ELECTRONIC LITERATURE COMMUNITIES

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INTRODUCTION: DOCUMENTING CREATIVE COMMUNITIES

of celectronic literature, the ELMCIP project chose to use several methodologies. First, we organized a seminar on the topic. The ELMCIP Seminar on Electronic Literature Communities, held in Bergen on September 20–21, 2010, invited researchers from within the project and external contributors to present analyses of specific communities within the field of electronic literature. Seventeen papers were presented and discussed, covering communities in France, Catalonia, the Netherlands, Italy, Finland, Scandinavia, and the US, as well as international communities such as in interactive fiction (IF). Presentations are available in the ELMCIP Knowledge Base, and all are documented with full text and/or audio recordings.

As a second step, we invited and solicited contributions to a special issue of *Dichtung Digital*, a leading peer-reviewed journal in the field of digital art and electronic literature since 1999. The number of strong papers was so high that we decided to release two issues of the journal (issues 41 and 42). These collected essays comprise the most extensive collection of analyses of electronic literature communities published to date and include nineteen scholarly articles. Some of these papers were written by scholars looking at a community from a distance in time or geography, while other papers were written by scholars and authors who were participants in the communities they describe.

In addition to these articles from and about a wide variety of electronic literature communities, social geographer Penny Travlou, a co-investigator on the ELMCIP project, spent time in selected artistic communities, using participatory observation and ethnographic methodologies to gain insights into their creative processes and community formation. Her work is discussed

¹ Full documentation of the seminar can be found in the ELMCIP Knowledge Base by searching for the title of the seminar, Electronic Literature Communities, or going to the following URL: http://elmcip.net/event/elmcip-seminar-electronic-literature-communities>.

in detail in a separate chapter in this volume. An additional resource is the report "Electronic Literature: Publishing and Distribution in Europe" that Markku Eskelinen and Giovanna di Rosario wrote for the project (also included in this volume).

The ELMCIP Electronic Literature Knowledge Base has proven to be invaluable in gaining an overview of those community structures that may not be visible at first glance. When we began the project, we thought of the Knowledge Base as a way to share our findings and document project activities, but it has turned out to be a great deal more than that, providing a robust and constantly expanding infrastructure for studying the field of electronic literature itself. As the ELMCIP project is drawing to a close, we are just beginning to truly harness the steadily growing data contained by the Knowledge Base through visualizations, network analyses, timelines, and content and tag analyses.

In addition to the contributions of project members, scholars, and authors from the electronic literature community, three PhD and postdoc researchers have devoted three months to working with the Electronic Literature research group in Bergen to build solid documentation of specific national or linguistic communities. All of these were funded externally to the initial ELMCIP project budget: Dr. Luciana Gattass developed a research collection of Brazilian electronic literature; Melissa Lucas developed a research collection of Nordic electronic literature; and Dr. Natalia Fedorova is developing a research collection of Russian electronic literature—all within the structure of the Knowledge Base and thus interlinked and integrated with our existing data. In addition, University of Bergen-based PhD scholar Patricia Tomaszek initiated a collection with references to Polish electronic literature, and we expect more focused collections of this nature. It is clear that this work will continue to progress after the ELMCIP project itself is completed.

This chapter presents key findings from the sixteen separate analyses of communities in the *Dichtung Digital* issues and analyses of the data in the Knowledge Base of Electronic Literature.

EMERGENCE OF COMMUNITY: ORGANIC GROWTH OR EXTERNAL STIMULATION

How does a community begin? Electronic literature grows out of literary creativity that uses the computer, and, as such, it is a literature that is fundamentally connected to a specific set of technologies. It could be argued that it has this in common with a number of other major literary genres. The novel is shaped by the technology of the codex book as well as by the social-cultural dynamic of the enlightenment, much as the ballad or the ancient epos was developed for the human voice and memory as well as for the social settings in which stories were told in those times. And yet these forms grew much more slowly than is the case for electronic literature.

Two models for community formation are apparent in the studies we have gathered: organic growth and external stimulation. In most countries and genres, there are few or no connections between the early works of electronic literature, and there is little or no community; the authors are not aware of each other or of related work. Possibilities include:

- The community grows organically as the number of new works increases, as practitioners discover each other, and as more and more people discover electronic literature through scholarship, criticism, or popular discussion.
- A community is externally stimulated by a funding body that organizes competitions, awards, events, and publication venues to encourage the growth of a community. This is what Yra van Dijk (2012b) calls "top-down digital literature" or "institutionalized and planned collaboration." Organically grown communities tend to have competitions, awards, events, and publication venues that are organized bottom-up by an already active community coming together rather than top-down by funders or a single practitioner who aims to jump-start a national community.
- A community never emerges and that only disconnected individual works exist.

