Governing the Facebook Self: Social Network Sites and Neoliberal Subjects

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Statement of Originality

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. I give consent to the final version of my thesis being made available worldwide when deposited in the University's Digital Repository, subject to the provisions of the Copyright Act 1968.

Stephen Owen
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The boy, Oliver. This, like everything, I do for you. I love you mate.

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'Don't you see that the whole aim of Newspeak is to narrow the range of thought? In the end we shall make thoughtcrime literally impossible, because there will be no words in which to express it. Every concept that can ever be needed, will be expressed by exactly one word, with its meaning rigidly defined and all its subsidiary meanings rubbed out and forgotten. Already, in the Eleventh Edition, we're not far from that point. But the process will still be continuing long after you and I are dead. Every year fewer and fewer words, and the range of consciousness always a little smaller. Even now, of course, there's no reason or excuse for committing thoughtcrime. It's merely a question of self-discipline, reality-control. But in the end there won't be any need even for that. The Revolution will be complete when the language is perfect. Newspeak is Ingsoc and Ingsoc is Newspeak,' he added with a sort of mystical satisfaction. 'Has it ever occurred to you, Winston, that by the year 2050, at the very latest, not a single human being will be alive who could understand such a conversation as we are having now?'

—George Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*

No, that's not it, the problem isn't language, but the limits of sayability.

—Michel Foucault, letter to Daniel Defert [1966], cited in Defert 2013: 32
Introduction: Facebook as a Space of Freedom?

George Orwell's vision of ubiquitous surveillance in Nineteen Eighty-Four conjures up a dystopian scenario that has been interpreted by many as a nightmare in which people's freedom is limited and regulated by the all-seeing gaze of Big Brother. Decades later the all-seeing surveillance gaze is picked up by Michel Foucault who, like Orwell, has had his panopticon metaphor interpreted in a similar way. For many readers of Orwell and Foucault this aspect of ubiquitous surveillance is the beginning and end of their engagement with either author's ideas. But such hasty shorthand interpretations of both Orwell and Foucault as dystopian commentators on the notion of surveillance overlook the more important aspects of each of their works. Both Orwell and Foucault are far more concerned with what one can say and be said—and subsequently, thought—and from this perspective both Orwell and Foucault are both very much concerned about the closing of the 'universe of discourse' (c.f. Marcuse 1964). This thesis too is concerned with a variation on Marcuse's theme of the 'closing of the universe of discourse', namely how Facebook contributes to an ever-narrowing range of acceptable behaviours. Facebook now represents one of the most sophisticated ways in which we willingly collaborate in the closing of our capacity to engage in politically meaningful communication. Thus the focus for this thesis is with how Facebook enables the logics of contemporary neoliberal society to be played out in shaping subjectivities within the domain of free time. That is to say, politics and political insight are rearticulated into forms of understanding that are not merely non-threatening to the status quo but actively contribute to embedding and extending neoliberal logics into the subjectivities of its participants.

In a very short period of time, since its launch among Ivy League colleges in the United States in 2004, Facebook has come to be embraced by hundreds of millions of users who
have signed up to the site. The site is now a primary site of socialising for many of its users who use the site to keep in contact with their friends and family and to co-ordinate social activities. While much of an individual's interactions with Facebook are presentations of the self, they are also social in nature. Indeed, Facebook is a social network site and users write for an audience as well as engaging in asynchronous social interaction. While the Facebook user's Profile and their own perspective is from an egocentric nodal point of a social network, it is the social aspect of Facebook that defines and accounts for its popularity with users. The social aspect of Facebook also problematises the construction of the self. The self could perhaps be more properly understood as a co-construction insofar as it is produced with an audience in mind, it is constructed through ongoing performative interactions, as well as consisting of the contributions of Friends. The Facebook self is a social self, and it is one that is augmented due to Facebook's unique architecture.

While Facebook's role as a facilitator of social networks and self-expression can be seen as a conduit through which individuals connect with the world around them, it also acts as a means through which they might gain insight into their own self. Facebook has been described as an 'architecture of disclosure' (Marichal 2012) and users often feel compelled to maintain visibility within it. As a result the individual's relationship with self and others is augmented. It is here that subjectivity-building and social relationships are entwined with myriad power relations engendered by both augmented relationships and the digital surveillance enclosure of Facebook. It is in these ways that relationships of power, knowledge, and subjectivity are connected. The entwining process is built into the architecture of Facebook and makes its present felt almost as soon as a new user signs up for a Facebook account.
**Becoming a Facebook User**

Both the design of Facebook and the 'space' of networked publics operate as structures that Facebook users must house their online personas within. From the very outset Facebook users find their behavioural choices limited. The options available to the Facebook user during the signup process provide a structure within which to fill out their personal details. The design choices present within the template constrain the available options to the Facebook user. These limitations can be seen as reinforcing already existing norms such as gender and race (Van House 2011) which have power effects upon the Facebook users' construction of the self. In this sense the design itself facilitates processes of categorisation and normalisation to which the user is subjected. Here then the very structural design of the Facebook Profile interface reinforces existing power relations and norms. From the very outset of their experience with the site Facebook users are subjected to the operation of power. The very act of constructing a Facebook Profile entails a purposive set of acts that constitute 'writing oneself into being' (Sundén 2003). From the outset the choices available to the Facebook user both enable and constrain the semi-permanent display of self that exists as the Profile page. The elements that allow users to provide information about themselves within pre-given categories tend to reiterate existing identity norms whilst masking the contingency of these categories. The Facebook Profile page is then filled in with spaces provided for the display of tastes through listing the user's favourite films, music, and interests, along with the ability to display prominently particular relations with family members and romantic partners. While a great deal of effort may or may not go into constructing the Profile page it does not constitute the main site of behaviour or interaction on Facebook. Most activity occurs through the News Feed page which is viewable to each particular Facebook user and displays incoming activity broadcast by their Friends and Pages to which they are subscribed. Here too is the main interface for the Facebook user to create a 'post' in the form of a 'Status
Update' (marked by an empty field prompting the Facebook user “What's on your mind?”), a photo uploader, or the option to 'ask question'. These posts are broadcast to the Facebook user's network.

Facebook is predicated on displays of self. This is true of the posts generated by a Facebook user's Friends and viewed on the incoming News Feed page. It is also true of the Facebook user who, as a prosumer¹ (Ritzer, Dean and Jurgenson 2012), both consumes content in the Facebook environment as well as produces content. Furthermore, Facebook is predicated upon being a social network site. Content is distributed to the Facebook user's social network and each post becomes a site of further sociality in the form of 'likes' and comments. A Status Update or photo, once posted, might generate a number of comments from those in the Facebook user's audience and itself become a site of back and forth discussion between all participants to whom it is visible. A great deal of the activity on Facebook revolves around these sorts of 'likes' and comments as the content produced by each Facebook user enables further social dialogue.

**Facebook and the Politics of the Everyday**

A key orientation of this thesis is its locating of power and governance in spaces outside of the purview of the state. Following Foucault, along with others such as de Certeau (1984) and Williams (1992), the domestic sphere and the terrain of the everyday are identified as important sites and regimes in which power and government occur. The research conducted for this thesis explored the everyday use of the Social Network Site (SNS) Facebook and the

¹ The concept of and 'prosumption' (also 'prosumer') is a portmanteau of 'production' and consumption' and refers to acts in which these are joined. The concept has a history that can be traced back at least as far as futurologist Alvin Toffler (1980) and has experienced a resurgence in contemporary studies such as the work of Ritzer and Jurgenson (2010).
ways in which this facilitates the operation of power. For those surveyed Facebook has quickly come to take a central place in their lives with 9 out of 10 accessing Facebook at least once a day. For many users Facebook was a constant presence insofar as it has become something of an 'ambient technology' that is constantly 'around' the individual. Facebook is part of the 'everyday', lived ecology of media use. The ability for most web browsers to open multiple tabs in each window means that, for many users, Facebook is constantly updating in the background and is always a mere click away from providing up to the second information. Furthermore many individuals receive alerts on their smartphones and tablets whenever someone posts to their timeline or comments on one of their posts. In these instances, Facebook alerts are semantically elevated to demanding the same levels of attention as a phone call, SMS, or email.

The elevation to indispensable is often not immediate at first. Inez, a 33 year-old self-employed worker in Spain's 'wellness' industry, explained that she resisted at first but found that it was 'difficult to live without' because of its ease in facilitating contact with so many disparate groups of people rather than needing to coordinate many emails with connections all over the world. Being self-employed and using a computer to organise her business Inez found that Facebook was also particularly convenient for promoting her business. Her professional and personal connections exist on the same plain through the Facebook interface. For Alison, a 44 year-old chef, and Mary, a 44 year-old paralegal, who do not use Facebook while they are at work, Facebook was one of the first things they turned to when they returned home after a day's work. Clem, a 37 year-old PhD candidate and consultant, used her iPad to connect to Facebook and found that the technology itself allowed her to peruse the site in a leisurely fashion while doing other things like watching TV. She accessed Facebook from multiple devices at multiple locations: 'I access Facebook from my computer,
my work computer, or my PhD computer, and my personal computer, and my phone. And I access it maybe 5 or 6 times a day from the different areas'. Clem's use highlights the mobility of the site and the ease in which it is able to be accessed from multiple points. This goes some way to explaining the ubiquity of the site in that users are not restricted to any one spatial or technological environment when using Facebook. In a sense, Facebook follows them everywhere to the point that it is omnipresent.

Interestingly, 33% of those surveyed responded that they often accessed Facebook at unusual times such as after waking up in the middle of the night. For these participants Facebook has come to occupy a central place in their lives². This phenomenon can be understood as one that is afforded by the mobile nature of communications and the ability to access Facebook on devices such as smartphones which are often kept close to the owner, even when asleep. 78% of participants reported accessing Facebook from their phones, suggesting a penetration into the lives of users as a sort of 'always-on/always-on-you' technology as identified by ²

² Image 0.1 is an award-winning cake depicting Facebook as a pill or drug. The label on the bottle reads 'Login every 3-4 hours. May cause procrastination'. The title “Seek help at www.facebookaddicts.com.au” is an ironic and knowing reference to the phenomenon of Facebook users feeling compelled to use the site numerous times a day.
Turkle (2008). Survey participants reported one of the reasons that they checked their Facebook at odd hours was because the Facebook alert tone occasionally woke them up, prompting them to check their smartphones for the content of their notifications. While this might appear to be an extreme example of Facebook's penetration of the everyday (and night), consider the ways in which face-to-face communication is often disturbed by interlocutors checking their smartphones whilst engaged in conversation. Survey participants reported doing this very thing, something both academic and newspaper reports verify and lament (Gergen 2002; Turkle 2012; Turkle 2011; Walford 2012) as the phenomenon of technologically-driven 'co-presence' comes to intrude upon face-to-face encounters.

Through engaging in such social dialogue users also come to conceptualise the correct use of Facebook in various different ways, as did the participants that feature in research on which this thesis is based. For example, consider Julia, a 19 year-old student living in Sydney, Australia. She uses Facebook to engage in socialising and to maintain a vast network of social connections across the world. She uses the site to post photos of her socialising with the new friends she has been making since moving to Sydney and to keep her Facebook Friends abreast of the new experiences she has been having at university.

I have a lot of Facebook Friends. 863. And I've met every one of them in person. Some of them are from home, there's my family, there's people who I was living with and the people I met when I was living overseas, and people I met while travelling. I use it like a bit of a networking tool actually... so for keeping in contact with useful people I meet (Julia).

While Julia's use of Facebook as a means to socialise is not particularly extraordinary, the ways in which she manages and maintains her social network connections, and the reasons for her doing so, mirror the professional use of Facebook as a 'networking tool'. In many ways Julia's personal use of Facebook reproduces the logics and rationalities of the professional world and can be understood as a manifestation of an instrumental form of
friendship in which 'Friends' are kept only as long as they are useful. Likewise, one's own self must be kept as desirable as possible to their Friends. Julia maintains an image of herself as 'non-risky' so that she will not be deleted by one of her 'useful' Friends. She does so in an effort to maintain these useful connections so as to leverage them in the future, such as in her example of having accommodation in exotic places around the world.

Julia's use of Facebook also mirrors the ways in which contemporary professionals are advised and instructed to use Facebook through numerous media articles and internet guides. Job seeker blogs and recruitment sites advise professionals on how best to use Facebook to get their next job. Job seekers are advised to keep their image 'clean' and to avoid any unsavoury posts, to maintain a large group of social network connections in the hope of leveraging them to gain a job, and to promote oneself through the judicious use of self-promotional status updates that increase one's desirability as an employee (see Chapter 5 for a discussion of this sort of 'expert' advice). Whereas professionals are constantly made aware of the best ways in which to use Facebook professionally, people like Julia are under so such instruction or imperative to use Facebook in particular ways. That they do demonstrates the context creep of professional and neoliberal logics, and their reproduction through the sphere of the social.

These slippages between the personal and professional are for the most part unavoidable. Facebook's very design, its digital architecture, collapses diverse groups of connections—family, friends, lovers, acquaintances, co-workers, and employers—into the one category of 'Friend'. As a result, the normally discrete spaces within which various comportments of the self are presented to relevant interlocutors are collapsed into one flattened architectural space. Facebook users are presented then with the choice of which sort of self to present to a vast
and overlapping audience comprising these usually compartmentalised relationships. We all present differently when physically co-present with different people. The ways in which we interact with our close friends will be very different to the ways in which we interact with a grandparent, for instance, or in a formal work setting with an employer. We may even present ourselves differently when one-on-one with a close friend as opposed to socialising in a group of friends. The architecture of Facebook complicates these sorts of presentations of self as our usually discrete groups of connections are equally able to view our behaviour on Facebook³.

Julia, introduced above, said that she was well aware of the challenges this dynamic posed. She discussed the need to curb her normal behaviours such as swearing, which was something that she would do when talking with her friends, because of the broader groups of 'Friends' she kept on Facebook. This trivial example demonstrates the broader dynamics engendered by the architecture of Facebook as a space in which particular forms of visibility are afforded by social forms of surveillance as well as being informed by, and reproducing, broader neoliberal governmental rationalities. As an individual using Facebook Julia is responsible for deciding on the appropriate comportment of herself when using the site such that none of her broader connections of 'Friends' will feel offended by inappropriate behaviours such as swearing. Thus for Julia swearing is framed as a 'risky' behaviour that diminishes her desirability as a 'Friend', the cessation of which (through deleting or 'unFriending') jeopardises the sorts of opportunities Julia cherishes from her Friends such as staying in their houses for free while travelling around the world. Julia must monitor her own

³ Facebook introduced the ability to demarcate audiences in 2011, largely in response to Google's SNS 'Google+' and its ability to create 'Circles', or categories of audiences toward whom content could be shared or restricted. Based on the research conducted for this thesis it is not clear that many Facebook users take advantage of this feature.
actions and conduct herself in such a way that she does not place at risk any future opportunities that might arise through her cultivation of hundreds of Facebook Friends.

While Facebook users are aware of their visibility to their Friends, and adjust their behaviour accordingly, they also turn this gaze upon themselves. This occurs through both an internalisation of the audience gaze and concomitant processes of self-monitoring as well as through the visible representation of their own behaviours, the Facebook Profile. Facebook becomes a ‘technology of the self’ (Foucault 1988), a form of self-writing in which users both produce a visible representation of the self, as well as engaging in an ongoing performative construction of the self. Far from merely existing as a site of leisure and socialising, Facebook is implicated in the very serious work of producing subjectivity while intersecting with a number of dimensions of life such as the professional sphere, the personal, and the social. As Julia’s example demonstrates Facebook allows neoliberal logics to creep into the non-professional aspects of users’ lives. Facebook becomes an important object of research then as a space through which the dominant rationality of the present—neoliberalism—is reproduced and extended throughout the social sphere and into the very subjectivity of its users. The ways in which these reproductions occur can be understood through the concept of performativity (Butler 1988).

