platform networks (Parnell & Driscoll 2021: 1), meaning an interacting and interlocking of the SME with the literary field. New digitally-oriented strategies, as well as platform practices, often work in tandem with more established modes of production and distribution, with interconnections, interdependencies, and interactions between one and the other (Chadwick 2017: xi; Parnell & Driscoll 2021: 3). Literary scholar Simone Murray echoes this sentiment when speaking more specifically of the literary sphere, stating in 2015 that "the influence of the old ways perceptibly remains but the logics of the new, digital environment have wrought such changes that the digital can no longer be regarded as a mere supplement to inherited print-culture structures" (2015: 320).

Changes to authorship, and the new type of author brand

What makes up authorship has changed from largely invisible processes leading up to the published book to "authorship as an ongoing public performance" (Murray 2020). There is an encouragement for public visibility of a professional identity, which means demonstrations of being a poet

through related labor and of being connected to others who do the same (Barbour 2015).

It should be noted, however, that this type of change has been going on since before the internet, with the *active author* (Murray 2015: 328) and the *author-promoter* (Squires & Murray 2013: 3) as examples of different similar author roles pre-internet. Things were already set in motion a long time before everyone became networked content creators. The acceleration and amplification of this in the field of cultural production, however, came through the increasing entanglement with the presentational media that social media is, and the prominent place of digital technologies in the 21st century (Squires & Murray 2013: 4).

Literary scholar Ramdarshan Bold's research shows how contemporary emerging authors gain fame and popularity through the connectivity of social media, through social relationships with other emerging authors, as well as building an audience and raising awareness of themselves and their work on platforms (Ramdarshan Bold 2016: 1 - 4). These authors are their own promoters, maintaining a close relationship with their followers through regular interaction and performance. Miriam J. Johnson's concept of the contemporary *citizen author* is another example. This is an author who embraces the new digital technologies and social media platforms as places of producing and sharing their work outside traditional publishing, creating networks, being part of communities, and gaining followers by maintaining an active social presence (Johnson 2017: 138). Success comes from interaction and engagement with communities, where their work is also distributed. In this new type of career, strongly entangled with platform capitalism, the author brand becomes central to successful promotion and reception (Parnell & Driscoll 2021: 4). Here, the use of emotional language, personal responses, and authenticity of the story, become especially prominent (Driscoll 2016).

The new author brand is about "building, engaging, and monetizing your audience, consciously and systematically" (Deresiewicz 2020: 51) and is recognized by Deresiewicz as a new paradigm, *the artist as producer*, and called the media-oriented model for cultural production by literary scholar Claudia Benthien (2020). This model is tied more to digital culture and how it emphasizes the "here and now", as well as the collective character of "the shared aesthetic experience" (Benthien 2020: 3). It is the maintenance of such an author brand online that leads the poet to become a content creator on Instagram.

Content creators in the SME

In the edited collection *Creator Culture*, Cunningham and Craig create the definition of "creator" in the context of social media as platforms, recognizing it as one of the major actors of Social Media Entertainment (SME). Creators are "commercializing and professionalizing native social media users who generate and circulate original content in close interaction and engagement with their communities on the major social media platforms as well as offline" (Cunningham & Craig 2021: 1). The creator is recognized by their ties – and appeal – to authenticity and community, by building a career through social media, and by being platform-dependent (Cunningham & Craig 2019a). The content they produce is native-to-online content, which differs from other types of content in how it is constituted from interactive audience-centricity and appeals to authenticity and community in the SME ecosystem (Cunningham & Craig 2017: 71).

It should be noted that the inclusion of "as well as offline" in the definition of a creator, is an important nod to post-digital contemporary culture, as well as the interactions of the SME ecosystem with other ecosystems, as mentioned earlier. A platform-dependent career is riddled with uncertainty at its core and this leads content creators to seek out places in other ecosystems of cultural production (Cunningham & Craig 2019b).

Furthermore, content creators are platform-specific in how they go about their work, as it involves a platform-specific set of skills and literacies to succeed (Sujon 2021: 222). This means partaking in platform practices and involves practices such as expressions of creativity and labor, which shape cultural production through platforms (Duffy et al. 2019). This includes how to work with and through the algorithms of Instagram, where engagement leads to visibility. In other words, playing the visibility game (Cotter 2019). These sorts of practices are also what Abidin calls "visibility labour" (Abidin 2016: 6); they concern techniques dependent on Instagram, such as, for instance, hashtag use and other engagements with the features of the platform (Burgess 2021: 23). While using hashtags is an essential way of making your content visible to others because they generate effective search queries, it should be noted that subverting the afforded ways of working the platform is another necessary practice. Not tagging your content can be a way of getting noticed, if other ways of playing the visibility game are deployed, because you can signal that you are someone who can afford *not* to make your content findable in the traditional way.

Another type of labor for the creator is "affective labour", or "relational labour"[4], and is typical of influencers on social media (Sujon 2021: 222), where they work on producing feelings of connection between themselves as a creator and the audience, and is something creative work increasingly requires, especially on platforms (Sujon 2021: 221). This type of labor is also one of the key characteristics of interaction on social media (Sujon 2021: 222). These laboring practices tie in with being seen as "authentic", and community management, upon which success in the SME is dependent.

Authenticity and Community
Cunningham and Craig argue SME is governed by norms "that put the highest value on authenticity and community" (Cunningham & Craig 2017: 72) and states that "the relationship between discourses of authenticity and community defines the distinctive mode of address in SME" (Cunningham & Craig 2017: 74). Sophie Bishop's research on influencers as professional, independent, content creators highlights this drive toward "authenticity", which can be defined as personal and relatable self-branding (Bishop 2021: 1).

Authenticity is therefore an aspect of a brand, where the blurring of the authentic self and the commodity is both expected and tolerated (Banet-Weiser 2012: 13). This ties in again with the contemporary postfeminist brand culture (Genz & Brabon 2009), where self-branding is a cultural process of branding, and where brands have an "affective relational" quality, maintained by personal narratives (Banet-Weiser & Lapsansky 2008).

The creator's distinctiveness is their claim to authenticity (Cunningham & Craig 2017: 74), and such claims are being validated by being tested constantly by the community the creator calls into being. Feedback is therefore crucial to creating a self-brand, as someone must be buying what you are "selling" as authentic (Banet-Weiser 2011). Authenticity is therefore established in a dialogic relationship with fans/followers, made possible by the interactive parts and possibilities of the platform (Cunningham & Craig 2017: 74). This type of co-creation can be recognized as a form of participatory culture, which further fuels distribution processes for content (poetry) produced by poets, as the community reposts, remixes, and repurposes the poetry for their own uses, at the same time verifying the claims to authenticity laid by the poet when doing exactly this. Meisner and Ledbetter (2020) coined the term "participatory branding" when describing how the self-brand is the result of the involvement of audiences, emphasizing the work of the audiences in helping to shape the brand.

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4   Further references to this labor in this article will use the American spelling of the word.