The dichotomy between organic growth and external stimulation is not absolute, and many electronic literature genres and communities operate on a continuum between the two models, or they shift between them. For instance,

interactive fiction (IF) began organically with individual games created in the 1970s, then rapidly became a commercial industry in the 1980s (Montfort and Short 2012). This is so far the only example of a form of electronic literature having a clearly profit-driven commercial infrastructure. When graphical games took over, an organic community of players, writers, and programmers took over the development of the text-based games they called interactive fictions, leading to a well-defined system of annual competitions and events. Another example of a community that shifted between organic growth and external stimulation is British electronic literature. In the UK the publicly funded organization trAce Online Writing Centre, based at Nottingham Trent University, was a strong cohesive force in electronic literature from 1995 to 2006; nevertheless, an organic community existed before trAce, was strengthened by trAce, and has continued to develop after trAce. It is useful to study the effects of external stimulation, such as public funding of competitions, in understanding how creative communities develop (JW Rettberg 2012; van Dijk 2012b, 2013; Borràs 2012).

When can we say a creative community is established? If we follow the model of the novel, and assume that a work each week is a reasonable measure of a critical mass that demonstrates an established field or community (Moretti 2005, 5), then we can see that English language electronic literature reached this level shortly after the year 2000, based on the records we have documented in the ELMCIP Knowledge Base (see Fig. 1). No other language has yet achieved this level of activity. For instance, in February 2013, we have documented a total of seventy-five works in French over all time, fifty-one in German, and thirty-three in Spanish. Although the Knowledge Base is not a complete documentation of the field—completeness is not possible with such a constantly expanding and developing field—these numbers are indicative of the size of the field in different countries.

Another reason why there has been more activity in English language and especially US-based electronic literature is the speed of adaptation of technology. In Jill Walker Rettberg's (2012) study of early electronic literature in the US, we see two small communities in the 1980s. On the west coast of the US, authors like Judy Malloy and Jim Rosenberg met and shared work and ideas on the WELL (Whole Earth 'Lectronic Link), an important and very early electronic dial-up bulletin board system launched in 1985 which allowed for communication, dis-

cussion, experimentation, and dissemination of, among many other things, electronic literature. On the east coast, authors like Michael Joyce, Stuart Moulthrop, and John McDaid, along with scholars and programmers like Nancy Kaplan, George Landow, Elli Mylonas, and Mark Bernstein, met at conferences and in each other's kitchens. While the west coast community literally met online on the WELL, the meeting points on the east coast were physical conferences and print journal articles about the intersection of writing, the arts and humanities, and technology (JW Rettberg 2012). Many of these were academic conferences, attracting both academics and programmers. The east coast community also included many scholars and had a close relationship to teaching practices and to pedagogical and research-based uses of hypertext and technology.

The advent of the web meant that geographic divisions became less significant. But the US was a leader in early access to the Internet in schools, universities, and among the general population, and this early access to, and public awareness of, the Internet likely helped spur the growth of electronic literature in the US. The dot.com boom of the late 1990s made it possible for the Electronic Literature Organization to win seed funding sponsored by corporate and individual donations (S. Rettberg 2012). Thus the US-based dot.com boom funded the start of an organization that has been central to electronic literature ever since, though with less strong funding than at its beginning. The organization and the

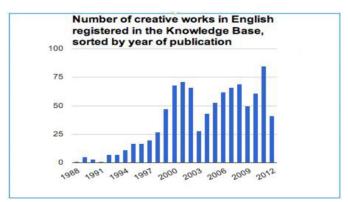


Fig. 1 The number of creative works published in English as documented in the ELMCIP Knowledge Base as of February 2013. The Knowledge Base is not exhaustive, so there will be works not yet registered in the Knowledge Base, but this does show that at least this many works exist.

communities it served and that grew alongside it were strong enough to continue to develop without significant sources of funding.

France was another country where citizens had early access to computer networks through Minitel, and this is one important reason why French electronic literature, or digital literature as French scholars and practitioners more frequently translate *literature numerique*, has had a significant community over many years. As Serge Bouchardon (2012) describes, early electronic literature was published on Minitel as early as 1985 and included text animations. Another important background for French electronic literature was the well-established tradition of mathematically constrained writing practices, as seen in Ouvroir de Litterature Potentielle, or OuLiPo (Bootz 2012).