**Performative Constructions of the Self on Facebook**

Facebook becomes a space to produce the self *performatively* through an ongoing everyday engagement with the site. Various aspects of the self can be performatively reiterated by highlighting a commitment to one's particular obligations or by simply rendering oneself visible within the governable terrain of the site. While performing these roles users often demonstrate restraint so that their posts conform to a spectrum of acceptable claims and
behaviours related to the particular subjectivity they are occupying and portraying. Performances are shaped by a number of formal and informal regulations such as the 'truths' embedded within the multiple discourses that contribute to the performative constructions of the self. For example, in performing the subjectivity of being a student and all that this entails, whether it is the self-disciplined and diligent scholar submitting assignments on time at the expense of all social commitments or the slacker whose social commitments intrude upon their studies, subjectivity is performed with an eye to 'the rules of the game' of being a student. In these ways numerous power relations are manifested whenever users draw upon one or other discursive materials as part of their presentation of the self. Indeed the very act of performing the self, of being a performatively constructed subject, is an exercise of power in Foucault's sense of any given exercise of power is a productive act (Foucault 1984).

Another way in which Facebook exhibits an effect on the behaviours of its users is found in relation to the constant 'pull' of Facebook. For some, the use of Facebook itself is one that is characterised by an almost-compulsory engagement with the site. Users must repeatedly use the site to stay abreast of the activities of one's Friends while also maintaining a visible presence to others. To be absent can be cause for suspicion, or worse, to miss social and professional opportunities. If a user misses an invitation to a social event organised through Facebook because they were not online this is seen as their fault, rather than the host's for not contacting them by other means. Increasingly, this is one of the emerging norms of Facebook etiquette, namely that not to be logged on is a form of deviance. Indeed, Facebook itself contributes overtly to creating and sustaining this norm by sending email reminders to users pointing out the 'interesting stories' that they have missed. Hence not only is the individual user regulated by the moral and ethical values deemed (by other users) to be relevant to their
particular performative subjectivity, Facebook works on individual users through its particular form of panopticonic surveillance, framed as helpful reminders.

During the observation component of the research it became clear that different people used Facebook in different ways. Some provided scant, selected traces of their daily lives while others lived their lives out loud and through Facebook, broadcasting and amplifying their activities to a select audience of hundreds and occasionally thousands. In the research interviews and survey users reported the ways in which they came to manage their Facebook use and the rules they themselves applied to themselves when using Facebook. These applied to the times when they would choose to use Facebook. University students Isobel, Jason, and Spike discussed the need to turn Facebook off when they had academic work to focus on. Current and former Facebook gamers Brenda, Brigid, Ted, and Clem all discussed the temptation that Facebook games, such as 'FarmVille', provided causing them to keep coming back to Facebook. Interestingly, all four framed the use of Facebook games in terms of ethical or moral judgments as can be seen from their comments: 'idiot games' (Brigid), a 'time vortex' and a 'cord' needing to be 'cut' (Clem), or 'mindless' and 'a bit like turning on the TV when you come home from work and you can just get sucked in and it takes your life and you're not alive anymore you're just doing, you know, Farmville, or just whatever game you've got' (Ted). In contrast to these descriptions Brenda, who defined one aspect of her subjectivity as a 'gamer', argued that her use of Facebook games was morally preferable to watching TV which she framed as a passive activity. These experiences demonstrate the ways in which users create their own frameworks of media use through constructing their own senses of ethical or moral judgments as rules of use.
It is the exploration of the performative construction of the self, a nexus of individualising and totalising power relations, and of the production of unfreedom within spaces of freedom, that this thesis examines. Facebook, through its design and the intersection of various discourses, facilitates the individualisation of its users and encourages them to engage in the work of reproducing neoliberal rationalities through the performative production of the self. At the same time Facebook, while itself still a relatively new technology, has become almost ubiquitous in its use and insertion into the everyday. Facebook has become a primary space through which contemporary socialising occurs and serves as a conduit for many types of relationships. While remarkable in the ways it has augmented social relationships it has come to be experienced by its users as being entirely unremarkable, indeed it is largely seen as a 'normal' thing to use. Together these paradoxes—individualising yet totalising, unfreedom within freedom, and extraordinary being experienced as ordinary—provide a productive tension that makes Facebook an important object of research into the reproduction of political rationalities within the everyday. These complexities will be unpacked and become themes that run through the thesis.

The thesis broadly sought to inquire into the ways Facebook users experience the site's digital surveillance architecture, and how they might internalise the relationships of power engendered by the mutual surveillance gaze. It further sought to examine the relationship between presentations of the self online with users' offline self. Finally, the question of how and to what extent these online and offline identities might be enmeshed with broader political rationalities of the present. These questions were pursued by looking into the entanglements of Facebook use in relation to spheres of employment and work, in relation to issues of privacy and surveillance, and finally in relation to the commercialization of users' data and personal information.
Ultimately this is a thesis about subjectivity and the ways in which this is shaped by neoliberal values. Julia is not an isolated example of this phenomenon. Not all people participate in Facebook in the same way, and many users of Facebook would argue that they are unaffected by this. But what this thesis will demonstrate is that it is not possible to participate in the Facebook domain without Facebook's structure and internal logic shaping the subjectivities of its participants to greater or lesser degrees.

As the participants discussed in this thesis demonstrate Facebook is used for a multitude of purposes and in many different ways. Facebook users post 'Status Updates' that inform their Friends of their activities and experiences as well as to discuss their future desires and projects of the self, such as those participants who used the site to announce their intentions to master their bodies through diet and exercise. Much of the material posted to Facebook through Status Updates is a sort of mundane diarising of the everyday in which users document their ordinary goings on. Other Facebook users post less of this quotidian content choosing only to post Status Updates that project their exciting life moments. By omitting the mundane, everyday activities some users' Facebook Profiles stand in as a sort of 'highlight reel' that suggests a life far less ordinary than that experienced in the real world.

As the participants in the thesis also demonstrate, many Facebook users come to the site with their own rules and guidelines such as whom they will and will not connect with as Facebook Friends. This often revolves around the Friending (or not) of work colleagues or relates to practices of self-censoring, the kind of which Julia alluded to by making an effort not to swear on the site. This aspect of rules or guidelines for use is interesting for the fact that Facebook has very few formal rules of use relating to what can and cannot be posted. That norms do arise relating to the use of Facebook is testament to the ways in which social
etiquette and customs circulate, many emanating from 'moral entrepreneurs', and come to operate discursively to be taken up and internalised by Facebook users when engaging with the site. Thinking in this way about the role of norms and customs serves as an entry point for understanding Facebook as a site that facilitates the operation of power.

(Re)Producing Political Order

Facebook is a cultural artefact imbued with relationships of power and facilitates the reproduction of political order. Its architectural design, the discourses that shape user behaviours, and the ways in which it augments relationships all contribute to the production of well-regulated selfhood and political order. Understanding Facebook in this way is a crucial step toward recognising its importance as an object of social research. But why should we care about Facebook reproducing neoliberalism? This thesis lays clear the ways that government, following Foucault, can be understood as an ensemble of practices that occur outside of the state and contributes to the processes through which people become subjects. The 'norms', etiquettes, and discourses related to Facebook practices all contribute to the reproduction of political order. Cultural artefacts and practices are hence identified as sites through which political order is reproduced and the operation of power is facilitated.

Facebook extends the reach of neoliberal rationalities and operates as a space in which its users are able to both present and meditate upon their actions as moral subjects. As a technology of the self, Facebook allows its users to write themselves into being through largely informal practices of self-writing and to later reflect on these writings in the form of the Facebook Timeline. The morality of the neoliberal subject is ultimately linked to the political and economic spheres of production and consumption (Bauman 2005). Entrepreneurial self-government is largely about producing good, employable citizen-
consumers and thus extending the governmental reach into the sphere of the everyday while punishing (or threatening to, via the risk presented in 'life after social networking discourses') behaviour that is outside an ever-decreasing range of acceptable 'normal' behaviours. The corollary of this is that these processes are interlinked with ethics. Hence people behaving outside of these acceptable ranges of behaviour are cast as immoral. As Peter Kelly notes:

as workers in liberal democracies we are free to choose and act, but to be employable or successful in the world of flexible capitalism we have to choose and act in certain ways—or suffer the consequences (Kelly 2013: 11).

The stakes here, then, are those of freedom. The reproduction of neoliberal values ultimately relies upon the paradox of producing unfreedom within freedom. It is about producing a regulated range of acceptable behaviours by encouraging free individuals to adhere to an ever-decreasing range of acceptable behaviours, and to cast those outside of these acceptable behaviours as unethical and immoral. That those who fail to conform with the acceptable behaviours are often linked to lower social classes or those outside the spaces of success within neoliberal capitalism reinforces the notion of the 'deserving poor'. Those that are struggling to keep afloat within the precarious seas of neoliberal capitalism are somehow cast as deserving of their fates due to their supposedly inherent immorality (Sayer 2005).

It has been argued by Zygmunt Bauman (2005; 2007) that the present era is marked by a shift from individuals as primarily 'producers' to a mode of existence that is primarily that of 'consumers'. He terms this 'consumerism' and traces the shifts from industrial capitalism through the dismantling of the welfare state, along with the flight of capital to developing countries (in which poorly paid workers perform the work that was previously performed in the West) and contends that a concomitant shift occurred from the 'work ethic' to the 'consumer ethic'. Bauman contends that in each case, the work ethic and the consumer ethic, political order is ensured as it is reproduced by those interpellating the ethic, performing the
work, and consuming the goods. Facebook becomes a means through which this ethic is extended into the everyday, where individuals are themselves commodified, and where spectacular consumption is displayed through the Facebook Profile. Truly, this is the protestant work ethic 2.0. Hence, it is the reproduction of political order that constitutes the stakes of the phenomena that this thesis investigates.

**Thesis Overview**

Many of the core concerns of this thesis fit squarely within the interdisciplinary field of internet studies and these are outlined in Chapter 1 of the thesis. Internet researchers have long been interested in the intertwining of identity and the internet, and the ways in which cyberspaces facilitate social relationships and forms of identity play and work (Rheingold 2000; Turkle 1995; Turkle 2004). The shift from the anonymous to 'nonymous' internet (Zhao, Grasmuck, and Martin 2008) and the emergence of web 2.0 and social media saw concomitant shifts in online self-expression and performances of the self. Internet use became less 'niche' and the purview of computer 'geeks', and more an everyday technology in which everybody began to take part in reproducing and rearticulating the self and their relationships online. Put simply, 'cyberculture' simply became 'culture'.

However, these spaces of web 2.0 were also tightly constructed spaces owned and governed by corporate entities. Far from the 'Wild West' of early internet spaces (c.f. Rheingold 2000; Turkle 1995) many social media platforms were built as 'walled gardens' of capital for the pursuit of profit. That these tightly constructed and governed spaces should possess certain architectural features that affect user behaviours became core concerns for those researching internet use. Lawrence Lessig's (2006) maxim that 'code is law' recognises the ways in which the digital code that 'build' online spaces also guides and governs the behaviours of those who
inhbit these spaces. Elsewhere danah boyd (2011; 2008a; 2008b) has constructed a typology of the sorts of spaces SNSs present to users and the affects that these have upon them in the shape of 'affordances'\textsuperscript{4} and other dynamics. Particular behaviours are both enabled and constrained, while others are privileged or discouraged.

Another central feature of the architecture of SNSs is that they are forms of social surveillance (Trottier 2012). Visibility is made possible through the social surveillance architecture in which audiences (along with many unknown others) are able to view the behaviours of SNS users. Visibility can be understood as operating as a sort of performance spotlight (Pearson 2009) in which individuals relish in the attention given to them by their audiences, or alternatively it can be seen as a disturbing phenomenon in which SNS users' behaviours are tracked and commodified in the service of capital (Fuchs 2011a; 2011b). Stemming from the notion of SNSs as surveillance are a number of related discourses that have the effect of shaping and limiting the understandings of SNS surveillance. News media circulate stories that highlight the risks of using SNSs such as the possibility that one's use of SNSs in the present may come back to later haunt them. These 'life after social networking' discourses (Albrechtslund 2008) are often internalised by users in such a way that they complement the structuring surveillance architecture of SNSs and cause them to behave and present themselves in particular ways. As noted more generally in relation to surveillance discourses (Barnard-Wills 2012), or in relation to SNSs themselves (Marwick 2010; 2013), these are often in line with the broader logics of neoliberalism.

\textsuperscript{4} The term 'affordance' has a long history and while its usage has appeared across fields it was applied in relation to human-machine interactions by Donald Norman (1988), which then began to be applied to fields of human-computer interactions (HCI) (see Rogers 2004). It was picked up by Fuller (2005) in media studies and finds a central place in boyd's descriptions of SNSs as 'networked publics'.
While these works are all very important and offer many useful ways to think about and analyse Facebook use the concept of power is noticeably absent. For a political scientist the concept of power is always central to thinking about any social phenomenon, though as Brass (2000) has argued, it was not until Foucault's influence became ubiquitous that political scientists had to be reminded that they had taken the concept for granted. The absence of power as a concept in studies of Facebook use would appear to be a crucial oversight, or put differently, would appear to be a necessary means to more fully understanding how Facebook users' behaviours are shaped by interacting with the site—as well as understanding what the stakes of these interactions are. In this context the realisation emerged that perhaps a Foucauldian orientation toward the operation of power might serve as a unifying thread that brings together these various analyses. While not quite operating as a 'theory of everything', this Foucauldian conceptualisation of power, especially in relation to the construction of the self through processes of subjectification, offered a means to better understand the importance of Facebook as an object of social research.

Hence the theoretical framework of this thesis as outlined in Chapter 2 is distinctly Foucauldian. This chapter expands upon the aforementioned authors' works while reframing them within a broadly Foucauldian theoretical orientation. An important aspect of this is the identification of a link between processes of government and governing, the operation of power, the construction of the self, and the ways in which cultural artefacts and spaces like Facebook facilitate these related phenomena. Facebook is understood as a surveillance architecture that engenders a form of the panoptic surveillance gaze in which users internalise the surveillance gaze and come to self-monitor and self-regulate their behaviours. The related discourses of Facebook use further contribute to a set of preformed (and dominant) understandings of proper usage of Facebook and the acceptable range of behaviours that are
to be performed within its confines. Coupled with these are the commonly understood consequences for improper use such as loss of employment or potential employability. The links here between the dominant rationality of the present—neoliberalism—and the requisite comportment of the self are found in the policing of one's own actions so as to best engender the desirable and un tarnished self-as-commodity.

The ongoing nature of these presentations of self can be understood by conceptualising them as 'performative' (Butler 1988). Butler, herself drawing on Foucault, proposes that selfhood is an ongoing performance infused with power relationships. Far from being arbitrary, performances of self are informed and regulated by dominant discourses related to, in Butler's work, gender, but also other discourses such as class and race. At the present, the overarching discourse of neoliberalism provides much of the raw discursive material for contemporary subjects to construct and regulate their presentations of self. Facebook is a social surveillance space in which presentations of self are often marked by a continuity (masking the contingent as 'stable fictions' (Butler 1988)) that is itself the result of pervasive self-monitoring and self-regulation, and infused with the power of normative discourses. Facebook becomes a space in which individuals engage in the business of the 'government of the self'.

This theorising ultimately leads to the question of how to conduct research into Facebook and power. Chapter 3 outlines the methodology of the thesis research. In step with the concern to analyse from a number of levels of analysis the research too examines a number of 'facets' of Facebook as a research object. As the above paragraphs indicate, this thesis is based on a novel theoretical approach to analysing Facebook use. That this approach itself is new required constructing a suitable methodological framework with which to conduct the research for the thesis. The methodology draws on a number of interpretive and qualitative
traditions and methods, largely from internet studies and digital anthropology. The research consisted of three separate but overlapping stages. The first stage consisted of an online survey that served to both generate data that suggested broad trends and attitudes toward Facebook and related issues of privacy and correct behaviours, while also serving to recruit participants in the further stages of the research. These further stages consisted of one-on-one interviews conducted both face-to-face and via Skype, and an ongoing online observation. The observation component of the research comprised a purpose-built Research Facebook Profile (RFP) that participants could 'Friend' which allowed for an ongoing observation of all of their interactions with Facebook that would normally be seen by any of their other Facebook Friends through the News Feed. This observation was conducted daily over nine months allowing for a picture to emerge of each of the 134 observation participants' daily presentations of self through Facebook.

The combining of methods allowed for a sufficiently broad and multi-faceted picture of Facebook use to emerge. The surveys allowed for an insight into the broad attitudes Facebook users had toward the site and in regards to issues such as privacy, the presentation of the self, and Friending habits. The data generated from the surveys was then used to both shape the questions used in the interview stage, as well as to inform the sorts of behaviours that were observed during the course of the observation stage. This combination of methods allowed for an investigation into what Facebook users thought and felt generally in the surveys and in more detail during the interview stages, as well as being able to see what they actually did online during the observation stage.