Work done on social media is therefore both content production and content promotion, such as personal branding (Duffy 2017: 69). For instapoets, self-branding allows them to appear authentic by providing readers immediate access to them (Pâquet 2019: 301). It becomes a conscious decision by these poets to do so (Manning 2020), but is also necessary for authors wanting to make it commercially (Pâquet 2019: 301). As Pâquet writes about instapoets (2019: 311), "it is the curating of an online human brand that has allowed them to gain the momentum to bypass the traditional publishing industry". It is through the successful results of such labor that a secondary relationship can be established to buy into and leverage the primary relationship. This is the relationship between fans/followers and the brand (Cunningham & Craig 2017: 74), making it further possible to monetize the audience. The expression of the (participatory) self-brand is therefore one of the clearest recognizable traits of a professional poet on Instagram; variations to the expression of such a brand were the basis for the choice of five specific professional poets with connections to instapoetry on Instagram.

METHODOLOGY

The five poets were chosen from a corpus belonging to a larger study on Scandinavian instapoetry currently being conducted. The choice of instapoets was based on a part of this study, which consisted of distant reading of a corpus of instapoetry, consisting of ca. 1400 users who used the Scandinavian hashtag #instapoesi[5]. Three of the instapoets were chosen from these users, based on selected characteristics in how they used hashtags and how long they had been posting poetry on Instagram, as well as a variation in the number of followers, and who best reflected the part of Scandinavian instapoetry created by professional poets[6]. In addition, to account for users who

5   The distant reading of the corpus is set to be published in another article in the near future.
6   To clarify, this means that a lot of so-called instapoetry could be said to be more vernacular, made by personal accounts who do not work towards becoming professional poets.

have never used #instapoesi, two instapoets were identified through a search query for the mention of instapoets in the largest Scandinavian newspapers magazines, to include those who chose not to use hashtags as well.

While it should be recognized that the boundary between professional and vernacular cultural production is often fluid and difficult to draw on platforms (Poell et al. 2021: 9), the choice of accounts to study has not been done without careful consideration. All the five poets chosen are official public and professional accounts on Instagram. Personal accounts, which some of them also hold, are not included in the analysis, even if they were also set to public display of content. One of the accounts analysed in this article also started as a personal account, which further shows how the type of account can change over time, and how the road to poetdom does not necessarily start with the intention of gaining success on Instagram.

The accounts analysed in this study are not just public, but also *in* the public, acting in many ways in the same way as a public website presenting and selling themselves as poets and writers, either through having registered a professional account, or through descriptions of the purpose of the account in the bio-section of the profile page, as well as identified through the type of content posted related to self-branding. While it would be highly ethically problematic to analyse (without consent) accounts belonging to users who publish poetry more as a hobby and belong to more amateur writer communities on Instagram, this is not the case with these accounts. I also acknowledge that by treating them as official poets, I am validating their claim to poetdom.

Further on, it was my primary interest to choose those who first and foremost were *only* poets. As such, certain significant, well-recognized instapoets in Scandinavia were excluded from the sample. These include, for instance, Michaela Forni (SE) and Michaela Hamilton (SE), who are primarily influencers; Alexandra Brixemar (SE)

Username / name	Account features
@alexanderfallo / Alexander Fallo	- 22600 followers / following 1542. - Started the account as a personal account in 2012 but turned professional in 2015. - 265 tagged posts. - Not a user of the Scandinavian hashtag. - Norwegian.
@poetensdagbog / Christian G. Freund	- 9164 followers / following 7310. - Started the account as a poetry account in 2018. - 17 tagged posts. - Not a user of the Scandinavian hashtag. - Danish.
@stjernekast / Jannicke Langford	- 42200 followers / following 444. - Account wiped* and re-started in 2019. - 270 tagged posts. - Uses the hashtag #instapoesi for almost all posts. - Norwegian.
@indirektedirekte / "Den Nøgne Lyriker"	- 920 followers /following 268. - Account started as a poetry account in 2015. - 15 tagged posts. - Has used the hashtag #instapoesi a few times. - Danish.
@enkel_poesi / Victoria Dalsberget	- 47700 followers /following 646. - Account started as a poetry account in 2015. - 281 tagged posts. - Has used the hashtag #instapoesi a few times. - Norwegian.

*   She deleted all her previous posts.

who is a speaker; Trygve Skaug (NO), Sten-ersrod (NO), and Alex Frones (NO) who were already established musicians/artists prior to becoming instapoets; and Solfure (NO), who started her account as a photographer and is an influencer for multiple companies and brands.

Below is an overview of the 5 instapo-ets, and their defining account features. I have included their country of origin, even if the differences in their ways of doing insta-poetry do not necessarily have anything to do with being from different Scandinavian countries[7]. All metric counts related to the accounts are from May/June 2021.

7   This was chosen partly because of the lack of profes-sional Swedish instapoets in the corpus scraped from In-stagram. This could be attributed to the existence of hav-ing their own established platform in Sweden already; *poeter.se*, but also that Swedish instapoets mentioned in newspapers and magazines were treating instapoetry as one of many types of content to be produced.

Account and content analysis
The Instagram accounts of the poets in this study are treated as exhibition sites. An exhibition site is "defined as a site (typically online) where people submit reproducible artifacts (read: data) (Hogan 2010: 381). The exhibitional approach (Hogan, 2010) can be used to do work concerning the online presentation of the self (Hogan 2010: 377), where the content published on the account can be seen as artifacts of past performances. Using the framework of the Instagram profile as a place of «exhibition», the exhibition is analysed to say something of the performed authorship and its inter-sections with content creation and produc-tion. The analysis aims to uncover the plat-formed practices the poets partake in and are a part of, and what that means for the platformization of poetry and when poets are instapoets.

Approaching the exhibit will further be done by treating the content curation as one of personal narrativity by the poet. This means seeing the feed as an exhibit of the instapoet's choice of what to promote and showcase[8]. In addition, the tagged archive[9] found on the account page will also be included to gain insight into how the narrative is defined by "journalists, critics, and audiences – whose responses to the artist persona play a part in shaping it" (Hansen 2019: 513), aiming to shed light on how authenticity is created and validated in the SME.

The exhibit analysed consists of all public posts by these poets available on their account at the time of collection and analysis (May/June 2021), as well as the posts they were tagged in that showed up in their tagged archive. The posts of the poets went through an initial coding and sorting by type of post: poem, general photos, and lastly: posts of variations of explicit self-promotion, self-branding, and self-marketing. The tagged posts were sorted according to whether they were re-posts of poems, showed products of the poet, or showed the poet taking part in a cultural event. Posts were also sorted according to whether they belonged to personal users or professional accounts as well as what type of accounts they were.

POET ACCOUNT OVERVIEW

@alexanderfallo
Fallo's account is registered as a professional Instagram account, which also

means his profession (he has chosen) is listed below his name ("author", translated from Norwegian). The bio has information on how to contact his manager as well as information on his newest printed poetry collection, tagging the publishing company that has published it (a large Norwegian publishing house). The link is to his professional website. The feed of published posts shows the turn from a personal to a professional account during the span of 2013–2015.