In France, different strategies led to forming communities within electronic literature: the ALAMO group (the acronym in English stands for "Workshop of Literature Assisted by Mathematics and Computers") was founded with "strong governmental support" in 1981 (Bootz 2012) and triggered work productions by developing tools and computational methods intended for writers. Another approach to gather authors "that would develop animated digital poetry" in France was a review of telematic art called *Art-Accès* (led by artist Orlan and poet Frédéric Develay), which produced three issues between 1985 and 1986. While Bootz notes that the review "did not create a literary movement," it gave proof that authors working together to produce works for a publication served as a method for community-building. Both approaches demonstrate the role of purposefulness for creation and possible community formation.

European countries and regions like the Netherlands, Norway, and Catalonia are characterized by languages spoken by a relatively small number of people, by a later general adoption of the Internet than the US, but also by a social system where the arts receive public funding to a greater extent than in the US and where public funding is explicitly used to protect and promote national culture and language. Given the small language group and slower adoption of the Internet, it is not surprising that these countries have had far slower organic growth of electronic literature communities. However, they have instead seen electronic literature externally stimulated by public funding (Rustad 2012; Borràs 2012; van Dijk 2012b).

Interest in specific technologies can create sub-communities in electronic literature. Often these technologies correspond to genres. The authoring software Storyspace was used to write many early hypertext fictions; Flash was the

dominant authoring tool for e-poetry in the first decade of the 2000s (Leishman 2012); and interactive fiction uses very specific authoring tools such as Inform and TADS. Sometimes these platform-based communities are driven by strong individuals or by user groups that in many ways follow the structures of groups developing around other kinds of software.

ORGANIC COMMUNITY SPACES: LISTSERVS, BLOGS, AND ONLINE JOURNALS

Print and online journals as well as other online spaces, such as blogs, mailing lists, discussions in Facebook groups, and Twitter hashtags, are important centers of communities, much as nineteenth century literary communities were often centered around literary journals and salons. Most journals in the field of electronic literature were set up by authors and scholars of electronic literature, usually without external funding, although some journals have been supported indirectly by an editor's position at a university, such as *Dichtung Digital* or *electronic book review*.

A journal addresses interested readers but also potential creators who produce for the intended purpose of being published in a particular venue. This is how the success of the French journal *alire*, since its first publication in 1989, may be explained. It is also important to note that the journal came out of the group called L.A.I.R.E. (the acronym in English stands for Reading, Art, Innovation, Research, Writing). This is another example of how the dynamic between online and offline communication works both ways. We are not only moving from print journals and physical meetings towards digital collaboration; the digital also influences and produces print literature and physical literary communities. Similarly, the interactive fiction community, in addition to extensive online community spaces, also has physical monthly meetups for participants who live in California (Montfort and Short 2012). Geography still matters.

Communication platforms can be strong definers of community. As already mentioned, an early example is the WELL. The founder and editor of the online-based literature and arts journal *Drunken Boat*, Ravi Shankar (2010), argues that blogs, listservs, and online journals help to build infrastructures for communities. While each web venue constitutes community differently due to differing purposes, audiences, and formats of dissemination, Shankar shows how these open and relatively unregulated spaces are important in providing open

access to works and scholarship, providing for collaboration and allowing free discussions. Loss Pequeño Glazier (2012) and Serge Bouchardon (2012) also discussed listservs and mailing lists as community-building factors in their *Dichtung Digital* articles.

Electronic literature has been discussed in online forums since at least the 1980s (Bootz 2012; Bouchardon 2012; S Rettberg 2012), but in the 1990s list-servs became a common form of communication. The Poetics List, established at the University of Buffalo in 1993, was an important channel for discussions on electronic literature, as was the list ht_lit, run by Kia Mennie. Listservs provided a particularly important space for communication in such a dispersed community, where most authors and scholars at this early stage did not have other local collaborators. As Shankar argues (2010, 533), "listservs have the potential to create particular kinds of community and open channels of communication between individuals who might never previously have had any chance at dialogue." Bouchardon (2012) also points out that online meeting places are particularly important for electronic literature because "the medium used by the actors is also the medium which is used by the authors of the works discussed." Authors and readers of electronic literature are by necessity active online.

Early listservs and discussion forums tended to be topic-based rather than based on existing friendships as is often the case in today's social media. You would sign up to a particular listserv or forum because you were interested in the topic, and, through participating or simply reading discussions, you would learn about other work in the field or ideas about electronic literature in general. This might lead to collaboration, shared vocabularies and contexts, or simply the spread of ideas and knowledge about works. As such, early discussions of what postings to the Poetics List *should be about* were tantamount to the literary identity the group would form (Glazier 2012). Similarly, Serge Bouchardon (2012) describes the French discussion list *e-critures* as "socio-technical" and a "reflexive device" that throughout the years since its foundation in 1999 has had an impact within the community on creative practices, literary forms, and a shared language of criticism for evaluating electronic literature.