The analysis chapters (Chapters 4-6) draw on the various research methods to consider a number of aspects of Facebook use. Chapter 4 further explores the notion of 'writing the self
into being' on Facebook as well as considers what sorts of selves and what sorts of spaces users conceive them to be in their use of the site. This chapter explores the problematic notion of 'authenticity' in relation to the sorts of selves Facebook users imagine their online (re)presentations to be. Presenting the self online involves myriad decisions as well as a suite of strategies for facilitating self-presentation. Some users actively limit the sorts of people they will Friend, such as those who enforce a policy of excluding work colleagues so as to be able to feel more able to express themselves freely without fear of jeopardising their presentations of self in the workplace. Other Facebook users, such as Julia introduced earlier in the Introduction, employ various techniques of self-branding when using the site. For some, there is little distinction between their professional and personal self when using the site and their self-presentation strategies see them comporting themselves in such a fashion that they themselves are cast as desirable commodities, whether as a friend or an employee. As Zygmunt Bauman observes SNS users:

are enticed, nudged, or forced to promote an attractive and desirable commodity, and so to try as hard as they can, and using the best means at their disposal, to enhance the market values of the goods they sell. And the commodity they are prompted to put on the market, promote and sell are themselves... They are, simultaneously, promoters of commodities and the commodities they promote (Bauman 2007: 6, emphasis in the original).

An unanticipated finding in the research, discussed in Chapter 4, concerns the correlation between certain forms of work and the sorts of presentations of self, such that they appear to be 'always-on' in regards to their chosen profession. For these Facebook users there is no clear demarcation between work and not-work. Finally, this chapter discusses some of the research participants' attitudes towards issues of privacy and the ways in which these inform their behaviours when using the site.

Chapter 5 examines the role that the design of Facebook as an architecture of surveillance plays in shaping user behaviours, along with the related discourses of Facebook and
surveillance in informing the attitudes and dispositions of Facebook users. This chapter introduces the notion of Facebook being a surveillance space of 'lateral panopticism', denoting both the internalisation of an all-seeing surveillance gaze as well as the lateral, horizontal surveillance relationships engendered by the social surveillance architecture. Facebook users contend with the issue of invisible but imagined audiences toward whom they must present themselves. The imagined audience exists as a moderating influence as Facebook users internalise the gaze of potential audience members and conduct themselves as appropriate to the potential audience's gaze. This is complicated by the flattened network in which otherwise discrete categories such as friends, family, and professional contacts are collapsed into the single category of 'Friend', while the possibility for information to escape its confines on the personal Facebook Profile means internalising the risk of unanticipated viewers. Research participants indicated that they were aware of the possibility for their information to escape its intended confines and that this was a factor in the choices they made while engaging with Facebook. This chapter also discusses the ways in which discourses of surveillance and Facebook inform Facebook users of the sorts of behaviours appropriate when using the site. It is shown that norms of Facebook use are far from arbitrary and there exists a link between the proliferation of news reports relating to Facebook, especially in regards to dismissals from employment because of inappropriate Facebook use, and Facebook users' own understandings of appropriate behaviours when using the site. 'Life after social networking' discourses ultimately shape the opinions and behaviours of many Facebook users.

Chapter 6 chapter examines Facebook as a 'technology of the self' (Foucault 1988) through which users write the self in a form of everyday diarising. Data builds up over the lifetime of using the site, sedimenting in the form of a digital double. These sediments allow the
Facebook user (and others) to look back over their daily interactions with the site and are organised, through the Facebook Timeline, into a chronological diary of events. The posting of Status Updates to Facebook is explicitly framed as a form of diarising in this chapter and a typology of diarising, based on the observation of Facebook users, is offered. While much of the everyday interaction on Facebook is social in nature, either through seeking interaction through 'phatic' posts or by documenting everyday behaviours through 'ordinary interpersonal surveillance', other posts can be defined by seeking to elevate one's status through the posting of spectacular displays of self, while a fourth category of Status Updates are 'resolutions of the self' in which users largely write for themselves by chronicling their attempts to submit to self-discipline and self-improvement. This chapter examines these sorts of posts in relation to the posting of a number of research participants and demonstrates the ways in which self-presentation, performativity, power, and self-government are intrinsically linked.

**Conclusion**

This thesis examines Facebook as an object of social research that is implicated in processes of government of the self. As a cultural leisure space it has largely been ignored as a site of power. This thesis rectifies this. It demonstrates the ways in which Facebook extends the reach of governing into the everyday by harnessing users' own desires and behaviours as a means to limit their own freedoms. This is also linked to processes of self-construction through the performative subjectification of individuals. As such, Facebook is an apparatus of governing and governmentality, and facilitates the operation of power while extending the reach of neoliberalism into the microspaces of the everyday. It is also an architecture of social surveillance, a space in which Facebook users internalise the surveillance gaze of imagined audiences. The internalised surveillance gaze requires of individuals that they themselves perform much of the surveillance work as they come to monitor their own actions.
and regulate their behaviours as a result. Complementing this surveillance structure are various discourses that intersect and buttress the architecture's tendencies to instil a limited (or limiting) range of behaviours. As a discursive formation of digital architecture and forms of knowledge the 'universe of discourse' is narrowed in such a fashion that the very horizons of possibility are themselves shrunk and users conform to a smaller range of acceptable behaviours. These behaviours are, of course, those that facilitate the smooth functioning of neoliberal capitalism and 'consumerism'. As a space in which we so willingly engage in self-regulation, and a space that is so prominently entwined with our everyday social relationships, Facebook warrants analytic attention so as to understand better the ways in which this tightly controlled space of freedom contributes to our own unfreedom. That we are drafted to become our own self-governors needs to be recognised as a core technique of neoliberalism. Facebook's contribution to this and the reproduction of the key aspects of the dominant political order is shown throughout the course of this thesis as an important issue to be reckoned with.
Chapter 1:

Situating the Self, Social Network Sites, and Facebook Studies

The social network site Facebook is but one of the more recent spaces for online sociality. SNS studies continue a field of inquiry into the self and the internet that spans over four decades, beginning in the 1980s (Silver 2006). More generally, researchers have been concerned with the impacts of communication technologies from the birth of mass media through to computers, computer games, the internet, and social network sites, and along with each of these a concomitant concern arises about what it means to be human. Whether concerned with cultural dupes (Horkheimer and Adorno 1973), cyborgs (Haraway 1991), or simply teens 'hanging out' online (boyd 2008a), researchers have studied themselves with the ways in which new technologies intertwine identity and the self.

New technologies, however, are almost synonymous with contemporary life. Whenever such new technologies emerge there are often two contradictory responses: 'On the one hand, people express concern that our communication has become increasingly shallow' (for which popular accounts such as Carr 2010; Harkin 2009; Keen 2007; Siegel 2008; and Turkle 2011 all attest), while for others 'new media offer the promise of more opportunity for connection with more people, a route to new opportunities and to stronger relationships and more connections' (Baym 2010: 1). The sheer volume of new technologies, and their increasingly pervasive (not to mention increasingly mobile; see Turkle 2008) nature constitute a bombardment upon the individual over the course of any given day. 'Saturated' selves

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5 These concerns echo much older fears. Plato, in the Seventh Letter, tells us in 360 B.C. that Socrates feared that writing would have terrible consequences and cause people to lose their ability to remember by entrusting such tasks to the written word (Plato 1976).
(Gergen 1991) are formed within a cacophony of media stimuli, producing 'modern identities… pieced together like quilts from the overwhelming expanses of mediated messages in our environments' (Baym and Markham 2009: x). This is further complicated by the changing nature of media from a uni-directional broadcast model in which individuals are mere consumers, to what some have identified as a convergence of production and consumption, or 'prosumption' (Ritzer and Jurgenson 2010). Others go so far as to suggest that the overwhelming pervasiveness of media in modern lives necessitates a rethinking and reconceptualisation of such questions entirely, so that 'media should not be seen as somehow located outside of lived experience, but rather should be seen as intrinsically part of it… life is lived in, rather than with, media – we are living a media life' (Deuze 2011: 138, emphasis in the original). At present, there is perhaps no greater example of this than the way social network sites are used simultaneously to produce and consume content, perform identity, resituate and rearticulate relationships, and problematise the nature of an online split from and offline self. Before considering social network sites a brief, albeit far from exhaustive, excursion through the history of internet studies is necessary.

**On the Internet, Nobody Knows You're a Dog**

Before Facebook, before broadband, before a computer in every home, using the internet was a niche experience. Apart from those using the internet for professional purposes the internet was largely the purview of dedicated hobbyists. Studies concerned with the self and the internet were thus focused upon the experiences of these niche users, best typified by Howard Rheingold's *The Virtual Community: Homesteading on the Electronic Frontier* (1993/2000) and Sherry Turkle's *Life on the Screen: Identity in the Age of the Internet* (1995). In many ways these two works established 'the twin pillars of cyberculture studies… virtual communities and online identities' (Silver 2006: 3). Rheingold provides an account of his
experiences as a founding member of the online community the WELL (Whole Earth 'Lectronic Link), in which he emphasises and espouses the community-developing benefits afforded by the WELL during the 1980s and 1990s. He portrays a mostly positive system in which relationships conducted through text-based chatrooms came to life in the form of an online community. Relationships would develop inside the WELL and often had the propensity to spill over into the offline world, or what Rheingold and his fellow WELL users termed 'IRL' – 'in real life' (Rheingold 2000: xvi). Such IRL encounters would take place in all manner of contexts, such as when Rheingold claims to have 'attended real-life WELL marriages, WELL births, and even a WELL funeral' (2000: xvi). A telling moment in Rheingold's 2000 revised edition of his book concerns criticism he received from some fellow WELLites following the publication of his first edition that he had overestimated the applicability of the term 'community' in such an online context. Rheingold notes that the imminent death of one of his critics brought forth waves of support from other WELLites who took turns to stay by her bedside whilst her condition worsened, and when ultimately she died her funeral was attended by WELLites who outnumbered other attendees ten-fold (2000: 325-8). For Rheingold (2000: xvii) the experience of online community in a text-based online environment was for the most part positive, such that '[p]eople in virtual communities do just about everything people do in real life, but we leave our bodies behind'.

Such an absence of corporeality is discussed by Sherry Turkle (1995) in *Life On The Screen*, in which she addresses the implications for 'identity in the age of the internet' by examining the creation of identities in anonymous online text-based environments such as MUDs (Multi-User Domains/Dungeons). Such environments offered users myriad opportunities to create and to explore any number of possible identities, from which Turkle noted the potential for the internet to liberate human identity from its corporeal confines, so that:
it is on the Internet that our confrontations with our sense of human identity are fresh, even raw. In the real-time communities of cyberspace we are dwellers on the threshold between the real and the virtual, unsure of our footing, inventing ourselves as we go along (Turkle 1995: 10).

The internet, and its inherent quality of anonymity, gave users a space in which they could experiment with many forms of identity. Turkle celebrated the liberating potential of the internet and MUDs:

The anonymity of MUDs – one is known on the MUD only by the name of one's character or characters – gives people the chance to express multiple and often unexplored aspects of the self, to play with their identity and to try out new ones. MUDs make possible the creation of an identity so fluid and multiple that it strains the limits of the notion. Identity, after all, refers to the sameness between two qualities, in this case between a person and his or her persona. But in MUDs, one can be many (Turkle 1995: 12).

Rheingold's observation that 'we leave our bodies behind' and Turkle's celebrated multiple and experimental identities formed through anonymous play encapsulate a particular historical era of the self and the internet. As the cartoon from The New Yorker (Cartoon 1.1) famously put it in 1993, on the Internet nobody knows you are a dog.

Cartoon 1.1 “On the Internet, nobody knows you're a dog.”
© Peter Steiner/Condé Nast

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The Internet in Everyday Life

Turkle's (2008; 2011) more recent work is much more problematic. At the core of her concerns seems to be a fear that technology encourages people to prefer inauthenticity to authenticity. This supposed inauthenticity lay in the self, the nature of relationships, our relationship with the world around us, and in our technological artefacts themselves. She laments a supposed lack of face-to-face communication in contemporary life. Considering her earlier enthusiasm shown for identity play in anonymous online spaces (Turkle 1995) it is somewhat ironic now that she seems to think the quality of life is diminished as the dominant mode of being is characterised by loneliness (Turkle 2011). On the other hand, Rainie and Wellman (2012: 103-6) argue that the figure of the 'lonely' technology user in the coffee shop listening to music on her iPod, surrounded by wireless communication technologies, is anything but lonely since they appear to carry on all number of relationships and conversations with both those online and those co-present. The fears of Turkle that technologies signal an absence from the physical space are overstated. Here is a modern moral panic (Albrechtslund 2008; Cohen 2002) that rehashes fears that technology ultimately makes people withdrawn from the 'real' spaces of the physical social world and only serves to make its users lonely.

Turkle's (2008) account of technology is undermined by her argumentative style in which metaphors are stretched and the analysis peppered with too many generalisations. An example of this is her reconceptualization of the railway station. This is, she suggests, no longer 'a communal space, but a place of social collection: tethered selves come together, but do not speak to each other' (Turkle 2008: 122). While this situation might (depending on one's own normative commitments) be cause for alarm, one need only look around at any train station to observe plenty of people not connected to technology, and certainly numbers
of people interacting with one another. And while many people may indeed largely refrain from speaking with one another in such public spaces, there is no suggestion that this was not also historically the case. In another example Turkle (2008: 122) suggests that 'a neighborhood walk reveals a world of madmen and women, talking to themselves, sometimes shouting to themselves, little concerned with what is around them'. Again, her use of a figurative situation invokes a scene of despair, yet it bears little correlation with reality. Ultimately, Turkle's work rests on these sorts of journalistic generalisations that are pregnant with her own biases and based on very little. Cases are selected from 'more than four hundred subjects' (Turkle 2008: 135) but are used in problematic ways. An assertion that social network sites 'such as Facebook, MySpace, or Friendster' are popular because of a desire to make new connections with as yet unknown people is backed up by quotes from 'Maura' who discusses her participation in the site Second Life (Turkle 2008: 124). This is a problematic grouping of SNSs with their own different platforms and logics along with the virtual reality site Second Life. Second Life and Facebook are completely different platforms and to compare them is to compare apples and oranges. Turkle's polemic style is full of such attempts to make reality fit with her own position while ignoring existing research, or people's actual experiences of using technology.

The approach outlined in Turkle's more recent work tends to posit technology as an invasive 'other', dehumanising people and supplanting their relationships with one another with robotic interlocutors while stealing away 'real', 'authentic' people's attentions and relocating them online. Turkle (2008: 132-4) suggests that online interactions are increasingly typified by an engagement with 'bots' and software scripts rather than real people. Bell (2007) and Gotved (2006) dispel myths of an offline/online self-divide and the types of claims made by Turkle (2008) regarding attentions being elsewhere. Just because one may be temporally (and
temporarily) connected to 'somewhere else' does not mean that one is up and teleported away from their physical location. To be online one must also be connected somewhere, even when connecting 'wirelessly' one is connected to the device itself. More importantly, online activities are no longer niche in the sense of being the domain of a dedicated band of computer enthusiasts—the subjects of Turkle's (1984/2004) *The Second Self*. Online and offline selves are, by and large, *one and the same self*. Accordingly, understanding online activities is more and more about understanding practices of everyday life (Bell 2007: 13).

Deuze's (2011; 2012b) 'media life' perspective moves in this direction and is helpful in beginning to come to terms with the relationship between technology and the contemporary self. Deuze reframes the role of media in the life of individuals so that rather than focusing on the role of 'media as external agents' the challenge is to understand media as penetrating the entire fabric of life. In his account media becomes 'invisible' to the point of being 'everywhere, and therefore nowhere' (Deuze 2011: 139). Whilst his approach has been called into question (see Kubitschko and Knapp 2012; for a response see Deuze 2012a), its strength lies in its recognition that the consequences for the self are profound as 'our sense of identity, and indeed our experience of reality itself, becomes irreversibly modified, because mediated' (Deuze 2011: 140). Most important is the recognition that these shifts occur alongside broader political rationalities. Media:

serve to amplify and accelerate broader trends in society such as... a primacy of self-governance and self-reliance over deference to authorities... an extension of community premised on simultaneous co-presence and telepresence as directed by the individual and her/his concerns... [and] the emergence of mass self-communication next to mass communication signifying the shift in almost all industrial societies from survival values toward increasing emphasis on self-expression values as comprising the major area of concern to people in such societies (Deuze 2011: 142).