He rarely uses hashtags to secure broader distribution of his work on Instagram, only using his own name as a hashtag a couple of times in the early stages of his career, and later on, using hashtags for events if the posts are in some ways related. While Instagram remains the primary place for publishing poetry throughout the years, this is monetized by selling posters and postcards of selected poems, as well as merchandise such as t-shirts bearing his name, or sweaters saying "Fallo has taught me everything I know about love" (translated from Norwegian). This is posted about and advertised through specific Instagram posts.

In addition to poetry, which makes up most of his posts, there are selfies, images from events, and images of him with other important figures, as well as posts about collaborations and posts featuring followers/fans. The events show him as being heavily involved in the cultural scene of Norway in various ways, from festivals to TV shows, to podcasts about poetry. Likewise, the collaborations range from a clothing brand to a pop-rock band to working with non-profit organizations. He also uses the saved instastories feature[10] to showcase past events as well as for promotion for his poetry collections and other merchandise.

@poetensdagbog
Christian G. Freund's bio is more playful than Fallo's, and reads: "Suburban poetry from a boy from Jutland who dreams of

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8   An interesting tidbit I felt the need to include here which was unfortunately noticed after the article was mostly finished was the constant change of the exhibit. Coming back to the poet accounts more than half a year after first analyzing them revealed that posts had been deleted and removed. Which interestingly makes the account even more relevant as an *ongoing* exhibit. The poets themselves seem to edit them constantly.

9   For those unfamiliar with Instagram, all posts by other users who have tagged the specific account in an image (not the caption), will show up in a tab on the profile page of that account. This tab is located to the right, in the menu directly above the account's own posts. It is possible for the account tagged to either un-tag themselves or just hide the tagged post from their archive, thus securing some control of what is found in the archive.

10   The line of circled images in the header of Figure 1. These are clicked on to see slideshows of curated post collections.
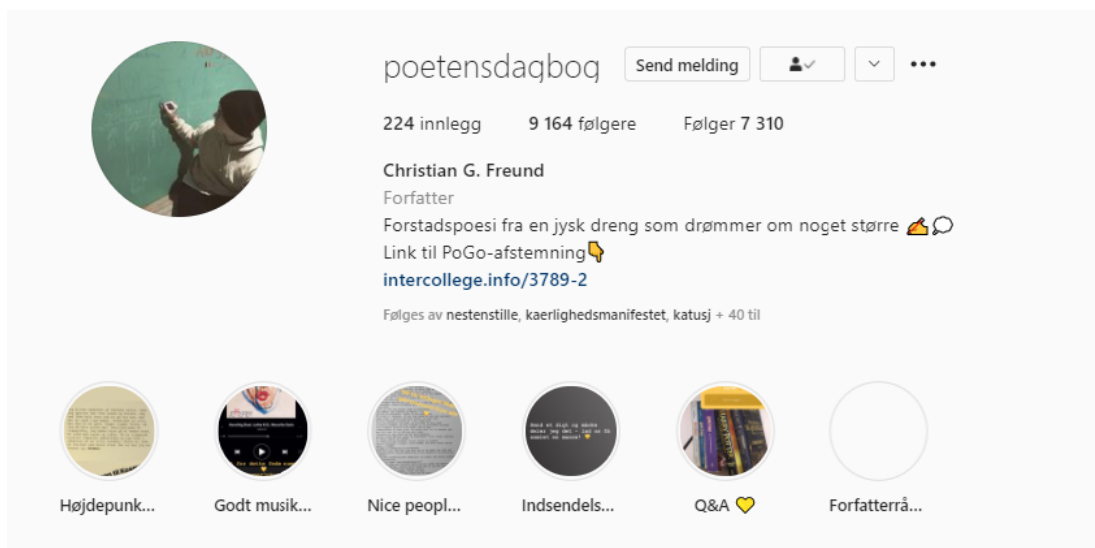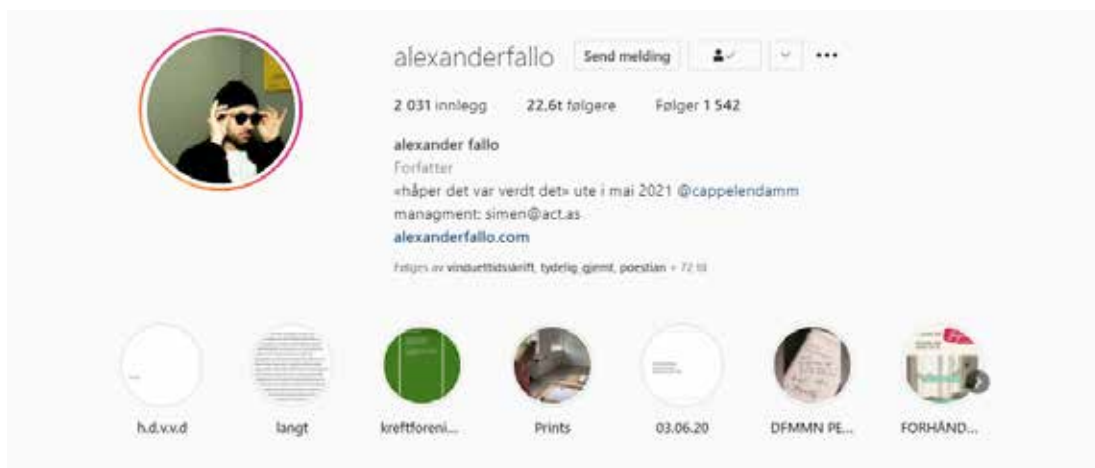
FIGURE 1. The account header of Alexander Fallo
FIGURE 2. The account header of Christian G. Freund

becoming something bigger" (translated from Danish). While having a professional account, with "author" listed below his name as his professional status, he is still signalling that he is "on the way" to becoming a poet. He has a link going to a European competition for getting poetry featured in a European poetry app for youth, where you can vote for one of his poems. One of his six saved instastories, is a saved story with a collection of answers he has gotten from people on advice for becoming an author. The name of the account, translated to "the diary of the poet", also signals an unpolished look inside his workings, snapshots from his production.

The account first started posting poetry in August 2018 with a continuous pattern the first months, consisting of poem/photo/poem repeated, in many ways acting like a scrapbook diary. However, this consistent style was disrupted after a month when he posted a poem called "face reveal" as part of a slide sequence post also including a selfie of himself.

Posts that are not poetry contain promotions from events he is part of off the platform, such as being interviewed by the Danish national newspaper *Informationen*, poetry recital at a climate strike, and a post showing him taking a creative writing course by a publishing company.

@stjernekast
While not having a professional status registered for her account, Langford does address herself in the bio as "writer, observer and everyday poet". She includes a copyright statement and advertises that her poetry collection can be bought on her linked website.

She has a defined and recognizable visual style for her published poetry, and they are also all signed with her account name, though from April 2021 this is changed to her real name. The poems are the dominant content. She uses hashtags related to poetry and writing, as well as specific Norwegian, Swedish and Danish hashtags connected to poetry on Instagram.