Different listservs had different kinds of conversations. Bouchardon (2010) describes how works-in-progress would be discussed on the *e-critures* list and also notes that there was an emphasis on technique and medium over aesthetics: "The various shifts observed (from a criticism of the text to a criticism of the de-

vice, from the genre to the format, from the aesthetic use of the written language to an aesthetics of materiality), emphasize the medium and the technical dimension." Discussions in the Flash and IF communities were likewise frequently about technical problems in which code would be exchanged or discussed (Leishman 2012; van Dijk 2012a). In other forums, there was an emphasis on understanding, contextualizing, defining, and reflecting on what was *happening to literature* in digital media and what it might become. This is shown in Glazier's (2012) discussions of the *Poetics* listserv and is also evident in the German forums as documented by Patricia Tomaszek (2011) in her article on German electronic literature, as well as in a specific study on canonization processes in discussions on four German mailing lists by Florian Hartling (2003).

At the same time, what is common to both the US-based (Glazier 2012) and French-based (Bouchardon 2012) listserv-communities discussed in the two special *Dichtung Digital* issues on electronic literature communities is that a number of individual creative works evolved from those collaborative discussions. In turn, Rob Wittig (2012) presents how collaborative works evolved in a community of people that share(d) meeting places both in space and time. Wittig argues that certain physical environments and social conditions can be more conducive to collaborative creativity than others. People can therefore plan for and try to create optimal conditions for creativity. Collaborative writing and collaborations between authors, visual artists, sound artists, and programmers also became an important element of community formation, as discussed both by Wittig (2012) and Scott Rettberg (2005).

EXTERNAL STIMULATION: AWARDS, COMMISSIONS, AND COMPETITIONS

In his personal essay for *Dichtung Digital* 42, Norwegian concrete poet Ottar Ormstad (2012) describes how he, after many years of writing concrete poetry for paper publication, created his first digital work for the sole purpose of possibly being screened at the E-Poetry Festival in 2009. Today, Ormstad is an active member of the e-poetry community and is one of Norway's foremost authors of electronic literature. This is but one example of how communities can be stimulated by external events, in this case, a festival.

At the same time, the E-Poetry Festival was organized by participants in an organically evolving community, described by Loss Pequeño Glazier (2012)

who also was the initiator of the E-Poetry Festival. Awards and events are often organized by communities and serve to strengthen the sense of community as well as creating a shared set of references and, in some cases, a canon of works. Other competitions and awards serve as cohesive forces to draw together an emerging community, as did the Electronic Literature Awards in 2001, where the authors John Cayley and Caitlin Fisher won prizes for poetry and fiction. Cayley was already an established author at the time, whereas Fisher was a relative newcomer to the community. Likewise, the interactive fiction community's awards serve to encourage writers already in the community to share their work.

Countries with smaller language communities and less development of electronic literature have also used funding to jumpstart electronic literature. Important strategies here are commissioned works or competitions where proposals are invited, and the best proposals are given funding to develop the works. One example is *Digitale Fortellinger* ("digital stories"), a 2006 collaboration between the Norwegian Production Network for Electronic Art (PNEK) and the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation (NRK) as curated by Per Platou. Here, a series of works were funded and supported after a competition. Most participants came from the visual arts, and none had created electronic literature previously. The Vinaròs Prize likewise stimulated a great deal of activity in Catalonia (Borràs 2012), as does the yearly Dutch *Poetry on the Screen* funding round. While the Norwegian competition was not continued, it did lead to the production of around twenty works. The Dutch and Catalan projects have been repeated, and this sustained funding appears to have helped stronger communities to emerge.

Many of the authors who submitted work for these competitions and awards did not continue to make electronic literature; however, some have. In *Poetry on the Screen*, authors and visual artists are paired up, and some of these collaborations have continued beyond the festival. Dirk Vis and K. Michel, whose work is in the second *Electronic Literature Collection* (2011), are one example; another is the collaboration between Jan Baeke and Alfred Marseille. Tomaszek argues that the early awards in Germany in the 1990s served as a form of *pre-processing* that encouraged creation of net literature (Tomaszek 2011; see also Suter 2012).