More generally Deuze's *Media Life* perspective advocates an approach to understanding media *as* life. His approach suggests that media is intrinsic and ubiquitous to the point that all
of life, the self, and its relations are mediated to some degree. Hence, attempts to consider media as somehow other or something able to be stepped outside of are ill-informed. Overall his perspective can be seen as both an illustration of media's pervasiveness and it is accepted that media is life. Instead of being resigned to this as a dystopian situation Deuze suggests that it is better to embrace it. Borrowing from Foucault's (1984) suggestion that a life should be lived as a work of art, Deuze suggests that we should use media to pursue this very thing. In his own estimation '[i]t is the privilege of our times to use media to make art with life' (Deuze 2012b: 264).

A 'Networked' Self?

Deuze's account reflects a growing acknowledgement in internet studies of the self as a product of multiple and competing forces. This form of self can best be described as a 'networked self' (Cohen 2012; Papacharissi 2011; Rainie and Wellman 2012). Sociologist Manuel Castells was one of the first to identify the increasingly networked nature of life and society. The overarching epochal logic Castells identifies is that of 'informationalism', or 'informational capitalism' (Bell 2007: 59-60). Informational capitalism is characterised by the shift towards (while not supplanting industrial society) a mode of production that is increasingly reliant upon information and communication technologies (ICTs), information processing, and symbolic exchange such that 'the action of knowledge upon knowledge [is] the main source of productivity' (Castells 2010: 17). Many corporations have shifted away from being bureaucratic organisations to 'network enterprises' where both firms and individuals are required to be flexible, entrepreneurial, and mobile (Castells 2001: 67; Castells 2010). Informational capitalism requires new modes of work typified by 'a flexible arrangement suitable to the needs of informational capitalism… defined by the networking logic with its antecedents in the crisis of capitalism' and responsive to the flexible, post-
Fordist mode of production (Bell 2007: 63). The emerging spaces of informational capital, and its increasingly networked nature, radically expand the size of the network within which the networked self is shaped. Here, the self is entwined within informational capitalism. In the present the self is increasingly performed within the global flows and networked spaces of informational capitalism (Castells 2010: 18) as well as having relationships mediated by it. Julie E. Cohen (2012) offers another understanding of the 'networked self'. Writing from a legal perspective she ties together a number of ideas from a wide range of disciplines to problematise the notion of the self as understood in law and especially in relation to the internet. In this sense she draws on the tradition of 'cyberlaw'. Cohen suggests however that cyberlaw suffers for having 'developed in near complete isolation from several other fields whose literature might shed useful light on these studies' (Cohen 2012: 26-7), especially the field of science and technology studies (STS). She challenges the very understanding of selfhood that underpins most legal theory and in doing so offers an account of the contingent, mediated, networked nature of contemporary selfhood. Cohen considers the sites of conflict in cyberlaw such as copyright, surveillance, and privacy, and considers these within a broader argument around how these issues are implicated in relation to subjectivity and the construction of the self. Her position 'is broadly postmodernist in orientation' (Cohen 2012: 29) in its effort to problematise entrenched 'legal liberalism' understandings of the self. She is particularly interested in showing how the construction of the self occurs in 'the ordinary routines and rhythms of everyday practice' (Cohen 2012: 30, emphasis in the original). The *symbiotic* juncture of the construction of the self and the use of technology is of particular interest to Cohen, especially in its impact in 'reshaping our spaces and practices, encoding new path-dependencies and new habits of behaviour' (Cohen 2012: 27).
Cohen's 'networked self' is one that inhabits 'networked space'. Networked space implies a connectedness, far from the abstract 'out there' of cyberspace, a multiplicity of spaces made possible through technology. This sort of space will be discussed at length in Chapter 2 in relation to the work of danah boyd (2011) and 'networked publics'. For Cohen networked technologies have an affect upon the people that use them and vice-versa such that:

Technologies and artifacts are incorporated into everyday life by situated, embodied beings and are experienced as altering, extending, or limiting capabilities that we already possess. At the same time, technologies and artifacts mediated our embodied perception of reality; over time, we come to experience them as constituting and defining the world around us. Reality is in part a function of what our technologies and artifacts do. *Networked information technologies do not simply empower the networked self; they configure it.* (Cohen 2012: 46, emphasis added).

The networked self is also one that draws on and intertwines itself with technological artefacts. Donna Haraway's 'Cyborg Manifesto' (1991) stands as an influential text in this regard. Haraway's cyborg has come to be hugely influential in the areas of cyberculture studies (Bell 2007) as well as other lines of inquiry into human-computer interactions (Van House 2011) and science and technology studies (Suchman 2009). Much of her work is devoted to eradicating false binaries and dualisms such as 'self/other, mind/body, culture/nature, male/female, civilized/primitive' (Haraway cited in Bell 2007: 106). Haraway's use of the term 'naturecultures' for instance is an attempt to move past the false divide between the realms of nature and culture (Bell 2007: 93), sharing an affinity with Actor Network Theory (ANT) (Law 2009: 147). Haraway's 'cyborg' metaphor appears at a similar time in history as computers begin to appear in the working lives of many people, and for this reason can be seen as pertinent in capturing a 'zeitgeist' (Bell 2007: 97). If the figurative cyborg metaphor was apt in 1985 it is becoming literal as mobile technology and the self are increasingly entwined as cyborg assemblages6.

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6 The term 'assemblage' came to prominence through the work of Deleuze and Guattari, in the form of the Deleuzian term 'agencement', and is similar to the emphasis found in Actor
Cohen (2012: 48-9) points to recent examples of cyborg assemblages in the shape of GPS technologies or online maps such as Google Maps and the ways in which they augment our understandings of physical space and our own relationship to and place within it. The smartphone is another example. The sense of loss felt when a smartphone is misplaced is due not just to the physical object being absent but rather the loss of possibilities of connection with those we reach through it, along with the possibilities of connection that are taken for granted once it is incorporated into the sense of self. This loss is described thus: 'To one accustomed to this extended spatial and temporal reach, the lost BlackBerry is experienced in a way more akin to temporary loss of sight or hearing than to the withdrawal effects of a withheld narcotic… Without our communications prosthetics we are all disabled' (Cohen 2012: 49). The cyborg assemblage as networked self emerges from the 'triple revolution' of burgeoning social networks afforded by the technological advances of the late 20th century, the explosion of the internet, and the ever more mobile nature of internet communications (Rainie and Wellman 2012). Nowhere are these trends more convergent than in the SNS Facebook.

Network Theory on understanding phenomena as a decentred ‘assembly of productive, heterogeneous, and… quite limited forms of ordering in no larger overall order’ (Law 2009: 146). The term encapsulates the human and nonhuman aspects of any given phenomenon and is used in relation to Deleuzian philosophy, Actor Network Theory, Science and Technology Studies (STS), and the work of Donna Haraway and the 'cyborg assemblage'. Caluya (2010: 627) makes the observation that the Deleuzian origins of this concept are indebted to Foucault's own material-semiotic analyses.

7 These sorts of experiences are often framed as evidence of 'internet addiction' in news reports (Angel 2013; Cheng 2011) and academic studies (Moeller 2011) as users report being stressed and suffering from withdrawal symptoms when they are cut off from the internet and communications technologies. This language of pathologising is further found in remedies such as the 'digital detox' (Harlow 2013). Cohen's observation above that the loss of connection through communication devices is 'more akin to temporary loss of sight or hearing than to the withdrawal effects of a withheld narcotic' highlights the real loss here insofar as it is the experiences themselves, rather than the technology, that users seek to indulge in.
Social Network Sites (SNSs) and the Self

SNSs, and the ways in which they encourage users to re-create an 'authentic', digital representation of their selves, have prompted researchers to rethink identity as it pertains to the use of the internet, as well as to develop appropriate theoretical concepts with which to understand these changes. boyd and Ellison (2008) sought to discuss and clarify a number of concepts that they saw as useful for developing research in the field, with the particularly useful (albeit contested, e.g. Beer 2008) semantic shift in what had popularly been termed 'social networking site' to 'social network site' (boyd and Ellison 2008: 211, emphasis added). In their view the term networking 'emphasizes relationship initiation', and that while 'networking is possible on these sites, it is not the primary practice on them' (boyd and Ellison 2008: 211). Taking issue with this terminology is Beer (2008) who argues that in truncating networking to network, the term closes off any possibility of including sites that do facilitate networking. He contends that by changing the term to 'social network site' the scope of analysis is also broadened, and analytic clarity is lost as a result. The problem for both of these conceptual terminologies is that they tend to group together technologies that are, in either design or end-user usage, quite different. YouTube, Twitter, and Facebook could conceivably be grouped together as social network sites, but their architecture and uses could not be less similar. Davis (2010) offers the term 'personal interactive homepage' (PIH) that seems to offer the most promising conceptual terminology for analysing sites such as Facebook and MySpace. Whilst Davis' term, PIH, offers the most promising means for analytic clarity, SNS tends to be the predominant term used to describe technologies such as Facebook. For present purposes the term SNS will be used so as to gain sufficient breadth with which to assess the current state of literature in the field. It must be stated that Facebook should be understood as a specific form of a SNS/PIH with its own very specific form of digital architecture and unique set of user practices.
The oft-cited 2008 article by boyd and Ellison offers a great many conceptual ideas from which much productive scholarship has and will continue to emerge. The original definition of an SNS offered by boyd and Ellison (2008: 211) encapsulates the core features of Facebook as a SNS: 'web-based services that allow individuals to (1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, (2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and (3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system'. Furthermore, SNSs 'enable users to articulate and make visible their social networks', which results in reinforcing 'latent ties' (described elsewhere as 'weak ties'). The creation of a profile page/PIH on an SNS requires one to construct a digital representation of the self, to which boyd and Ellison (2008: 211), following Sundén (2003), describe as having to 'type oneself into being'. Once the individual has constructed their online self in the form of a 'Profile', they then enter into the process of 'Friending', or establishing digital ties that are then visibly displayed, with their friends in the network environment of the SNS. For boyd and Ellison (2008: 213) this 'public display of connections is a crucial component of SNSs'. This process of Friending, and the direction in which relationships move from offline to online, is unique in that it separates SNSs such as Facebook from earlier forms of online community (such as Rheingold's accounts of WELLites meeting offline), as well as other contemporary SNSs such as Twitter in which relationships are mostly formed online with the possibility of offline meetings to follow (Westcott and Owen 2013). This process of online re-articulation of friendship is defined as 'bridging' (boyd and Ellison 2008: 221). Once these relationships are 'bridged' information comes to move between offline and online, with the result being that friendships are intertwined between both the online and offline. Friendships, conversations, and claims can move between the offline and online, so that, for instance, a joke shared online can provide a
source of amusement when the participants meet again offline, or a group photograph of friends can be shared amongst those photographed on their Facebook profiles.

Cartoon 1.2 “That's the problem – on Facebook, everyone knows you're a dog.”
© Rich Tennant/The 5th Wave

In many analyses of SNSs these 'bridged' relationships come to be one of the most poignant features concerning the nature of social ties (Granovetter 1973), particularly insofar as SNSs might facilitate the strengthening of 'weak' social ties (Choi, Kim, Sung and Sohn 2011; Ellison, Lampe, and Steinfeld 2009; Pearson 2009). Bridged relationships, and the ramifications of these sorts of online ties, are theorised by Zhao et al (2008) as representing 'anchored relationships' that rest upon the concept of 'nonymous' (as opposed to anonymous) online identity. By developing the concept of the 'anchored relationship' they aimed to capture the kinds of people communicating on SNSs, such as '[f]amily members, neighbours, colleagues, and other offline acquaintances' (Zhao et al 2008: 1818). They argue that 'nonymous' relationships were generally 'anchored relationships' because, in step with boyd
and Ellison's findings, most relationships on Facebook began initially as offline relationships. Importantly, they suggested that the nonymous online relationships encouraged users to present 'hoped-for' versions of the self, which in turn fostered a need to reproduce them offline, which then set up situations in which users needed to develop the skills 'to coordinate their behaviours in these two realms' (Zhao et al 2008: 1819-20, 1831). Cartoon 1.2 highlights this shift in terms of online identity. Whereas the earlier internet afforded anonymity—where nobody knew you 'were a dog'—on Facebook everyone knows you're a dog.

This issue of the version of self that SNS users present online is a contentious one, with varied findings across a number of studies. Whilst Zhao et al (2008) suggest that online identity performance is a means to present a 'hoped-for' version of the self, Back et al (2010) found in their study (itself repudiating a study by Manago et al 2008) that SNS users tend to portray themselves as they are, rather than as an ideal self. They put forth the 'extended real-life hypothesis' as an appropriate means of understanding presentation of self as mediated through SNSs, as opposed to the 'idealized virtual-identity hypothesis' (Back et al 2010: 372). These findings echo the results found by Bargh, McKenna and Fitzsimons (2002) that internet users attempt to convey a 'true self' on the internet. These sorts of issues are reflected elsewhere in the literature as pertaining to concepts of 'authenticity' (particularly from the field of psychology) in regards to performances of self, which are most-often informed by the work of Erving Goffman.
A number of analyses into SNS use consider the role social capital\(^8\) plays in users' online activities (Choi et al 2011; Ellison et al 2009; Ellison, Steinfeld, and Lampe 2007; Liu 2008). In Ellison et al's (2007) study of college students' use of Facebook, they confirmed that users tended to 'bridge' their existing offline connections by later Friending them online. They found that in doing so, users tended to enhance their social capital and sense of well-being. In a later article, Ellison et al (2009) reflect upon the ways in which social capital is enhanced by Facebook use. They suggest that much of the appeal of SNSs can be found in relation to the relatively low social costs of using them to the potentially high benefits returned. Ellison et al (2009:6) regard SNSs as having the 'potential to fundamentally change the character of our social lives', as individuals and as communities. The ability of SNSs to articulate a user's social network, and the ways in which SNSs foster the maintaining of weak social ties are, in their estimation, the most potentially revolutionary of SNSs. Weak ties allow an individual to receive information from people that they might otherwise not receive, and allow an individual to be privy to the sorts of world-views and lifestyles that they may not otherwise be aware of, with the potential for more empathetic understandings to arise as a result (Ellison et al 2009: 9).

Choi et al (2011) conducted a comparative study by surveying American and Korean SNS use. They found that both groups demonstrated enhanced social capital, but suggest that cultural factors come into play. Dominant cultural and ideological factors influence the ways in which users conduct themselves on SNSs, so that in the United States where values such as individuality are at the fore users tend to maintain a group of weak social ties to enhance 'bridged' forms of social capital. In the Korean example, with dominant values of

\(^8\) 'Social capital' is a troubled concept in the social sciences, especially as it has quite different definitions and uses depending on whether the perspective of Bourdieu, Coleman or Putnam is used. I am not engaging with the debates here and merely presenting the fact that it is used by these authors in SNS studies. For a critical discussion on the use of the term in the social sciences see the work of Lisa Adkins (2005; 2008) and Ben Fine (2001; 2010).
collectivism, they found that users tended to maintain smaller networks with an even balance of strong and weak ties. Such results demonstrate the ways in which dominant cultural rationalities can be internalised and manifested as a material product of a specific political culture.

Such utopian interpretations as those found in Ellison et al (2009) and boyd and Ellison (2008) are largely refuted elsewhere by Beer (2008) and Fuchs (2009). Beer criticises boyd and Ellison (2008) for an apparent lack of intellectual concern for areas that for him bear the most promise, namely structural issues in SNS research. He takes issue with boyd's user-centric ethnographic research, suggesting it ignores important questions regarding structures such as capitalism, in particular the ways in which 'prosumption' and the consumer as producer provides value to the companies behind SNSs and allowing them to profit off of user information – all of which is provided freely by the user. Fuchs (2009: 28-33) adopts this line of critique, and outlines a Marxist surplus-value analysis of the ways in which SNSs and Web 2.0 services come to profit from prosumers (or 'produsers', in the parlance of Alvin Toffler (1980) whom Fuchs cites) who provide their productive labour for free. For Beer, researchers should be asking questions pertaining to the structural beneficiaries of SNSs:

SNS then are a kind of transactional data set enriched by the types of previously hard to access, private and mundane aspects of everyday life that they communicate. Working through an understanding of SNS in the context of knowing capitalism might be one way of developing an agenda for studying SNS that provides insights that may complement and guide the empirical agenda. But we will not get a complete enough picture if we do not pay some attention to the details of the infrastructures, codes and organisations that are operating here or that feed off of SNS (as well as other consumer generated transactional data sources). I'm being speculative here, but it does not take too great a stretch of the imagination to anticipate that SNS as commodities or collections of commodities are being used as data sources to inform organisations about their populations (Beer 2008: 525).