The posts consisted of strictly poems until she self-published her poetry collection in summer 2020. She then posts photos of the collection and information on how it can be bought at her website. Her single, saved instastory is a reel of posts featuring followers who have gotten her poems tattooed.

@Enkel_poesi
Victoria Dalsberget does not have a professional status registered, but in her bio, she describes herself as "author, pedagogue and booklover" (translated from Norwegian). The name of the account also translates to "simple_poetry". She has her professional e-mail listed where she can be contacted and advertises that her poetry collection can be ordered through one of the biggest bookseller companies in Norway, which is also linked. She rarely uses hashtags, except for when the poem can be related to an event that has an established official hashtag.

Up until December 2020, the account primarily consists of poems. This changes in December 2020 when she publishes a post about a poetry collection that will be released in March 2021 through a large Norwegian publishing house. The focus on the coming poetry collection is given centre stage in the months that follow, with information in the captions about the possibility of pre-ordering the book every time she posts a poem. Following the release, posts about collaborations are published, such as the promotion of a collaboration with active Norwegian feminist and actor, Ulrikke Falch.

The saved instastories are bricolages of postings by others on how they like her poetry, as well as mentions of her by other actors in the broader ecology of cultural production.

@indirektedirekte
This Danish poet does not have a professional account status, but her name is listed as *Den Nøgne Lyriker* ("the naked poet"), a *nom de plume*. The bio contains a short poetic description of her as a poet,
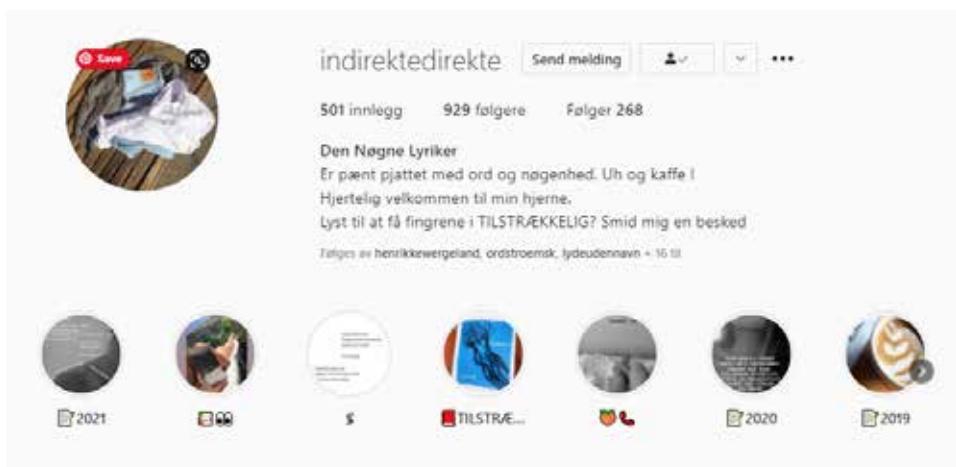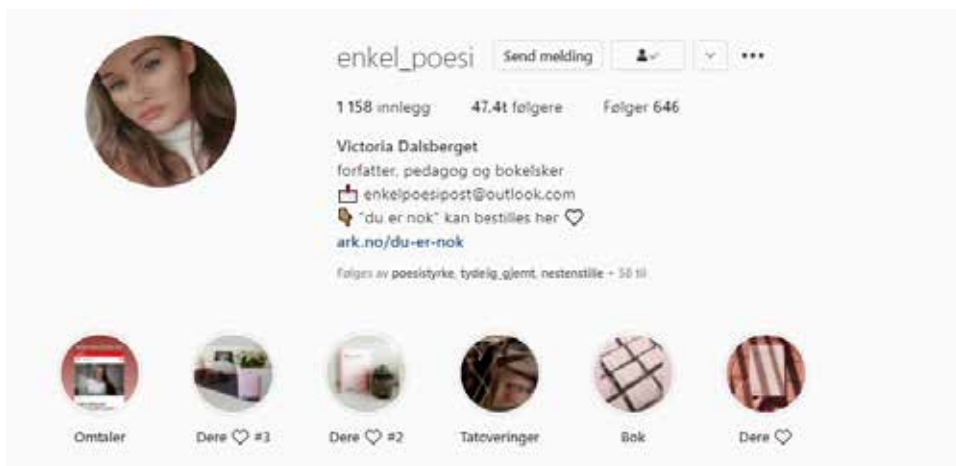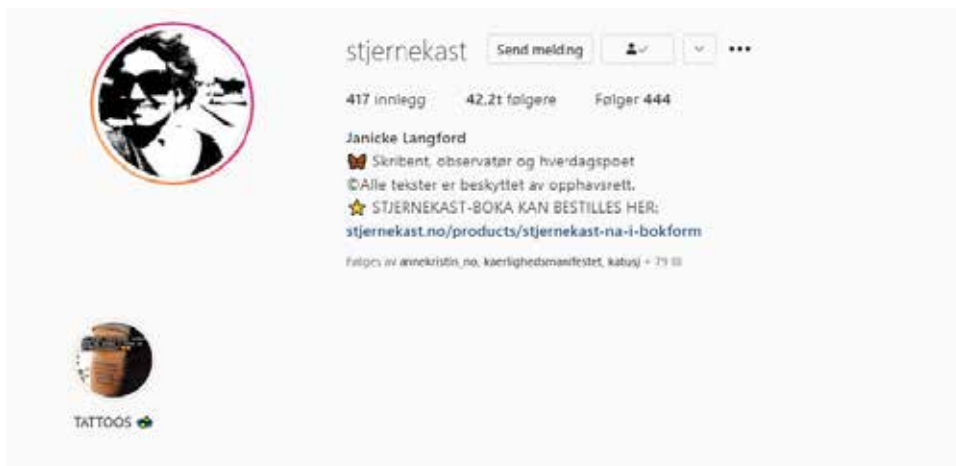
FIGURE 3. The account header of Janicke Langford
FIGURE 4. The account of Victoria Dalsberget
FIGURE 5. The account of Den Nøgne Lyriker (DNL)

including welcoming readers to her brain, signalling the same type of unpolished access as Freund does. She also advertises her poetry collection and the possibility of sending her a direct message to get hold of it, acting as her own intermediary.

While strictly posting poetry since the start of the account, this changes in July 2020 with a photo of her poetry collection at *Byens Forlag* Publishing House in Aarhus, Denmark. It is published under her own name, Marie Kipper. The promotion of the collection for sale takes up more of her postings in the second half of 2020. In April 2021, she promotes taking part in an event by the Danish Cultural Institute.

She has used multiple hashtags related to poetry at the start of the posting from this account, but she slowly discontinued the use of hashtags over the years. She uses the feature of saved instastories to both depict poetic projects and provide information about her poetry collection.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION: BEING ON INSTAGRAM AND BEING INSTAPOETS

Through analysing the accounts as exhibits I will show and discuss how patterns of platformization of poetry shape being a poet and how it sometimes makes poets instapoets. As already mentioned, platformization consists of the processes that result in new patterns of creative practices. Platformization is the reconfiguring of production, distribution, and monetization of cultural content. These practices are of course deeply entangled but will be teased apart for analysis. The discussion will specifically focus on the reconfigurations of production and distribution, and the patterns that not only reveal poets as producers, but also those specific platform-dependent patterns which at times make them a specific type of creator, an instapoet. These patterns consist of platform-specific community engagement and producing feelings of connections between poet and audience, participatory self-branding and poetry distribution, but most importantly sharing poetry for free,

and working on making it visible through the possibilities of platform infrastructure. Thereby also being platform-dependent as a poet.