A common feature of the awards and competitions in Norway, the Netherlands, Germany, and Catalonia is that before they took place, there was not already a strong field of electronic literature in the region. A few works existed in each language, but there was little if any community structure. The awards served to expand knowledge of electronic literature, and they gave financial, technical, and aesthetic support to people interested in creating new works.

Other awards, held in cultural contexts where electronic literature was already an active field of practice with independent community structures, have drawn attention to a field that already was strong, although the works and authors who were honored were often relatively unknown or were newcomers to the field. Examples are the ELO Awards in 2001 and the *trAce*/AltX Awards in 1999 and 2000. These awards were not the very beginning of a field in the same ways as the Norwegian, Dutch, German, and Catalan competitions but instead provided a nexus for the field to center around and made it easier for readers and teachers to find their way in a large field and to choose works to read or teach. As Yra van Dijk argues in an article on the IF-community, the function of these awards is not only selective, but multifaceted, too: for example, a "canonization process" takes place in these competitions. Generally, one could say that a "poetics" of digital literature is created as works are judged for awards: a consensus is reached within the community as to the form and function of these works.

Purposeful productions also play a role in pedagogy, both for teaching how to create (such as at the Literary Arts Program, Brown University) and for teaching electronic literature theoretically. In *Growing up Digital*, Laura Borràs (2012) presents a case study of how the Catalan e-lit community was raised by the efforts of a network that offered authors a platform to produce and publish electronic literature. Journals can also provide such a network, as happened for a time when the Croatian literary magazine *Libra Libera* published hypertextual literary experiments from 2000 to 2001 (Vuković 2012, 3). These initial steps in Croatia, according to Katarina Vuković's article about Croatian electronic literature, did not lead to the development of an independent community, and, as Vuković suggests, the reasons may be many, ranging from socioeconomic conditions to a realistic turn in Croatian literature at this time. Perhaps if cultural funding had been available for electronic literature in Croatia at the time, it would have been possible to nurture the creative energy that was apparent in these early experiments and to provide support for an independent community to emerge.

FROM AVANT-GARDE TO MAINSTREAM?

As Loss Pequeño Glazier (2012) writes in his article for *Dichtung Digital* 42, presenting the history of e-poetry, some practitioners in the field have worried that the current ubiquity of the digital is at odds with the possibility of electronic poetry:

[W]hen one watches what happens in the media: the way kinetic text is used in advertising, the superimposition of text and image in movies such as Wall Street and many other films, the digital doctoring, re-arrangement, decoration of time-based media, you can see how one might be pessimistic about the ditch into which the euphoric dancing letters of the early Nineties have now fallen.

What was once avant-garde experimentation is now becoming mainstream (Engberg and Bolter 2011; van Dijk 2011). This is also the case as ebooks become commonplace, and some of them, in particular those aimed at children, use techniques first pioneered in electronic literature ten, twenty, or thirty years earlier.

What will then happen to electronic literature as a field and as a collection of creative communities? Will electronic literature merge with mainstream literature, as mainstream literature loosens its attachment to the constraints made necessary by the codex book, or will electronic literature remain a challenging external force? What will happen to the communities that have emerged around the practice and scholarship of electronic literature? Will today's genres and communities of electronic literature remain, or are they primarily short-term experiments leading to something else?

So far, we see no sign of decline. The 2013 Electronic Literature Organization Conference, held in Europe for the first time, had a record number of submissions. New authors and scholars are entering the field and, to some extent, are redefining and expanding it. Electronic literature is increasingly being taught in universities around the world. As the codex book is making way for other forms of dissemination, arts councils around the world are exploring new ways of funding literature, and, in this, they are not only looking at e-books published by traditional publishers but are becoming aware of other, less product-oriented or massmarket-oriented forms of literature, such as electronic literature.

There is still much to be learned about the differences between communities of electronic literature around the world, but, through our research and contributions from scholars throughout Europe and other continents, we are

beginning to trace the contours of the emergence of related fields of practice. We see differences from country to country and genre to genre when it comes to how these creative communities develop: organically or with external support. The most successful communities are those where organic growth has been supported at an early stage by external support in the form of funding, awards, or journals, and we see that this support structure may be initiated by the practitioners themselves and remain fairly informal, or it may be initiated by arts councils or institutions. Educational institutions have also been important in the development of electronic literature, both by supporting scholars' creative and academic work, and by teaching a new generation of students about this new form of literature.

Future study in this area will be greatly aided not only by the wealth of documentation that has been spurred by the ELMCIP seminars and related publications but also by the digital documentation in the ELMCIP Electronic Literature Knowledge Base, which remains open to scholars, students, and the general public, and which will continue to grow as the communities of electronic literature themselves continue to grow.

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