The kinds of claims made by Beer and Fuchs in this regard provide a timely reminder that structures do matter and offer a rich frame of analysis with which to come at questions
pertaining to SNSs. They also highlight the complexities involved in researching SNSs generally, insofar as there exist multiple levels of analysis to which researchers should be attentive in future research endeavours. This said, these sorts of issues are being considered by researchers such as Jenny Davis (2010: 1116) who, in her endnotes, offers the following caveat to her research: 'While the focus here is on the impact of the architecture on MySpace users, it should be noted that MySpace is a business with financial motives for constructing the page (and its architecture) in these ways'.

Theoretically, many analyses turn to Erving Goffman, in particular his *The Presentation Of Self in Everyday Life* (1959), to inform their accounts of the ways in which identity is 'performed' online and, through social interactions, come to manage their impressions (boyd 2008a; Buckingham 2008; Davis 2010; Hargittai 2008; Liu 2008; Pearson 2009; Subrahmanyam and Greenfield 2008; Turkle 2008; Zhao et al 2008). Davis (2010) discusses the ways in which the architecture of a SNS (which she terms a PIH) influences the range of behaviours an actor can perform in such a virtual spatial environment, and often encourages 'overt' performances of self, but also allows the user to retain a large degree of control over their performances. boyd's (2008b) PhD dissertation takes this as central in that teens develop means to manage their online displays of self in a conscious fashion, directed towards the expectations of other teens. Pearson (2009, npn) discusses Goffman's work in conjunction with that of Granovetter's (1973) work on social ties, positing that SNSs both facilitate weak social ties whilst acting as a sort of 'glass bedroom' in which people 'rely upon webs of social connections which engage with fluid or playful identity constructions'. Whereas Goffman, and many influenced by him, emphasise the role of the 'back-stage' and the 'front-stage' and the ways in which physical spaces facilitate moving through them to perform identity accordingly, online environments such as SNSs have no such physical structures (although,
as Davis (2010) points out, this architectural influence can serve as a powerful metaphor in conceptualizing SNSs). For Pearson (2009), SNSs tend to 'blur' the distinction between back-stage and front-stage with the result that 'what feels like an intimate space can be under the watchful gaze of a large unknown audience'. These themes of surveillance will be explored in depth in Chapter 2.

Attempts to apply Goffman's work to SNSs see an emphasis on the online self as overt performances of the 'front stage' self. Performances of self are an example of the sort of self-presentation marked by reflexivity and customised behaviour as fits the particular space of interaction. The use of Goffman in such a manner ultimately leads researchers down a dead-end (Owen 2011). Goffman's work is masterful in analysing bounded face-to-face interactions but is possibly misplaced in attempts to apply it to an online technological environment based upon asynchronous, non-physical spaces absent of, if not offering a reduced form of, most social cues (Baym 2010: 51). More problematically, Goffman's work is predicated upon a subject that exists as a 'stable, pre-existing self' (Van House 2011: 426), a core identity, or 'true' self (Butler 1988; Jagger 2008: 22). As will be discussed throughout this thesis a conception of the self as fluid, contingent, and ultimately performatively constructed is one that better encapsulates the make-up of the self. Further, and central to the argument of this thesis, Goffman's work, and sociological accounts of SNSs drawing upon his work, make no appeal to the operation of broader political rationalities, nor to the operation of power within SNSs. These aspects will be discussed in Chapter 2 in regards to the work of Judith Butler and the concept of performativity, along with the work of Michel Foucault and the concept of governmentality.
The Facebook Subject and Power

No longer a niche activity, internet use is now a mainstream and normalized part of everyday life. This is perhaps no more so than in the case of Facebook. The exponential growth of Facebook and its integration into the practices of everyday life mean that instead of talking about cybertulture we should perhaps just be talking about culture. The work of Deuze (2012b) and Cohen (2012) point to this whilst also highlighting the stakes for subjectivity inherent to a networked media life. Their work points to a line of investigation hitherto untaken in SNS studies by broadening the scope of inquiry. SNS studies have been, not unjustifiably, concerned with SNSs at the level of the user. A good number of useful concepts and analytic tools have been brought forth as a result of these lines of inquiry. So far though they have been largely inattentive to issues of power and this is a line of inquiry that needs to be pursued in more detail. Thus, it is the role of power in the processes that contribute to the construction of the self that underpins this thesis. Facebook's integration within the rhythms of the everyday also extends the 'capillaries of power' (Foucault 1980: 39) through processes of subjectification. A Foucauldian-oriented approach to the self as a subject means conceiving of a radically decentred approach to subjectivity and processes of subjectification, and an analysis of the ways in which broad logics of politics, governing, and power are incorporated into the ongoing, performative construction of the self through the everyday use of Facebook.
Chapter 2:

Theorising the Facebook Self

Perhaps I’ve insisted too much on the technology of domination and power. I am more interested in the interaction between oneself and others and in the technologies of individual domination, the history of how an individual acts upon himself, in the technology of the self (Foucault 1988: 19).

Thus, it is not power, but the subject, that is the general theme of my research (Foucault 2000a: 327).

Of central importance for the argument of this thesis is the view that the self, an individual's sense of who they are or might be, is constructed through processes of subjectification. The self is thus a work in progress, one that is both produced and constantly reproduced performatively through ongoing interactions with others. However, as Foucault has demonstrated, these interactions are linked with forms of knowledge thus making the self a site for the operation of power as individuals both monitor and produce the self within multiple, often conflicting, discourses (Foucault 1978). Facebook users engage in processes of (re)producing the self, as well as social relationships, within an online networked environment. Ultimately, any attempt to theorise the self within Facebook must contend with a number of issues: the self within a 'media life' (Deuze 2012b), the self and social network sites, the self and surveillance, the self and discourse, and finally, the self as an ethical self-governing subject formed within and in relation to these issues.

Some of the existing approaches to understanding SNSs and Facebook were examined in the previous chapter. Their explanatory value varied in relation to the types of analysis that they offered. Sociological accounts privileged ethnographic approaches to studying Facebook users, but they largely suffered from an inability to link these with broader political logics.
Critiques such as those found in Beer (2008) highlight this and suggest that much more attention needs to be placed upon the structures of SNSs. Structural accounts of SNSs, especially as found in the work of Fuchs (2009), tend to suffer from an over-emphasis on the economic structure of SNSs while placing too little focus on the SNS user. The key weakness of existing approaches to understanding Facebook use is that they are largely inattentive to issues of power and politics. An exception might be that of 'surveillance studies', but as is argued below (infra, pp. 68-71) this approach also has limitations. The approach developed in this thesis analyses Facebook both as a governable space (Rose 2004: 31) and as a 'technology of the self' (Foucault 1988). Within the Facebook environment users are both made clearly visible to others as 'governable subjects' (Rose 2004: 40) whilst simultaneously becoming the subjects of their own gaze as ethical self-governing subjects. Facebook is thus a site of government (Bratich, Packer, and McCarthy 2003). These comments do not mean that the existing research has nothing to offer. Rather, the problem is that they are not sufficiently attentive to issues of power and politics. It will be shown that by further developing the use of some of the existing concepts by resituating them within a broadly Foucauldian theoretical perspective that a fuller picture of Facebook use will emerge.

One of the key points of differentiation relates to the notion of the self. A common assumption within the existing field of SNS studies is that the self is unified and already-formed. This can be seen in the widespread use of Goffman's (1959) idea of the 'performance of the self' concept within SNS studies. This yields some fruitful beginnings for analysis, but also draws the boundaries of inquiry too narrowly. Where such accounts (supra, pp.43-44) fall short is in the aforementioned understanding of the unified subject operating in such a space, without considering the space more broadly as both being comprised of discursive material as well as facilitating the flow of broader political logics. This will be made more
clear later in the chapter where danah boyd's (2011) concept of 'networked publics' is discussed and reframed within a broadly Foucauldian orientation. Before this can be done, however, a short introduction to Foucault's thought must be undertaken.

**Foucault**

Foucault's ideas are notoriously slippery since there are often many different 'Foucaults' to be found in the accounts of his work. This slipperiness is further complicated by his shifting focus over the space of his works, whether it be on language, on madness, on prisons, or on sexuality. For some Foucault is shorthand for 'surveillance', especially in *Discipline and Punish* and its architectural figure of the panopticon. For others Foucault's linking couplet of power/knowledge is his defining moment. Late in life Foucault himself suggested that his entire project can be summed as an examination of the processes of government that make us who we are as subjects (Foucault 2000a: 327). Foucault's key ideas that are central for this thesis are those of the interrelated nature of power/knowledge, discourse, panopticism, governmentality, ethics, and technologies of the self. Foucault's work is significant for this project because it draws links between modes of political logic, government of the self and others, and processes of self-construction. He radically reorients the ways in which concepts such as power and governing are understood, and especially so regarding the significance of these in relation to the self.

Foucault turned conventional thinking on its head by insisting that power, that most fundamental concept of political philosophy (c.f. Brass 2000), is not something that is possessed and exercised in a top-down fashion but rather exists 'everywhere' (Rouse 1994: 105). Foucault's conceptualisation of power reflects the ways in which forms of politics and power have changed from the nineteenth century to the present. Furthermore,
conceptualisations of political subjects change in ways concomitant with the aforementioned model of power. There is a shift from 'the individualized, autonomous and self possessed political subject' (Rose 2004: 1) toward a de-centered and contingent self. Foucault's work is helpful in attempting to deal with these shifts. His work on governmentality cleared the ground and offered a way of thinking-through the contemporary state of governing and power. Foucault widened the term 'government' to encompass 'all endeavours to shape, guide, direct the conduct of others', namely 'the conduct of conduct' (Rose 2004: 3). This enabled Foucault to develop an analysis of government far more nuanced than analyses focused upon the actions of a sovereign. This was captured by the concept of 'governmentality', a term coined by Foucault that enabled him to pull together several threads of his thought such as the interrelation of power and knowledge, the mobilisation of individuals as governors of the self, the role of power/knowledge in constructing an ethics of the self, and the ways in which government occupies the terrain of the social. Governmentality, as Kelly (2013: 34) observes, is a concept 'grounded in, and [leading] to, particular ways of thinking about power, freedom and the conduct of relations with oneself and others'. Important to the mobilisation of governmental processes, and the place in which power and knowledge meet, are various discourses that both enable and regulate modes of thought and behaviour.

**Discourse**

The role of knowledge and thought is central to Foucault's works. His earlier works on discourse show how knowledges and thought are historically specific which leads to or limits the ways in which people can think about particular things, including their own understanding of what it means to be human and their relationship to the world (Gutting 2005: 36-7). Knowledge and truth itself are 'defined within specific discursive relations' (Jose 1998: 19). These forms of knowledge and truth are not pan-historical but specific to and built
upon particular histories. It is within these specific moments of knowledge as discourse that
individuals are formed.

The arrangement or ordering of events and things in discourses has a very real effect on the
ways in which people relate to, and are formed as subjects within, any particular place and
time. Foucault's work in The Order Of Things (1973) is concerned with these questions of
method in the study of history, and especially the history of thought. The question of 'how do
bodies of knowledge—and, by extension, forces of power—synthesise and normalise the
disparate, the contrary, the arbitrary and the heterogeneous—and to what purpose and
effects?' (Schirato, Danaher, and Webb 2012: 12) sums up this aspect of Foucault's inquiry.
The arranging of ideas has very real effects upon the make-up of subjects living within any
particular episteme. The preface to The Order Of Things includes this passage that goes a
long way to outlining Foucault's orientation to the study of history and its relation to the
shaping of subjects:

This book first arose out of a passage in Borges, out of the laughter that shattered,
as I read the passage, all the familiar landscapes of my thought—our thought, the
thought that bears the stamp of our age and our geography—breaking up all the
ordered surfaces and all the planes with which we are accustomed to tame the wild
profusion of existing things . . . This passage quotes a 'certain Chinese encyclopaedia' in which it is written that 'animals are divided into: (a) belonging
to the Emperor, (b) embalmed, (c) tame, (d) sucking pigs, (e) sirens, (f) fabulous,
(g) stray dogs, (h) included in the present classification, (i) frenzied, (j)
innumerable, (k) drawn with a very fine camelhair brush, (l) et cetera, (m) having
just broken the water pitcher, (n) that from a long way off look like flies'. In the
wonderment of this taxonomy, the thing we apprehend in one great leap . . . is
demonstrated as the exotic charm of another system of thought, is the limitation of
our own, the stark impossibility of thinking that (Foucault 1973: xv).

The subjects within this fictional regime are formed in relation to this form of ordering of
knowledge. The use of this passage allows for the analogous interpretation of our own or
other societies and the ways in which such orderings of knowledge demarcate the horizons of
understanding. The 'common-sense' classifications of animals within our own time is imbued
with centuries of scientific work along with myriad discursive apparatuses from media to the education system to the pedagogical teaching of such things within the family. These diverse apparatuses work in a messy conjunction with one another but all within a similar epistemic framework.

Foucault's use of the Borges passage draws attention to the many ways in which discourses do much of the work for us insofar as allowing us to interact with and understand the world around us. The observation, for instance, that two different kinds of dogs are more similar than a dog and a cat relies upon such an ordering of knowledge. In this small and seemingly innocuous observation it is in actual fact 'the result of a great deal of work' (Schirato et al 2012: 15) that comes before this moment of observation in which the subject draws upon the discursive resources of meaning-making.

For Foucault these bodies of knowledge, or discourses, are less considered as 'truth', due to the relativity of their claims, and rather to be understood as 'games of truth'. The focus is not upon whether the object of investigation is 'true' but rather with how the bodies of knowledge and systems of legitimation and expertise confer and enforce the truth-value of such objects. For Foucault (1978: 100) 'it is in discourse that power and knowledge are joined together'. Power 'can only be made sense of through its connection to forms of knowledge and discursive practices' (Schirato et al 2012: 48). A key aspect of this is the role of discourse in performativity as knowledges are interpellated into the actions of the self. Fundamental to this is the interrelation of power and knowledge.

Foucault's conception of power stresses the ways in which it is productive and related to the make-up of the self and identity. It is related to 'the proliferation of discourse and the
constitution, multiplication and transformation of identity' (Torfing 1999: 162). The self, in distinction to unified and stable subjects (Rose 2004: 1), is seen as contingent, possessing no fixed identity (Gutting 2005: 101). The self is formed within the locally available sets of discourse such that subjects 'come to be situated, even constituted, by the set of discursive practices of the given discursive formation' (Jose 1998: 20). Knowledge here is far from arbitrary. It is inextricably linked to forms of power. Particular forms of knowledge may be valorised by those anointed as 'experts' and thus elevated to the status of 'truth'. A major operation of power/knowledge can be seen in the instances of dividing practices. Like the power imbued in ordering and classification, dividing practices are used to demarcate things, behaviours, or people into categories. One of the more central dividing practices is that of normal and abnormal (Schirato et al 2012: 59). This occurs through the direct application of experts but it also occurs at a distance. This can be seen in relation to the government of individuals within the schema of governmentality. The use of 'norms' is especially effective in this regard as individuals are encouraged to act as self-governing subjects whose self-interest is mobilised to bring their own behaviours in line with what is perceived, and disseminated as a product of power/knowledge, as 'normal'.

Foucault's histories can be seen as attempts to expose the contingent nature of knowledge and truth. In laying bare the arbitrariness of 'truth' it is always possible to show how things could have been otherwise (Gutting 1994: 10). Foucault's histories demonstrate the ways in which particular modes of thought underpin the 'styles of existence' that are called upon in the construction and government of the self (Davidson 1994: 124). A history of the present must seek to uncover the developments that lead to the ascendency of our current dominant political rationalities and their concomitant styles of existence.
Neoliberalism: The Political Rationality of the Present?