Addressing platform-dependency first: all poets use their accounts as places for publishing and distributing their poetry, promotion, and self-branding. This way, they all take charge of initial production and distribution through their account. While Langford, Dalsberget, and DNL do not have a registered professional account, they still have a branded look, providing information about themselves as poets, and how to buy their works in the "about"-section on their profile. While not having registered their accounts as a specific type of account, they still use the account specifically for publishing and promoting their poetry. It is not simply the type of account that decides whether you are professional or not. Opting out of having an Instagram-registered professional account can also be a sign of playing the so-called visibility game, as it is known that regular accounts have more algorithmic reach on Instagram.

Further on, the main content of their accounts is poetry. They all publish and distribute original poetry on Instagram by posting images featuring text. While it might be easy to take for granted, the practice of putting the poetry not in the caption but instead as the actual image post, styled and posed, means setting the poetry up for being found on social media, of being seen. Instagram is, after all, a visual social medium. Adding to this, they all also work on the visual presentation of each poem, where visual devices sometimes become part of the poem such as the placement and size of the text in the image. At times, they also create platform-specific poetry by taking advantage of Instagram-specific features. Examples of this are the poetry instastories by DNL and the curated feed of poetry and photos relating to each other by Freund (see **Figure 9**). Platform-specificity is also found in the poetic style of Fallo, where the poetry acts as a continuous narrative, creating a story that can be followed through each image post, embracing the

"here and now" and the constant update of someone's life that a social media feed is.

Langford and Dalsberget's poetry, on the other hand, tends to contain a more explicitly social and relational function. The poetry is often more directly engaging with the community of readers, and they write *for* the community. Langford addresses the reader as "you" quite often in the poetry, and Dalsberget's poems are often reflective of ongoing general topics of interest and are starting points for longer essays about the topics in the caption below.

However, the poetry, by being published on Instagram, is free for everyone to read, like, and share. As such, they all use the platform for distribution. They are creating content and give everyone access to their poetry for free on Instagram.

Platformed visibility labor
A platform-specific task is working on the circulation of a poet's work by making themselves and their poetry visible on the platform. Here, they are creating ways for poetry to travel and exploit the distributive possibilities of the networked medium. This means engaging and interacting regularly with the audience to increase visibility on Instagram (as the algorithm responds to interactions), as well as using specific hashtags in hopes of increasing the audience through making the poetry easier to find by search.

As mentioned, not all poets use hashtags at all times. Langford consistently uses popular hashtags related to poetry, which makes her posts more findable for those looking specifically for poetry. This is also something DNL has done in the past (**Figure 6**). Fallo and Dalsberget, on the other hand, employ hashtags strategically to reach out to new audiences. Many of Dalsberget's instapoems are related to specific life events and can therefore often use established hashtags for these events. Among her posts are poems produced for International Women's Day, World Suicide Prevention Day, International Mental Health Day, International Health Worker Day, as

well as Halloween. The use of hashtags related to these events also leads to spikes in likes on her posts. These poems are often recycled, being published yearly. They are also an example of relational labor, of writing *for* the audience and their interests.

An example is Dalsberget's poem about being a best friend. This is further captioned to be interacted with, asking the audience to tag someone who they consider a "bestie" (**Figure 7**, above). Another example of this type of visibility labor is done by Langford. She posts a poem from her self-published poetry collection, tagging the Norwegian princess Märtha Louise, as the poem vaguely could address someone like her. This results in the poem getting a spike in 2600 likes. Both by employing event hashtags and by asking followers to tag others or tagging other known persons themselves, the poets are actively working on circulating their poetry beyond their own communities.

Visibility labor also interlocks with relational labor in encouraging the audience to interact with the content through competitions. For Dalsberget, this entails holding a poetry competition, then publishing her favourite poems, and tagging the authors. Competitions are also held by Fallo. He initiates multiple competitions where people can win his own clothing merchandise or poem posters. Some of these competitions involve asking people to repost poems they want to become posters. This is a way of creating interaction and engagement with the audience which secures further distribution and visibility on the medium. It also shows how entangled the processes of content distribution and community engagement can be, serving as an example of the participatory nature of cultural production that's found on social media today.

Platformed community engagement
While the relational labor interlocks with visibility labor, made possible by the networked infrastructure of the platform, it is also of interest to tease apart platform-specific practices related to community

FIGURE 6. Example of use of multiple hashtags accompanying a poem by DNL

FIGURE 7. Dalsberget's poem about having a best friend.
Comments from personal accounts tagging people are redacted.

engagement. While competitions are an old trick of the (promotional) trade, actually engaging with and producing a feeling of connection is the most important part of this. The relational work can be summarized as letting the audience take part in the poetry and feel seen by the poet as readers.

Dalsberget is in many ways the extreme example when it comes to audience engagement compared to the other four poet accounts. In her feed, in the captions below the poetry, and in her instastories, she centres her followers and their posts about her poetry and her poetry collection. She heightens these mentions to the same level as official reviews, interviews by newspapers and radio events, and features in bookshops and libraries, by placing them in the same saved instastory, showcasing it all as different ways of being recognized as a poet.

This type of engagement is also found in her other saved instastories, with three of the instastories just being titled "you guys <3" (translated), containing entries of people sharing her poetry, sharing photos of the poetry collection and poems in it.

Langford also works on keeping a relationship with her audience through regular interaction. This is prominent throughout her posts, which are often closer to aphorisms or simple poetic life advice, combined with sometimes addressing followers directly in the captions of these posts, and always answering their comments.

Similarly, Fallo also works by acknowledging followers in the same way. This is done by addressing them as such, "to all my followers" (translated), in the captions of posts when he has something to share, or he acknowledges his followers by posting photo collages of fans wearing his clothing merch.

This type of audience engagement is done more reluctantly for DNL. While audience engagement can be found in acknowledging other people's posts about her poetry collection, in general few traces in the exhibit of her maintaining a general engagement with readers. Instead,

the exhibit shows posts in which she sends surprise Christmas gifts containing her poetry collection to random inhabitants of her city as a way of promoting her poetry *off* the platform. The result of this type of difference in audience engagement on the platform is also seen in the difference between the followers DNL and Dalsberget have. While they started posting poetry at the same time on the platform, Dalsberget has accumulated a much larger number of followers on the platform.

While the account of DNL remains first and foremost a place for poetry, when her poetry collection is released, the account changes to promoting this collection and how to buy it. She transitions from using the platform to publish and circulate her poetry, to use the account as a promotion of her published poetry collection and events of which she takes part. She also posts poetry much less, signalling a sort of withdrawal from the account as a place for her poetry.