The prevailing, hegemonic discourse of the present is that of neoliberalism (Torfing 1999: 102). Foucault's approach of conducting investigations into a 'history of the present' (Foucault 1979: 30-1) is a critique of contemporary modes of being. For Foucault, critique is an end in itself (Ransom 1997: 3) and this line of investigation reaches its apotheosis in his lectures at the Collège de France in the years 1977-78 (Foucault 2007) and 1977-79 (Foucault 2008) outlining the emergence of the modern governmentised state and the rise of neoliberalism. The line of investigation into the present continues with 'governmentality' studies and a critical inquiry into contemporary modes of neoliberal selfhood. It is in relation to neoliberalism as the over-arching, hegemonic discourse that particular forms of subjectivity emerge and various discourses intersect. Subjects are formed in relation to the particular historical periods in which they exist and the forms of knowledge available to them. People 'become subjects as a result of the various networks of relationships and discourses in which [they] grow up and live' as 'discursive entities within the limits imposed by time, place and regimes of power' (Schirato et al 2012: 139). Central to this emergent neoliberal governmentality is the de-centralising of state power and the way in which subjects are formed as products of freedom. Critical to the present study is the emergence of governmental techniques for 'governing through freedom' (Rose, O'Malley, and Valverde 2006: 90-1), 'responsibilization' and self-management (Andrejevic 2005: 485), and the birth of the self as entrepreneur (Foucault 2008: 226).

The emergence of neoliberalism in the latter parts of the 20th century sees a shift in governing and the relationship between the individual and the state which remains through to the present. Coterminous with this are changes in modes of being as the rules of the game, the truths from which individuals draw the materials with which to build their subjectivities, are
recast in the light of neoliberalism. Foucault identifies the birth of *homo economicus*, what Bourdieu called 'a kind of anthropological monster' (2005: 209), as the figure of neoliberal selfhood par excellence. *Homo economicus* is a much different figure within the emergent neoliberalism than in classical liberalism, and represents a shift from 'one of two partners in the process of exchange' towards 'an entrepreneur of himself' (Foucault 2008: 226). Labour, within neoliberalism, becomes one choice among many. This represents a break with hitherto existing accounts of labour as a resource within capitalism. Labour becomes 'a subjective choice' (Dilts 2011: 135, emphasis in the original). In this regard it is a choice to forsake other activities so as to draw an income. 'Income', in this sense, is 'a return on an investment, a return on capital' (Dilts 2011: 136). As such the remuneration for the labourer is not a 'wage' but rather a return on 'human capital' that is 'made up of two components... inborn physical-genetic predisposition and the entirety of skills that have been acquired as the result of 'investments' in the corresponding stimuli: nutrition, education, training and also love, affection, etc' (Lemke 2001: 199). Importantly, the individual is considered less as an employee beholden to the company to which they are currently contracted, and rather considered to be 'autonomous entrepreneurs with full responsibility for their own investment decisions and endeavouring to produce surplus value; they are entrepreneurs of themselves” (Lemke 2001: 199). Within this emergent schema it is the worker assuming the responsibility of risk and reward, conducting themself as responsible, autonomous individuals both capable and morally obliged to engage in self-improvement as an investment in capital of the self. Most importantly, the individual does not do so because of force or coercion, but rather does so because it is the right thing to do.

The modus operandi of neoliberal governing thus is through freedom, not domination. No longer is the state seen as a guarantor of life and wellbeing but rather exists only insofar as it
enables the operation of neoliberal market activity. This is not a withdrawal altogether of the order of laissez-faire markets and classical liberalism but rather a neoliberal system in which the state is necessary to maintain the operation of the market (Lemke 2001). However, this posits an altogether different relationship between the state and the individual. Under this arrangement responsibility for an individual's wellbeing rests on the individual alone and marks a 'responsibilisation' of their lives. Rose highlights the ways in which freedom is a condition of governing such that:

[s]ubjects were obliged to be free and were required to conduct themselves responsibly, to account for their own lives and their vicissitudes in terms of their freedom. Freedom was not opposed to government. On the contrary, freedom, as choice, autonomy, self-responsibility, and the obligation to maximize one's life as a kind of enterprise was one of the principal strategies of... advanced liberal government... the very ethic of freedom was itself part of a particular formula for governing free societies (Rose et al 2006: 90-1).

It is within the central condition of freedom that subjects are governed. This changing conception of the neoliberal subject also shifts the onus of responsibility for one's life upon the individual, 'transforming it into a problem of 'self-care'' (Lemke 2001: 201). Hence freedom, self-government, ethics, and the care of the self are intertwined such that:

If we are free to choose, even compelled to choose, if the cultural, social, economic and political spaces that shape the West at the start of the twenty-first century are largely structured by discourses of choice, and we are positioned as selves that must imagine and conduct the self as an enterprise, then the practice of freedom, the ways in which we will imagine this and conduct ourselves in relations to these ethically slanted maxims for the conduct of a life, are dilemmas that we are confronted with on a daily basis. And these dilemmas are shaped and unfold in fields of possibilities that confront us with shifting limits and possibilities (Kelly 2013: 45, emphasis in the original).

Central to practices of self-care are what Foucault termed 'technologies of the self'.

**Technologies of the Self**

Foucault's uncovering of these historical shifts, along with his *The History of Sexuality* (1978; 1990a; 1990b) series, refocused his attention from one set of techniques in which the self is
formed through domination towards techniques in which the self operates upon the self. Of particular interest for this thesis is Foucault's questioning of what it means 'to be a subject that is not a sovereign subject, not a psychological subject, not an anthropological subject, but one that is produced within a relation of forces, including the forces one practices on oneself?' (Dilts 2011: 140). This brought Foucault to rediscover ethics as a set of tools with which individuals come to practice a concern with the self. Ethics, in Foucault's formulation, are 'understood in terms of technologies of the self' which include the 'ways in which human beings come to understand and act upon themselves', generally under the guiding expertise of forms of knowledge and towards an end of self-improvement (Rose et al 2006: 90). Technologies of the self are hence 'internalised mechanisms of power... which are brought to bear on us from the outside' (Schirato et al 2012: 164). It is here that large structures and the micropolitics of the self meet.

The identification of a type of government in which it is the individual acting upon the self marks the emergence of the subject's capacity for self-direction within technologies of domination. The choices with which agency is undertaken, however, are of course limited and represent the manner in which 'things' can be arranged in such a way that government and power are exercised through freedom.

I think that if one wants to analyze the genealogy of the subject in Western civilization, he [sic] has to take into account not only techniques of domination but also techniques of the self. Let's say: he has to take into account the interaction between those two types of techniques - techniques of domination and techniques of the self. He has to take into account the points where the technologies of domination of individuals over one another have recourse to processes by which the individual acts upon himself. And conversely, he has to take into account the points where the techniques of the self are integrated into structures of coercion or domination. The contact point, where the individuals are driven by others is tied to the way they conduct themselves, is what we can call, I think, government (Foucault 1993: 203).
The available discursive resources shape the field in which the individual is able to construct itself subjectively. An interplay of any number of ethics and systems of rules abound. This understanding serves as a corrective to any charges of determinism or lack of agency that is supposedly found in Foucault's thought because he conceived the subject 'as the product of a number of practices, both individual and social' as 'more than one form of subjectivity is created to deal with the diverse fields of activity in which individuals find themselves called on to act' (Ransom 1997: 136). Crucially, structures, interactions, and the efforts of the individual all play a role in the construction of subjectivity. Within this schema 'the structuralist ethos is left behind… a space for freedom has been cleared' (Ransom 1997:136). A sensitivity to technologies of the self reveals 'the many ways in which we as individuals engage with the laws and norms of our culture, respond to the discourses and the forces of power that have shaped our identity and sense of self, and thereby manage ourselves' (Schirato et al 2012: 164). It is here that the apotheosis of governmentality and technologies of the self meet through 'the interiorising of the technologies of power' from the direct application of power to one of self-discipline and self-surveillance (Schirato et al 2012: 166). By drawing upon and performing within these various structures individuals performatively construct the self within a space of freedom.

**Performativity**

Ian Hacking asks a provocative question that neatly summarises the ways in which selfhood, and the construction of the self, might be investigated:

> How is the space of possible and actual action determined not just by physical and social barriers and opportunities, but also by the ways in which we conceptualize and realize who we are and what we may be, in this here and now? (Hacking 2004: 287. Emphasis removed).

One of the ways in which this occurs is related to how people classify themselves in their particular roles: wife, mother, IT professional, or unemployed. These roles tend to limit the
individual's own horizons of action as well as provide the discursive material to be performatively reiterated within spaces such as Facebook. The classifications of the self are imposed by others and the self. One's milieu, social relations, and other circumstances all exhibit a degree of influence over both classifying and categorising as well as by informing the boundaries of acceptable behaviours for those inhabiting these particular roles.

Understanding the self as unstable, decentred, and contingent means understanding it as performatively constituted. This means paying attention to the ways in which the 'fiction' of the stable self is maintained. This is done through an ongoing reiteration of the aspects of self that are seen to be, and often experienced as, stable through an ongoing performance of identity. There is also a hint of radical freedom and the limits of the possible in this conception of the self. Any given moment gives an almost limitless degree of freedom for whom one might be. Hence, the maintaining of an appearance of unity through an ongoing performative self can be understood as being inherently imbued with power both in the shape of enacting a semblance of continuity as well as the interpellation of discourses in the construction of the performative self.

That no person is socially isolated means that the performative construction and maintenance of the self is also a social assemblage. Myriad obligations and roles are present in the making up of the self as well as the boundaries and settings of social encounters. Within Facebook the individual contends with the architecture of the site as a digital surveillance enclosure as well as being enmeshed within social network connections which are themselves determined in part by the Facebook architecture. These connections also act as limiting or constitutive elements in the construction of the self. Performances of self are never arbitrary but neither are they fully determined. Within the site individuals engage in processes of their own self-
monitoring and self-maintenance. Freedom and choice are present in any given engagement with the site and therefore each act is imbued with politics and power as the horizon of 'otherwise' is negated. In this respect the work of Judith Butler (1988) on gender as a performative process is informative as it highlights the ways in which other aspects of selfhood are socially constructed and sustained within relationships of power.

Butler understands gender as being constructed rather than innate. She frames this aspect of identity as a *stylized repetition of acts* (Butler 1988: 519, emphasis in the original). Her argument concerning gender can be applied to accounting for all manner of aspects of the self, including the roles and modes of subjectivity inhabited by each subject, as well as accounting for issues of class. For Butler:

> [I]f gender is instituted through acts which are internally discontinuous, then the appearance of substance is precisely that, a constructed identity, a performative accomplishment which the mundane social audience, including the actors themselves, come to believe and to perform in the mode of belief (Butler 1988: 520. Emphasis added).

The fact that this conception of selfhood is contingent and enacted by the self should not mask the fact that the performances of self are imbued with broader cultural logics. Indeed, and especially insofar as gender is concerned, many aspects of the self are experienced as compulsory through 'social sanction and taboo' (Butler 1998: 520). One need only think of the ways in which heterosexuality is experienced by many as compulsory to confirm this line of thinking, or motherhood, or as an overweight person expected to desire to be otherwise. To be sure many of the physical, corporeal aspects of this may be largely unavoidable. One may have a particular biological sex, may have given birth to a child, or may be obese but it is through the *culturally attached meanings* and the concomitant expectations or horizons of action that both subjective identities and power are made manifest.
That the self is never quite fully-formed is a given in these contingent conceptions of self. Here lies the nexus point for these theories of self in which we have Cohen's (2012) notion of the networked self, Butler's (1988) understanding of the self as performative, and Foucault's conception of selfhood as a work in progress. It is a self that is performative and cared for through the uses of technologies of the self. Facebook is a key site for both enabling and necessitating the ongoing performative care of the self as it requires daily maintenance and care in the form of the enforced requirement to maintain visibility and social relationships. To neglect to do so is to run the risk of obsolescence. It is an architecture of constant visibility in which invisibility is often an unwanted outcome (Marichal 2012). In maintaining visibility the self is both constantly transformed and revealed.

From this emerges a solution to the limitations of using a Goffman-oriented approach to SNS analyses. By taking up Butler's notion of performativity we find a possible fit between the work of Goffman and Foucault. Hacking (2004) lays out a path for understanding how the work of Goffman and Foucault might complement each other. Hacking suggests that Goffman's concern with the 'roles' people play within formalised settings fits neatly with Foucault's concern with the classification of individuals, and especially how these might become expressed in the form of feedback loops. Foucault offers a broader conception of how these roles might be informed by the broad structures of a particular present and the ways in which these structures come to be. The approaches developed by Foucault and Butler allow us to address the ways in which broad structuring factors emerge and are called into the performance of the self.
**Facebook as a Technology of the Self**

Performativity is connected with self-government through engaging with technologies of the self (Foucault 1988). The paradoxical manner in which Facebook facilitates entrepreneurial selfhood, a particular form of performance, is a key factor here (Gregg 2011). On the one hand Facebook offers an almost limitless freedom for subjectivity on the internet, and on the other are the self-governing ways in which many people choose to use Facebook. In essence, 'top-down' forms of surveillance are being outsourced under the logics of neo-liberalism, the risk society as Beck (1992) terms it, and 'responsibilization'. Surveillance techniques are emulated by individuals in a process of 'lateral surveillance' (Andrejevic 2005: 481). The operation of lateral surveillance techniques:

aligns itself with a series of strategies for offloading duties of monitoring onto the populace - strategies associated with neo-liberal forms of governance, especially as these are mobilized to address a proliferating spectrum of risks in both the public and intimate realms (Andrejevic 2005: 482).

Andrejevic (2006: 396) highlights the links between Foucault's work on panopticism and his later work on governmentality. He argues that 'both cases... [explore] techniques of control and governance that rely on the formation of subjects responsible for making the imperatives of authorities their own'. This is in step with techniques 'of government' that entail 'the coordination of distributed mechanisms of discipline with the imperatives of “political, social, and economic authorities”' (Rose cited in Andrejevic 2006: 396). Social network sites are a concrete example in which individuals internalise the mechanisms of power and as such are a space in which governmentality and technologies of the self meet up.

**Governing Facebook**

Facebook is an increasingly important site through which the networked self is formed and (re)presented. It offers a space for an ongoing, performative (Butler 1988) construction and maintaining of the self. The networked self (Cohen 2012) is a cyborg assemblage (Haraway
2004) built upon the vast resources of the network within which it is connected. The very nature of Facebook as both a site of individual expression while at the same time homogenising due to its standardised framework echoes Foucault's observation that contemporary modes of governing express a concern for the individual and the collective such that Facebook too evidences a concern with the many and the one in the sense developed by Foucault in *Omnes et Singulatim* (Latin, 'all and each') (2000c). Once signed up to a Facebook account an individual is offered a space to create and performatively maintain a digital representation of the self while at the same time being subjected to the standardised platform and relations of power engendered by the architecture of the site.

Foucault identified a 'triangle' of government comprised of sovereignty, discipline, and governmentality (2007: 107). While sovereign states and governments are still important actors in the lives of modern subjects they are by no means the most immediate. Whilst this may seem somewhat counter-intuitive it reflects Foucault's admonition that political theory needs to 'cut off the king's head' (2000b: 122). That is, political theory needs to move on from its preoccupation with sovereign individual authority to an understanding of governing as an assemblage of sovereignty, discipline, and governmentality (Kelly 2013: 39). The first pole of sovereignty is of little immediate significance to the Facebook user. Whilst cultural and economic policies will underpin the communication technology that allows the Facebook user to access the site, the reach of sovereign governments does not extend to Facebook. It is on the second and third poles of discipline and governmentality that an analysis of (self-)government through Facebook should largely take place. On the second pole, discipline, Foucault demonstrates the ways in which the body is the prime site for government. Bodies are made amenable to an increase in their productive capacity and the ways in which bodies are caught within material-semiotic assemblages of technology in its
physical, artefact form, as well as in its technical form as knowledge (Matthewman 2011). Foucault provides the figure of the soldier as an assemblage of discipline (1979: 152-3). The soldier's bodily movements are disciplined in such a fashion that the rifle is integrated into the figure of the soldier in an assemblage of soldier-arm-rifle. In a contemporary schema the sorts of 'always-on/always-on-you' technologies (Turkle 2008) that comprise much of modern informational communications mean that the assemblage of Facebook user-smartphone-wireless signal is also disciplined in such a fashion that they are increasingly available to their networks. The user is disciplined to respond to the beeps and vibrations of email alerts and push notifications. These technologies were originally the purview of business professionals but escape the confines of work and become must-have items incorporated within the practices of everyday life. Mobile technology users are more and more responsive to and caught within the flows of global informational communication technologies.

Discipline also occurs through interaction with the Facebook architecture itself. Foucault's discussion of the panopticon, the surveillance architecture par excellence, demonstrates how architectural form can influence the behaviour and very subjectivity of the individual caught within it. The features and dynamics of Facebook as a 'networked public' identified by boyd (2011) can be understood as facilitating the operation of panopticism. Facebook users are engaged in mutual forms of social surveillance (Marwick 2012). Here Facebook users are caught within a space that is defined by invisible audiences and collapsed contexts. Yet information is prone to circulate beyond an intended audience leading Facebook users to become intently aware of the consequences of any wrong moves that they may make in their use of Facebook. In this way they become disciplined to particular practices. While the benefits of Facebook use are promoted in terms of the enhanced social capital and the general
bonhomie provided by maintaining large social connections, the costs are also high due to the potential to jeopardise current and future employment and relationships.

The third pole of governing is that of governmentality. Foucault, and those following Foucault who develop the governmentality framework (Dean 2010), discuss the operation of government in terms of it being comprised of self-governing subjects administered through the 'conduct of conduct'. One of the ways in which this is facilitated is through the flow of discourse within the sphere of the cultural. One significant aspect of Facebook users' conduct of conduct is their self-disciplining practices arising from the flow of discourses that constantly remind them of the costs of behaving improperly or recklessly with respect to what they post on the site. News stories circulate constantly around the globe warning users of the potential harmful effects of using Facebook incorrectly: cautionary tales of people who have lost jobs because of inappropriate posts on Facebook, warnings of identity theft and computer hacking, and moral panics concerning the predation of children. These stories circulate the subject position of the at-risk individual unable to thrive within the conditions of neoliberal capitalism. They provide cultural resources for individuals conducting themselves online in such a fashion that they are the raw material used in informing judgments about the right and wrong behaviours of Facebook use.

These discourses do not operate in isolation but rather intersect with any number of other discourses. One of the intersections is with discourses of class and cultural capital. Individuals occupying different milieu will be privy to different sorts of discourses and available subject positions. Different social positions will be privy to different cultural resources while according particular individuals possessing certain forms of cultural capital with the art of distinction (Bourdieu 1984). This can be seen through the signification of taste
markers, something that Facebook makes readily available and prominent through the posting of consumption habits and preferences through performances of the self (Gregg 2011: 91) but is also seen in the ways in which individuals occupying different class positions comport themselves ethically (Sayer 2011, 2005). These displays are visible through the social-surveillance architecture in which users' behaviours are displayed to their audiences. The aforementioned 'panoptic' form of surveillance, itself part of a material-semiotic discursive formation, needs to be considered in detail, along with the varying conceptions of SNS surveillance more generally.

**Social Network Sites and Surveillance**

One of the more contentious issues in researching SNSs is how to conceive of surveillance in relation to SNS use. Those who frame surveillance in SNSs as liberating tend to emphasise the potential for character building whilst experimenting with identity under the spotlight of a friendly gaze (Ellison et al 2009; Pearson 2009). Albrechtslund (2008) suggests SNSs offer a mode of 'participatory surveillance' in which SNS practices are 'anchored in surveillance practices' which are 'potentially empowering, subjectivity building, and even playful'. Others such as Giddens (1984, 1985, 1987) treat surveillance as neutral in that it is considered simply as a normal extension of modern bureaucratic society. Opposed to these conceptions of surveillance is Christian Fuchs (2011a; 2011b; 2010; 2009). For Fuchs, the danger in approaching surveillance as 'participatory' or 'neutral' is the possibility of a 'normalization of surveillance' such that '[i]f everything is surveillance, it becomes difficult to criticize coercive surveillance politically' (Fuchs 2011b: 136). Thus Fuchs advocates what he calls a 'negative' approach to conceptualising surveillance in web 2.0 and SNSs. Much of Fuchs' critique stems from his Marxist political economy orientation through which he analyses web 2.0 and practices of 'prosumption'. Fuchs regards user-generated content, the driver web 2.0
platforms, as unpaid labour from which large corporations, such as Facebook, profit enormously. Of particular interest here though is his view of Foucault. As far as Fuchs is concerned Foucault is the most prominent example of a theorist of 'negative' surveillance. However, this is perhaps a mis-categorisation, as will be demonstrated in some detail in a moment.

A more nuanced conceptualisation of surveillance and social network sites is offered by Trottier and Lyon (2012) in which they focus on how 'social' elements of social media facilitate forms of 'social surveillance'. They identify five important issues here: 'users participate in a collaborative identity construction with other users'; 'friendships provide unique surveillance opportunities as users often engage with a particular audience in mind'; 'the construction of a personal social network means social ties become visible, measurable, and searchable'; Facebook's 'ever-changing interface and privacy controls alter users' visibility through the site'; and lastly that 'social media content is easily recontextualized' (Trottier and Lyon 2012: 89-90). The first three features emphasise interaction and social ties, whilst the latter two highlight the ways in which SNS behaviours disperse into the social, institutional, and cultural spheres. Their typology shares some similarities with the affordances of networked publics identified by boyd (2011). Their emphasis on visibility, measurability, data collection and privacy reflect their grounding in surveillance studies.

Social media surveillance is linked with wider social and cultural phenomena. Trottier and Lyon (2012: 90) flag the importance of situating the features of social media surveillance within broader 'large-scale social and cultural shifts that both inform and are informed by them'. This echoes similar claims regarding modes of surveillance and representations of surveillance as symptomatic of broader cultural and political logics (Andrejevic 2005;
Dubrofsky 2011). Social media surveillance is one aspect of what Lyon calls (in Baumanesque parlance) 'liquid surveillance' (Bauman and Lyon 2013), in which surveillance technologies are no longer static or unitary but rather 'malleable and adaptive' (Trottier and Lyon 2012: 91). Most importantly, whilst the techniques of surveillance may have changed, the ends have not. While 'the forms of social order produced in part by surveillance are no longer relatively static… [they] are no less significant for the reproduction of social class positions, for example, than the productive relations that they are replacing' (Trottier and Lyon 2012: 91). This aspect is crucial to the overall argument of this thesis and will be discussed further in this chapter (infra, pp.71-2) in relation to Facebook as emblematic of white-collar professional modalities of social relationships.

Some of the more interesting analyses of surveillance in SNSs, including Facebook, place SNSs within broader practices of self-display. Andrejevic (2005) and Dubrofsky (2011) continue a thematic line of investigation of surveillance and reality television, and later turn their attentions to SNSs. Dubrofsky (2011: 113) identifies a neat link between reality television (RTV) and SNSs in their ability to create 'spaces where subjects are constructed through the mediation of technology that does the work of surveillance, using technology for displays of the self as well as for entertainment purposes'. Furthermore, it has come to be domesticated into the sphere of the everyday, so much so that it becomes almost 'invisible', in the parlance of Deuze (2011). The domestication of Facebook and its near invisibility in terms of cultural surveillance practices is a key dimension of Facebook's fostering of governance of the self. This is the point made by Dubrofsky that cultural surveillance practices are linked to governance practices, especially so insofar as '[i]t is becoming habitual, mundane even, to input personal information into digital space. Concomitantly,
giving up ownership and control of that information is naturalized' (Dubrofsky 2011: 113). Thus Andrejevic comments that:

If the advent of new media technologies promised more democratic access to the mode of information, the result has not much been a democratization of politics and the economy, but the injunction to embrace the strategies of law enforcement and marketing at a micro-level (Andrejevic 2005: 494).

RTV and SNSs can be understood as 'symptomatic texts', 'texts that tell us about a cultural movement that is occurring' and this reflects the existing culture at large (Dubrofksy 2011: 114). More generally, both Andrejevic and Dubrofksy draw on the line of inquiry established by Foucault concerning the links between culture and government, and as further explored by Gordon (1991), framing such technologies as concomitant with the values and techniques of self-government as configured by the logics of 'responsibilisation'.

**Surveillance Studies and Foucault**

The field of surveillance studies has had a troubled relationship with Foucault and his concept of the panopticon. Haggerty and Ericson (2000) lamented that the dominant themes in discussions of surveillance tended to be based upon either George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* or Foucault's work in *Discipline and Punish* and the panopticon. The very title of Lyon's (2006) edited collection *Theorizing Surveillance: The Panopticon and Beyond* suggests the sentiment that Haggerty expresses within the collection when, paraphrasing Foucault (2000b: 122) himself, he argues that 'Foucault continues to reign supreme in surveillance studies and it is perhaps time to cut off the head of the king' (Haggerty 2006: 27). There are very good reasons to question the applicability of the panopticon to much of modern surveillance. These are taken up in some depth in the field of surveillance studies. In what follows I provide a brief overview of the key issues and claims in order to set up the basis for the conceptual basis of this thesis.
Haggerty and Ericson's (2000) essay, 'The surveillant assemblage', marks something of a line in the sand for surveillance studies. This demonstrates the uneasy relationship surveillance studies has with Foucault. They argue that the two dominant approaches above actually fall short of being able to account for the contemporary modes of surveillance emerging in the second half of the twentieth century. In attempting to break from relying upon either Orwell or Foucault, Haggerty and Ericson's seminal work turns instead to Deleuze and Guattari, and in particular their concepts of rhizomes and assemblage, and offer the now familiar trope of the 'surveillant assemblage' (Haggerty and Ericson 2000: 606). In their view surveillance is best understood in its 'multiplicity', less a coherent and singular apparatus but rather made up of:

discrete flows of an essentially limitless range of other phenomena such as people, signs, chemicals, knowledge and institutions. To dig beneath the surface stability of any entity is to encounter a host of different phenomena and processes working in concert. The radical nature of this vision becomes more apparent when one realized how any particular assemblage is itself composed of different discrete assemblages which are themselves multiple (Haggerty and Ericson 2000: 608).

Surveillance, understood as an assemblage, does away with notions of omniscient, centralised surveillance and instead focuses on multiple surveillance actors. Surveillant assemblages can be understood as being comprised of a network of 'practices and technologies' operating 'across both state and extra-state actors' (Haggerty and Ericson 2000: 610). In this respect Haggerty and Ericson's use of the assemblage shares an affinity with Actor Network Theory (ANT) (Law 2009: 146) and the work of Bruno Latour (2005). In developing the idea of the surveillant assemblage Haggerty and Ericson appear to have escaped the 'oppressive' dominance of the panopticon in surveillance studies (Haggerty 2006: 23), in effect, cutting off Foucault's head. This move is somewhat unfortunate as it misreads Foucault.
Caluya (2010) offers an important corrective to these sorts of misreadings of Foucault. He suggests that these readings of Foucault privilege the role of 'the observer over the observed', tending to 'misrecognise the broader theory of power that Foucault explicated in *Discipline and Punish* and following interviews' and fundamentally mistaking 'Bentham's panopticon for Foucault's panopticon' (Caluya 2010: 623). Caluya's corrective take on Foucault is significant for the line of argument pursued in this thesis and so some time will be spent considering his argument here. An important point to make at the outset relates to Foucault's insistence that the state and sovereign power is an out-dated model for understanding the operation of power in contemporary times. Caluya argues that misreadings of Foucault as exemplified by Haggerty and Ericson (in which the role of the observer is privileged) 'ultimately reinstate the power of the sovereign' (Caluya 2010: 624). Rouse (1994) makes a similar point in regards to 'epistemic sovereignty' and critiques of Foucault that, in his view, mistakenly reinsert sovereignty within the operation of power/knowledge.

For Caluya the very point of Foucault's treatment of panopticism is about the prisoner's internalization of the watchtower's gaze. It is not the visibility of the watched by the watcher that was central for Foucault. Rather it was the changing mode of subjectivity of the individual within the panopticon. Hence, '[t]he principle of the panopticon is not the gaze but the automatisation and disindividualisation of power' (Caluya 2010: 625). Furthermore, it is not so much the actual mode of punishment and correction that is of interest but rather the general applicability of this mechanism of power to other domains of life that underscores the pertinence of Foucault's work. Haggerty and Ericson's notion of the 'surveillance assemblage' is further complicated by Caluya when he suggests that this assemblage itself, and the Deleuzian thought that underpins it, draws directly on Foucault's thought (Caluya 2010: 627). Others have made similar points. Matthewman (2010) and Rose et al (2006: 93) identify a
distinct Foucauldian influence upon and affinity with ANT as assemblage, just as Law (2010: 145, 149) also makes the point that Deleuze's agencement (assemblage) shares strong similarities with notions of 'actor network'. Caluya (2010: 627) points to Deleuze and Guattari's (2004) A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia, along with Deleuze's (1988) Foucault, both of which understand Foucault's work on discourse as providing the basis for all of these material-semiotic approaches. Understood in this light the panopticon is both a material artefact and a set of knowledges (Poster 1999: 277). This is a schema of surveillance that is both structure and knowledge, architecture and discourse, the importance of which now needs to be discussed.

The Self and Surveillance Discourses

Earlier in this chapter the self was described as an ongoing project constructed within and through discourse (supra, pp.49-52). In discourse theory identities are understood to be:

    discursively produced… and an outcome of processes of power. It is therefore a highly political conception of identity. Because identity is a political construction it cannot be prior to politics but is maintained, constructed, transformed through political struggles (Barnard-Wills 2012: 75).

The interplay of discourse and the construction of the self is, in the parlance of Ian Hacking (2004: 279), a process of 'making up people'. The manner in which discourses are articulated and circulated need to be considered when attempting to understand the ways in which issues of the self, power, and politics are intertwined.

In his analysis of the role of surveillance discourses in the United Kingdom in the construction and regulation of people, Barnard-Wills demonstrates the ways in which surveillance discourses are linked with processes of subjectification. He discerns surveillance discourses from a number of key actors linked to contemporary surveillance techniques (Barnard-Wills 2012). In so doing he is able to analyse the discourses in circulation as well as
the subject positions that emerge from the circulation of surveillance discourses, and ultimately the production of 'good' citizens via the circulation of discourses and subject positions. He draws on discourse and governmentality theories and provides an approach that can be applied to understand Facebook as a key site of contemporary surveillance. His emphasis on the roles that surveillance technologies and surveillance discourses play in articulating identities in the form of subject positions hence marks a substantial contribution to the overall field of surveillance studies. His work points to the non-material aspects of surveillance, in the form of discourse, that need to be re-emphasised in relation to the surveillant assemblage of Haggerty and Ericson (2000). Specifically,

    a productive approach to surveillance research involves the examination of the discourses of governance through surveillance and (re)introducing the assemblage of enunciation to the surveillant assemblage. We need to move beyond cultural studies of surveillance and engage with the politicisation of language. This also offers a way to avoid the dominance of the focus upon visibility that can occur in surveillance (Barnard-Wills 2012: 43).

This is especially important for the analysis of this thesis.

The understanding of surveillance in relation to Facebook, as will be mapped out later in this chapter, is one that focuses more on the role of the self upon the self (as theorised in panopticism) and has little to do with actual visibility. Thus, surveillance is now centred around the role of both the surveillance architecture and discourses of surveillance, and the performance of the self as part of the surveillant assemblage. One of the more pertinent spaces within which this occurs at present is within social network sites. The following section outlines the commonly understood architectural features of social network sites before considering them as social-surveillance architectures that facilitate the operation of panopticism in the sense established above (supra, p.63).
Conceptualising the Architecture of Social Network Sites

Facebook is a lived space, a spatial (albeit virtual) environment in which users go about their everyday interactions with the site and their various mediated relationships. As a space Facebook can conceivably be understood as a form of digital architecture. Facebook's architecture sets up a network of connections between individuals that could be described as 'networked publics' (boyd 2011) which have both enabling and constraining effects on SNS users. The use of the term 'publics' in this concept carries two meanings. Firstly, and borrowing from Anderson (1983), public suggests a sort of 'imagined community' insofar as there exists an implied belonging to a community within a bounded spatial (although in this case virtual) environment. The second meaning is one that draws on the field of cultural studies and understandings of the public as an audience. 'Public' then implies both imagined community and imagined audience. Furthermore, 'networked publics' are 'publics restructured by networked technologies. As such, they are simultaneously (1) the space constructed through networked technologies and (2) the imagined collective that emerges as a result of the intersection of people, technology, and practice' (boyd 2011: 39). The enabling and constraining tendencies of 'networked publics' are referred to as 'affordances' by boyd. In her view these have a shaping affect upon the behaviours of SNS users. These affordances arise from both the virtual architecture of the SNSs themselves and the networked environment within which SNSs exist.