This type of change in what is posted about is also noticeable with Langford when she self-publishes her poetry collection. The posts are constant reminders to buy the collection (in the caption) but are also always accompanied by a poem from this collection (the image post).

However, the marketing and promotion of an object available off the platform means that they act more as poets *on* social media, using the platform for marketing, and not necessarily as content creators. The focus changes from publishing poetry on the platform, available for all, to marketing their printed collection, in hopes of monetizing their Instagram audience. The relational labor done pre-book has been much more extensive for Langford than DNL, which is also visible in the number of followers she has. While DNL might have traditionally published a poetry collection, she is not successful in the SME, failing at generating the relational authenticity which is the currency of the ecosystem. A currency Langford, as a self-published poet, can't afford to lose.

Freund, on the other hand, engages more in the book culture of Instagram,

posting when he is mentioned by others in this community, such as when bookstagram[11] accounts review his poetry. However, he is far from having the same type of engagement from followers as Fallo and Dalsberget showcase that they have. But he is also newer to the game.

Participatory distribution of poetic content

The act of exploiting the distributive potentials in participatory culture is made possible by letting the poetry travel on Instagram. As can be found in the tagged archive, other Instagram users reshare the poetry published, translating poetry to different languages, creating their own (re) presentations, getting them tattooed on their bodies, and using them as images serving as entry points to talk about topics like mental health. The tagged archive of Fallo reveals multiple instances of fans re-posting his poetry, as do the majority of tagged posts in the archive of Langford.

The people who share range from regular users to influencers to companies. Langford's poetry is shared and spread by knitting accounts, yoga accounts, and a coaching school. Dalsberget's tagged archive is filled with posts by fans with her poetry as images, including professional accounts of exercise and health influencers, mental health influencers, photographers, knitting accounts, yoga studio accounts, as well as multiple magazines, including fashion, fitness, literary, and feminist magazines.

A family therapist uses several of Langford's poems, the same goes for a centre for support of victims of violence. Poems are shared and captioned by people writing about mental health and are often shared in connection with the International Day of Suicide Prevention and the International Mental Health Day, with the hashtags of these events added. What this shows is the ability of poetry to travel into different communities of Instagram where it is found relevant.

Through both sharing and tagging, other users participate in a platformed practice of generating visibility for poets, as well as validating their authenticity. While this is the reality with the poetry of Fallo, Dalsberget and, Langford, it remains absent from the two Danish poets. While they have both created clear brands for themselves, reflected particularly in their bios, for the time being, this self-brand has not been so successful. This shows how participatory distribution made possible by the platform infrastructure becomes a feedback loop into the dialogue of authenticity as well.

Participatory authentication

A pattern emerging from these five account exhibits is that those with more active community engagement also see more participatory distribution of their poetry, and are in turn seen as "authentic". As mentioned, on social media, authenticity is dialogic and requires an active social presence, which translates to the poet having to partake in relational labor. Authenticity claims are validated by the audience and lead to the creation of a participatory self-brand.

Giving space to their followers in their instastories and posts is an example of authenticity being dialogic. The poet produces poetry, readers repost or in some way respond to this poetry, the poet then posts these responses on their account, letting new readers know that their current readers are "authenticating" them. This also produces a feeling of connection as the original readers feel acknowledged by the poet. Having followers thus translates into being authentic.

However, it is not only the responses by readers that matter. For all poets, posting about events they are part of, such as interviews by newspapers, or collaborations and relations with other actors in other cultural ecosystems off the platform works as a way of showing the audience that they are authentic, they are showing how they are recognized by other agents in the broader ecosystem of cultural production. The audience can choose to accept by liking and continue to follow (see **Figure 8**). While

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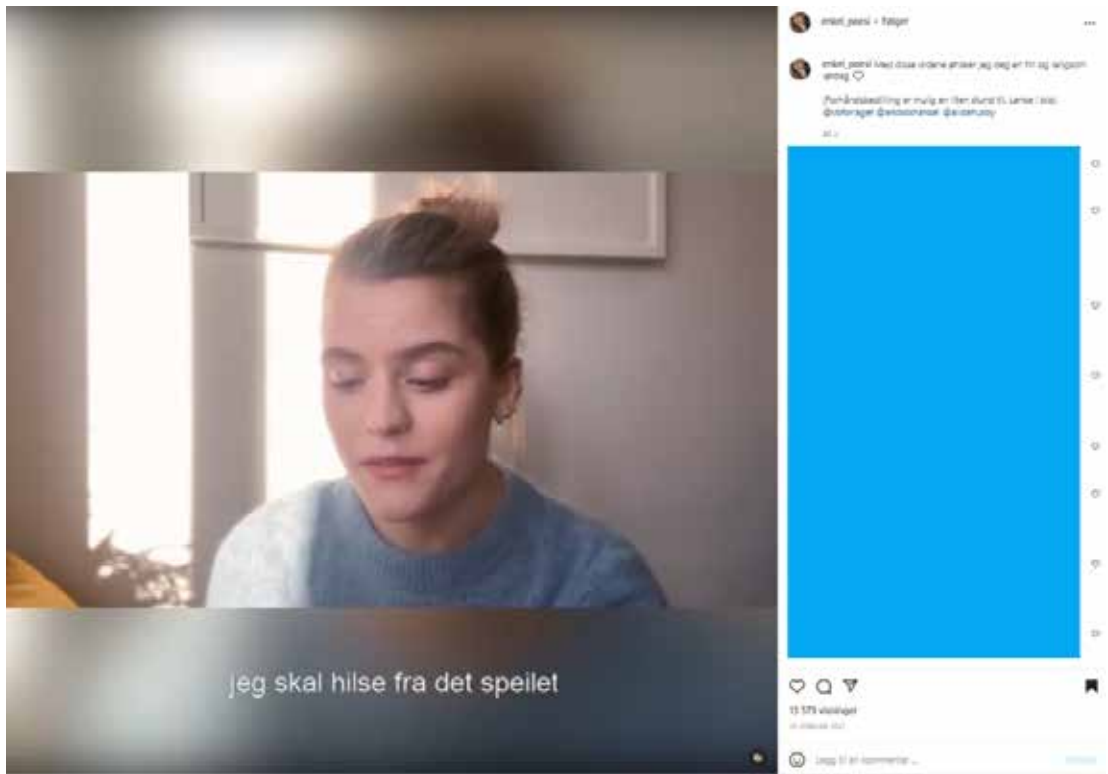11   The name of the book reader community on Instagram.

FIGURE 8. Dalsberget has posted a video of famous Norwegian actor and feminist Ulrikke Falch reading one of her poems out loud.

this is common for all of the poets except Langford, there are variations in the number of posts with this type of content. For Freud, the events are few and far between. However, success on the scale of Fallo or Dalsberget is perhaps not to be expected yet either, he is after all still on his way.

This dialogic authenticity happening between poet and audience is especially prominent in the tagged archive of the accounts. For Fallo, this is shown in various ways. Through his tagged archive we find multiple instances of his involvement in a greater cultural production, and ecosystems. These are posts by other professional cultural producers, as well as readers. An example is a post of Fallo with fellow instapoet and superstar (in Norway), Trygve Skaug. In another post, Skaug has published a poem in which he mentions Fallo specifically, and therefore also tags him.

Other tagged posts show his involvement in different segments of the literary field, such as literary festivals, a professional podcast about poetry, and leading workshops on poetry. The tagged posts also show collaborations outside of the literary field, such as with a clothing brand, a pop band, and a frame shop. Last, there are posts from the accounts of newspapers, magazines, media sites, and bookstores tagging him in promotions of interviews and reviews, especially related to his first published poetry collection in spring 2020. The release of the poetry collection creates more interest by other media agents and sees a shift in the type of content he is tagged in.

The great majority of the posts, however, are of fans posting selfies of themselves wearing the official Fallo sweaters or displaying his poem posters in their homes. After his first poetry collection is

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published, the sharing of poetry changes from reposted poems to photographs of poems from his book, or simply just showing off owning the book. The same shift is found in the archive of Dalsberget, where her audience posts images of themselves with her published poetry collection, or photos of poetry from the collection after it is released. At the same time, other actors such as newspapers, magazines, and media sites share content promoting interviews with her.

For Dalsberget especially, up-and-coming instapoets on Instagram also tag her in their poems, signalling that she is seen as having value as a reader. Similarly, for Freund, while there are only 17 tagged posts in his archive, the majority are people tagging him in poems they have written. This plays into the dialogue of authenticity, where Dalsberget and Freund become poets from which other poets want a response and want to be noticed by.

An exception to these types of posts is found on Langford's account. Her options of working on self-branding through public displays of professionalization and being a cultural producer are much more limited than Fallo and Dalsberget. It might be that she has made a conscious choice of only having the account as a site for publishing poetry, with the addition of promoting her poetry collection. This also centres the message of her poetry, as interactions between her and the reader, and of the supportive and encouraging messages found in her poetry. However, this leaves her with lesser possibilities of taking part in the dialogue of authenticity *on* her account, as it instead is moved to other places in the SME. As seen in the tagged archive. In addition, self-publishing a collection does not lead to access to other ecosystems either. This makes her much more platform-dependent and having to spend much more work on relational labor as well as platform-specific visibility labor, and the role of her being seen as an authentic poet, of self-branding, are more in the hands of the audience and her followers.

What these examples show us is that the traditionally published poetry collection

grants access to new parts of cultural ecosystems, as well as contributing the constant dialogue on authenticity, serving as a legitimization of them as poets. For all the published poets, the printed poetry collection at some time in their narrative takes centre stage in the exhibit. This is perhaps not only because of its status in the literary field, but simply because it is still the *prima facie* object of poets that is monetized. The release of a poetry collection likewise saw a shift in attention from other actors on social media, such as being covered by newspapers and media sites. However, both Fallo and Dalsberget's poetry was published continually by big magazines on their own Instagram accounts before the publishing of the poetry collections as well. Self-publishing a poetry collection, like Langford did, does not generate such a shift in attention.

Dalsberget's poetry collection was released during the pandemic. While this might have prevented physical events, the strong follower base she had on Instagram secured the massive sales of this collection. She further promotes this in a post showing her collection on the *Top 10*-shelves in one of the biggest bookstore chains in Norway. Working in the chiefly internet-based ecosystem of the SME meant also partly being sheltered from the effects of a society under lockdown because of COVID-19. But it also shows how the type of poetry collection brought forth still affects which other actors participate in making the poet visible on social media.

Langford continues to chiefly operate in the SME and relies much more on her followers sharing her poetry collection and poetry. Fallo, Dalsberget, and DNL on the other hand, gain access to promotion through other parts of the literary ecology, such as reviewers. They also receive promotions on social media through publishing houses, newspapers, magazines, and media sites. Langford somewhat compensates for remaining platform-dependent by having many powerful followers, such as other influencers and bigger companies who share and distribute her poetry on Instagram.

Of all the poets, it is Fallo who without a doubt is the most versatile, showing great skill in expanding poetic practice, looking beyond the book, and exploring different creative roles. Fallo is a cultural producer both off and on Instagram, with tasks and practices most closely aligned with the paradigm of the artist as producer. He is an example of balancing between platform dependency and platform independence. He is part of innovative collaborations, explores the possibility of the medium of poetry, and partakes in different cultural events. This results in a more diverse representation of roles from the broader creative industries. While the publishing of his first poetry collection sees a shift in what he promotes and who is tagging him in what, it acts more as an expansion of his artistic domain than opening necessary doors for success.

As mentioned, the SME comes with great insecurity for cultural producers in this ecosystem. Therefore, being able to enter as actors into other ecosystems and becoming less platform-dependent is something that many strive for. While some leave behind platformed practices when they do so, others remain instapoets. But leaving behind platformed practices means also losing the gains of being a creator in the SME. These are the fruits of relational labor, of having an active social presence; unlocking the participatory distribution and branding in which the community of readers takes part. It takes a village to raise a child, and a community to raise a poet to greater (visible) heights in and through the SME.

Participatory self-branding
As described earlier, the relationship between author, audience and brand means that the author brand is the result of a participatory self-branding. The relationship between the poet as a brand and their followers is leveraged from the relationship between poet and followers through the successful dialogue on authenticity. It is here that the practice of self-branding takes place, where the validated distinc-

tiveness of the poet is what makes them authentic as a brand. It is here that it becomes possible to make a living from by-products, while ideally keeping the main product free. This is something that shapes being a poet on social media, to be visible you need to be recognizable.

The distinctiveness is first and foremost found in their specific visual and lyric styles of poetry publications, but it is further developed in the traces of building the brand in various ways. DNL's author brand is highly connected to her *nom de plume*, which also connects to the themes in her poetry, but other than that, an author brand is not developed further, nor are there traces of some sort of participatory branding taking place.

DNL is, however, reluctant to take part in the various practices related to being a content creator and instead focuses more on letting her account be an exhibit of her self-created author-brand and her poetry. While adopting Instagram as a creative outlet, she does little to invoke visibility on social media or engage with poet-audience relations, except for acknowledging those who have bought or have read her poetry collection or reply to the few who comment on her poetry. The release of her poetry collection has instead given her a better stance in the literary field. She continues to post poems, but they are few and far between. In addition, she changed to only using her own account name and her *nom de plume* as hashtags.

While she has named herself *the naked poet* on Instagram, it is the followers of Fallo that validate that Fallo is teaching everyone about love as they buy sweaters bearing that statement, and post images of themselves wearing those sweaters. Fallo re-posts images of his fans wearing the statement sweaters, a way of showing new viewers how he is seen by others.

Even if he is simply using his name, Fallo has managed to develop a concept around this name. This is found both in his poetry and the texts featured on his merch, such as the sweaters printed with "Fallo has taught me everything I know

**FIGURE 8. Langford's consistent visual style (left),
and Freund's combination of images and poems (right)**

about love". The visual style is also constant throughout the different products, and even visible in the collaborations with other clothing brands and non-profit organizations. Likewise, Langford also keeps the visual style constant between her account (**Figure 9**), her website, and her self-published poetry collection.

The self-branding and building of a brand to successfully monetize from what they initially create as freely consumable is also evidence of the changing role of the author. Here, social media is used to build and maintain an author-brand so that it can be monetized by taking part in practices related to other ecosystems of cultural production, which then feeds back into the success of the professional account and author brand. While the creative artifacts remain free and in focus on the platform, it is the additional products, such as poetry collections and merchandise that are put up for sale.

As mentioned, the self-brand is participatory in its creation, which means that the audience in some way needs to be engaged, and successful feelings of con-

nection need to be made. The pandemic serves as an example of how this was dealt with differently and shows a clearer image of poets as producers, and when poets are instapoets.

Maintaining relationships
in the pandemic

Addressing the pandemic perhaps made the relational work on engagement and interaction with a community more visible; it was also addressed in the poetry produced and published. This was the case for Fallo, Dalsberget and Langford.

Fallo addresses his fans directly during this period in a post; "Take a deep breath. Please. Wash your hands" (translated from Norwegian). All three poets produce poetry on Instagram about dealing with COVID-19. And they all have spikes in likes on these posts. The poetry also gets shared, especially two poems about dealing with the pandemic by Langford. During winter/spring of 2021, her pandemic poems are shared by multiple accounts, showing how the poetry both serves as a way of marketing her through broader circulation on

FIGURE 10. from the tagged archive of Fallo, a post by the clothing company Holzweiler regarding the collaboration they did related to mental health during the pandemic. Audience responses have been redacted.

Instagram and producing important, shareable, cultural artifacts for people during a great pandemic.

In March 2021, Langford reposts her second COVID-19 themed poem and writes in the caption that she receives multiple messages on how hard it is for people during these times. This is a trace of how she engages with the community behind the scenes, such as writing direct messages with her audience, even if this is not put on display. Not everything can be displayed in an exhibit, and it shows that not all relational work needs to be visible to others for it to be relational work.

In addition to writing poetry addressing the pandemic, Fallo takes part in an online streaming channel for cultural content during the first lockdown in Norway. He collaborates with the clothing brand Holzweiler, producing T-shirts and a poem poster addressing mental health, from which all profits go to an organization's

work with mental health. This poem is also available to be bought again in spring 2021, and he again addresses his followers in the caption of this post: "let's hope we soon are back to something that resembles that which used to be" (translated from Norwegian). He also collaborates with the Norwegian Cancer Society (Kreftforeningen) connected to men's mental health. A poetry film is also released as part of this campaign.

While these collabs are focused on mental health, they are still works produced very much in touch with how COVID-19 is affecting people. Their involvement in the pandemic seems to come naturally. At times, such as during a pandemic, being authentic as an instapoet is about creating the poetry people need. This also shows the importance of relational work, not just as a task for a platform poet, but also for those who benefit from the content produced, the poetry.

CONCLUSION

The five poets put under scrutiny in this article have all chosen a space for themselves on Instagram, and they have either been called instapoets and/or have in some way labelled their own poetry with the hashtag label for instapoetry, entangling themselves into the phenomenon of instapoetry. Through analysis of the accounts as exhibits of cultural production, it has been possible to identify different patterns related to the platformization of poetry production and distribution, and when a poet is an instapoet.

An important reason for why it is possible to use the Instagram accounts as an exhibition is the specific use of the account, as a place for the public display of a professional identity, the poet is themselves taking on the task of making.

An instapoet is also recognized by other reconfigurations of production and distribution of poetry, such as community engagement and self-branding. The last is a task requiring a participatory process. While many of these traits are recognizable as the poet entering into the fourth paradigm of the artist, that of being a producer, the strong Instagram-specific and platform-dependent labor of these poets makes instapoets a specific type of producer, a content creator in the SME ecosystem.

For the concept of "instapoet" to be fruitful to use about poets, it is therefore not just enough to be *on* social media or taking on tasks belonging to publishers or editors. A poet is an instapoet when they take on the tasks of a social media creator, which is more than just producing content. This also entails close and regular interaction and engagement with the community *on* Instagram, through platform-specific practices. As such, poets when they are instapoets resemble the role of citizen author, as described by Johnson (Johnson 2017). They use Instagram as a place for promoting their work, managing communities, and amassing followers by maintaining an active social presence through platformed practices.

Doing this is essential to initiate the participatory ways of distributing poetry and be visible, and the participatory ways of self-branding through the constant dialogue of authenticity with the audience. Both are part of creating the professional identity, or brand, which can be leveraged to monetize the audience or cross over into other ecosystems of cultural production.

Having such close relationships with followers means also having to take an active role in events affecting the communities. As such, the pandemic serves as an example of how the poets as instapoets maintained their close relationship with followers, taking an active part in providing comfort in hard times. They took on the natural role of being a cultural torchbearer, addressing the pandemic in their poetry and through collaborations related to mental health on and off the platform. This shows the general importance of culture in a time of crisis and that where we interact with culture is as much on social media as anywhere else. Further strengthening indicated by the spike in platform usage during the pandemic shows the centrality of platforms as well (Vlassis 2021).

An instapoet is also not just a poet publishing poetry on social media, even if that is perhaps an essential component of when one is an instapoet. In the SME, the main content that a poet generates is poetry, and this content is published free for the audience to read and distribute. This type of combined visibility, relational labor can result in shaping the poetry being produced itself as well, but does not determine success.

Having a better grasp of platformed practices means doing it better in the SME, gaining followers, likes, and visibility (Parnell & Driscoll 2021). A poet is therefore further towards becoming a successful instapoet when skilled in the platformed practices of Instagram. This can be seen in the strategic use and non-use of hashtags and the community management performed through the interactive possibilities of the platform.

Through the account exhibit, we can trace the different ways the poets also exist in the broader ecosystems of cultural production. The SME is not a separate ecosystem just working alongside other ecosystems of cultural production. Instead, it interacts and overlaps with other ecosystems. In this way, four of these poets release poetry collections, and they all take part in cultural events, some even engaging in cultural collaborations. For Dalsberget and Fallo, who both cross ecosystems, they are also the most successful of the five poets analysed in this article, thus providing support for what Parnell and Driscoll have argued: that success in the post-digital book culture of today means strategic alliances of traditional institutions and platform networks (Parnell & Driscoll 2021). Likewise, this might also explain why Scandinavian Insta-poetry's biggest stars, briefly mentioned in this article, are involved in instapoetry as *one* of many trades. While platformization is not a clear-cut change for the production of poetry, it has introduced a new ecosystem on social media that poets *as instapoets* enter into; an ecosystem in which some, like Langford, almost solely exist, or like DNL and Freund, try to gain success.

There is a difference between using social media as a marketing tool and using social media to share works, gain new followers, and find readers. The last makes someone a citizen author, says literary scholar Miriam Johnson (Johnson 2021: 29). The last is also what makes someone an instapoet on Instagram.

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