Information, once digitised, moves differently in cyberspace. This is true in SNSs generally, and is relevant to the analysis of Facebook as these structural rules apply to Facebook as a 'networked public'. Users of the internet, including SNS users, must contend with four structural affordances (boyd 2011: 45-8). The first concerns the issue of 'persistence'. Information that is put online tends to stay online. This is true even of information that users
might think they have deleted, such as photos that users have removed from Facebook (Cheng 2012) and even Status Updates that users have written but decided against actually posting (Golbeck 2013). Similarly, whereas the contents of a face-to-face conversation are fleeting, anything said online is there forever. The second affordance is that of 'replicability' (boyd 2011: 47). Digitised information makes replication incredibly easy. Anything that is put online can be copied and reproduced in other digital contexts in which the original meaning can be changed or lost. The third affordance of networked publics is 'scalability' (boyd 2011: 47-8). The potential reach of the internet is massive. Information can spread rapidly across a network to vast audiences. Instances in which this occurs are often referred to as having 'gone viral'. Whilst the likelihood of any piece of a SNS user's information to spread in such a fashion is minimal, the possibility of replication in unintended contexts can turn a seemingly innocuous post into a viral phenomenon. The fourth affordance is that of 'searchability' (boyd 2011: 48). Traditionally, any attempt to locate a piece of information would be a product of expertise, hard work, and serendipity. With the aid of search engines that scrape the internet and catalogue information within it, digitised information is incredibly easy to find online. SNS users face the potential of all of these affordances whenever they enter information online.

The replicability and scalability of information mean that something posted on Facebook is easily copied, often in the form of a 'screengrab' and then able to be pasted with ease into any other space. The potential for this information to then spread is as large as the internet itself. Whilst this sort of spread is obviously unlikely, the 'viral'-like spread of internet 'memes' shows the potential for amusing or embarrassing items to spread quickly to large internet audiences. Evidence of this is seen in examples where racist Facebook posts have been captured as 'screengrabs' and sent to the employers of the person responsible for the post, and
in many cases resulting that person being fired by their employer (de Brito 2011). The degree
to which information is rendered 'searchable' within networked publics means that
information (or people) can be searched for with ease. Within Facebook this means that, for
example, postings of potential candidates can be searched for and their postings, if visible,
assessed by recruiters. Internet startups such as (the now defunct) Social Intelligence provide
extensive background checks on prospective employees as they outsource background checks
of potential candidates (Preston 2011).

In addition to these four affordances, boyd (2011: 49-52) identifies three particular dynamics
of networked publics that SNS users must also contend with: invisibility of audiences, the
collapsibility of contexts, and the blurrability of public and private. The invisibility of
audiences means that SNS users must contend with the fact that they cannot know with any
certainty just who might see the things that they post online. As a result users must construct
an 'imagined audience to assess whether or not they believe their behavior is socially
appropriate, interesting, or relevant' (boyd 2011: 50). Whilst Facebook users know who is
likely to see their information, based on their Friends list, this does not determine who will
actually see it due to the sheer volume of posts on a News Feed and the frequency with which
other users log in to Facebook. There is also the potential for information to leak beyond
'authorised' audiences. The second dynamic arising from networked publics is that of
'collapsed contexts' (boyd 2011: 50-1). SNSs tend to 'flatten' network connections, collapsing
the contexts of a SNS user's relationships into one field of 'Friends'. This often means that
when constructing the 'imagined audience' of a particular post the SNS user must contend
with it being visible to otherwise discrete relationship categories—friends, family, co-
workers, employers—within one social plane. With the launch of the SNS Google+ and its
ability to demarcate network contacts to discrete 'Circles', Facebook responded by
introducing similar features to its architecture (Cox 2011), although not all users have taken advantage of this feature. The third dynamic of networked publics concerns the way conceptions of the private and public are blurred (boyd 2011: 51-2). SNS users find that information that they post online is consumed by other users in a similar fashion to other forms of online content such that the minutiae of one person's life might come to read in the same way that a gossip column is read. The shifting understandings of privacy within networked publics mean that there is no clear demarcation between public and private. This is reflected in the responses of those interviewed as part of this research, along with those attempting to deal with such matters in courts of law (Thornthwaite and Barnes, forthcoming).

These affordances and dynamics shape the behaviours of individuals using SNSs both online and offline. boyd (2011: 55) suggests that 'people are learning to work within the constraints and possibilities of mediated architecture, just as people have always learned to navigate structure as part of their daily lives'. Affordances and dynamics have ramifications in the offline world:

As social network sites and other genres of social media become increasingly widespread, the distinctions between networked publics and publics will become increasingly blurry. Thus, the dynamics mapped out here will not simply be constrained to the domain of the digital world, but will be part of everyday life (boyd 2011: 55).

The core of boyd's argument is that networked publics, and their inherent affordances, come to operate as a form of architecture that 'shapes and is shaped by practice in mediated environments just as in physical spaces' (boyd 2011: 55). These are the challenges people must increasingly learn to navigate within a 'media life' (Deuze 2012b).
Whilst the architecture of Facebook does allow for 'private' conversations in the form of instant 'chat' features and 'messages', it is the 'public' features that are the core features of Facebook that facilitate displays of self. The term 'public' is used loosely here. Varying privacy settings, along with the possibility of information escaping its intended audience, suggest that the term 'semi-public' might be more applicable. When posting on Facebook users must contend with the ways in which information is subject to the affordances and dynamics of 'networked publics' (boyd 2011). Firstly, as already noted, information posted on Facebook is persistent, replicable, searchable, and scalable. This means that any information posted to Facebook is ostensibly there forever. This is highlighted in 'life after social networking' discourses (Albrechtslund 2008) and evidenced in such examples as that of the US President Barack Obama addressing an audience of school children warning them to 'be careful what you post on Facebook. Whatever you do will be pulled up later in life' (Obama cited in Pace 2009). The CEO of Google, Eric Schmidt, has suggested that this is likely to be such an issue in the future that 'every young person one day will be entitled automatically to change his or her name on reaching adulthood in order to disown youthful hijinks stored on their friends' social media sites' (Schmidt cited in Bosker 2010).

The effects of the affordances of networked publics, and their existence as 'life after social networking' discourses, are re-articulated to the Facebook user through mainstream media. As such, Facebook users are generally quite aware of the potential ramifications of Facebook use. Complicating things further are the dynamics that arise from networked publics in the 'collapsing of contexts', the existence of 'invisible audiences', and the ways in which conceptions of 'public and private are blurred'. While these dynamics have been discussed earlier in the chapter it is now time to consider them in relation to the work of Foucault and his discussion of surveillance in the form of 'panopticism'.
Facebook as a Panoptic Surveillance Architecture

One of Foucault's most, if not the most, (in)famous tropes is the panopticon. Leaving behind the contention of those in surveillance studies, Foucault's (1979) discussion of the panopticon in *Discipline and Punish* provides an excellent model for understanding the operation of power in relation to surveillance and architectural form. The panopticon, envisaged by Jeremy Bentham (Foucault 1979: 200) as a design for a prison, functions through a combination of surveillance and architecture. The design is a circular prison with cells open onto the inside of the circle. In its centre is a surveillance tower affording the observer total visibility of each cell while at the same time cloaking the observer in such a fashion that none of the prisoners may see whether they are in any instance being observed or not. The prisoner is never able to ascertain whether they are at any moment actually under the gaze of the guard and hence must assume that at all moments that they are being observed. In exercising a constant vigilance over their own actions the prisoner comes to, in effect, perform the role of the guard by constantly acting as his own observer. 'Hence the major effect of the Panopticon: to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power' (Foucault 1979: 201). All at once previous forms of power that were 'heavy' and requiring the maximum of force to induce the desired submission of the prisoner are replaced by a 'light' mechanism in which the *absolute* minimum of force is employed to the same ends. Power is at once light and *efficient* as an architectural form imbes in the prisoner the desired subjectivity. This schema of power was destined to spread more widely (Foucault 1979: 207). Whereas Bentham's model is designed to reform the prisoner Foucault's use of the panopticon as metaphor describes the broader societal shifts from institutional punishment towards the discipline of the self.
Surveillance in Facebook operates in a similar fashion. Let us head off a possible objection here. While the panopticon is designed around a centralised guard tower and an omniscient centralised gaze there is no such single gaze under which Facebook users are observed. As Caluya (2010) points out, it is the effects upon the observed within the panopticon that are of interest in this schema. Within Facebook, and borrowing from Andrejevic's (2005: 481) notion of 'lateral surveillance', perhaps a better description might be 'lateral panopticism' (Owen 2011). Of interest to the present analysis is the Facebook user and the surveillance gaze of invisible audiences under which they are caught.

The 'invisible audience' (boyd 2011) in Facebook refers largely to those who are the Facebook user's Friends. There is however the possibility that information will escape its intended audience, and this is rendered likely due to the affordances of networked publics. As 'life after social network' discourses (Albrechtslund 2008) suggest, the invisible audience conceivably expands outward from a Facebook user's Friends to include, for example, potential job contacts and employers (Gregg 2011). This possibility aside, relationships on Facebook are unique among SNSs in that they are generally 'anchored'; concomitantly identity is 'nonymous' as opposed to anonymous (Zhao et al 2008). Most of the relationships on Facebook have been pre-established offline and come to be re-articulated online. Accordingly, notions of an online/offline self divide no longer hold as the self online is subject to the same sources of identification as the corporeal self offline. The self on Facebook is, for all intents and purposes, the same self offline. Online displays of self must therefore contend with an imagined ('invisible') audience consisting of all of their Friends ('collapsed contexts') as well as the possibility of those outside of their Friend list ('blurring of private and public') (boyd 2011). The architecture of Facebook therefore places users inside such a space in which the user must internalise the gaze of the imagined audience and
conduct themselves accordingly. The surveillant assemblage thus entails the lateral panopticism of Facebook, the Facebook digital double, the corporeal self, anchored relationships, potential employers, and the pertinent discourses surrounding Facebook use.

**Entrepreneurialism as Care of the Self**

One of the more potent sources of meaning found in relation to surveillance, especially in SNSs, is the political rationality emerging from the sets of economic and governing practices broadly understood as neoliberalism. A number of analyses of surveillance and SNSs seek to map out this intersection of neoliberalism's strategies of individualisation and an enforced self-reliance in the wake of widespread dismantling of the social welfare state (Andrejevic 2005; Barnard-Wills 2012; Dubrofsky 2011; Gershon 2011; Kelly 2013). These practices of 'entrepreneurialism', as predicated by neoliberalism in the form of 'human capital' (Dilts 2011; Foucault 2008: 226; Lemke 2001), and the manifestations of this exhibited by Facebook users are explored elsewhere (Gregg 2011; Hearn 2008). This thesis draws on all of these approaches to consider the ways in which neoliberalism expects an adoption of self-ethics and competencies required to participate in contemporary society as 'economically useful producers and consumers' (Barnard-Wills 2012: 44).

Gregg's (2011) work examines the ways in which online technologies and contemporary modes of employment intersect. The precarious nature of contemporary employment means that many professionals are constantly 'churning' (Delaney 2009) through job after job, often across many continents. Accordingly the middle-class professional lifestyle is punctuated by the need to be constantly able to shift work at any moment. One of the more defining features of this lifestyle is the cultivating and maintaining of social networks that facilitate future employment (Gregg 2011: 13). Facebook is noticeable in its use as 'an ongoing character-
based CV for workers to draw upon to withstand the instability of “flexible” careers' (Gregg 2011: 89). The mode of selfhood required by the operational logics of such employment is one that is itself a commodity. The self as brand is a theme that is dominant within neoliberalism.

Hearn (2008) offers a discussion on the phenomenon of 'the branded self' and the ways in which this manifests itself in the construction of the self. She draws on notions of the self as contingent, reflexive, and unstable, and links practices of self-construction to broader political rationalities. The self as brand is linked with the modalities of post-Fordist labour (Hearn 2008: 194). While practices of self-branding have been a mainstay of management literature Hearn (2008: 195) links them with more recent phenomena such as reality TV and SNSs such that '[t]he branded self sits at the nexus of discourses of neoliberalism, flexible accumulation, radical individualism, and spectacular promotionalism' (Hearn 2008: 197; see also Bauman 2007).

Emerging from all of these accounts is the self as being in need of reflexive self-government and maintenance in the form of self-care. The management literature that emerged in the 1990s celebrated the self as a personal brand and is authored by 'gurus of personal branding', or experts, who aim to guide employees through the increasingly fragile and precarious employment market (Hearn 2008: 200). At its centre is an insistence on ongoing self-transformation. Hearn suggests that such '[g]urus of self-branding are careful to dress up the practice in the rhetoric of self-care' (Hearn 2008: 201). Not to attend to such practices of self-care is to cast oneself outside of the spaces of neoliberal employment. While the technologies through which such a care of the self is practiced might change, the neoliberal logics underpinning this have not.
The 1990s self-help gurus of personal branding have themselves rebranded and re-emerged in the growing Social Media Expert Guru (SMEG) industry. SMEGs seeking to capitalise upon the booming adoption of social media have cast themselves as experts providing training and advice for individuals and corporations in their use of social media. Books such as Qualman’s (2009) *Socialnomics: How Social Media Transforms the Way We Live and Do Business* offer advice on how businesses need to harness social media to survive in the contemporary economy, while an entire industry devoted to teaching individuals how to harness social media for their careers is also emerging. Businesses such as Empower Social Media (now defunct) offer advice to businesses or individuals either on a consultant basis or in the form of workshops featuring titles such as 'You and Your Global Brand – Optimising your Facebook Personal Profile', 'How to use Facebook as an Active Resume', 'Branding Yourself on Facebook – key elements for standing out and the importance of consistency', and 'Set up and manage a Facebook Page'. The CEO and founder of Empower Social Media, Nicole Greentree, previously ran 'Greentree Wellbeing… offering a wide range of health, wellness and beauty services' before moving into the sphere of online 'wellness'. This is a demonstrative example of the SMEG business and the use of the rhetoric of 'self-care' that is so much an earmark of an era of responsibilisation.

Self-care is not limited to the sphere of employment but also extends to the personal. Greentree was quoted at length in an article in *The Sydney Morning Herald* (Malone 2012) regarding how to conduct oneself on Facebook when in a relationship:

“My policy is to never be negative on a social networking platform. There is so much scope for interpretation when we write a text only post, and meanings can be misconstrued,” said Nicole Greentree, CEO and founder of Empower Social Media. “With more and more conversations being had online and in public forums, a level of etiquette should be adhered to. There will always be those that like to have a Face-sook, but I don't believe it's of any value. Even if
it is in a private group, there is always a chance that someone can do a screen capture of your comment and spread it through their networks”. (Malone 2012)

Discursively there is a slippage between an expert of self-branding in the domain of Facebook and employment into the domain of Facebook and personal relationships. Ultimately what emerges is an insistence that there is a correct way to use Facebook and concomitantly an ethical way of comporting the self while using Facebook. The Greentree quote demonstrates how a particular discourse and subject position are articulated through mainstream media channels. From this one example it can be inferred that there is a right and wrong way to use Facebook and that it is up to the individual to conduct themselves in accordance with their own set of ethics and as informed by the parameters of this sort of etiquette. Social conventions of 'etiquette' need to be adhered to. Using Facebook to complain (or 'Face-sook') adds no value to an individual's worth and in fact damages the personal brand. Doing so is to behave unethically. Facebook is a public space, even if thought to be private. One must always be on-guard and sure to post only material that represents them in the best possible light. Any posting on Facebook that deviates from this is able to be captured in the form of a screengrab and can be used against you to damage your reputation.

The explosion of interest in Facebook means that mainstream media channels respond by guaranteeing an almost daily story pertaining to Facebook. Ultimately these stories operate in such a fashion that they articulate both discourses of Facebook use as well as the available subject positions from which to draw upon in ongoing constructions of the self. Discourses about Facebook in the media can generally be grouped into three categories: 'a snoop's dream', 'moral panics', and 'life after social networking' (Albrechtslund 2008). The first category refers to the ways in which personal information provided to SNSs may be able to be used by people seeking to 'snoop' into an individual's private life. The second category
refers to discourses that emphasise the possibility that people, especially young people, will come to harm because of SNSs. Albrechtslund offers examples of adults preying upon young people in this category. The final category of discourses pertaining to 'life after social networking' is the most important to this thesis. This category refers to discourses that emphasise that the use of SNSs is likely to cause harm to the user later on in life. In this sense such discourses fit within the Foucauldian understanding of the linking of power and knowledge.

Ultimately, Facebook operates as a site necessitating the government of the self. Facebook users must learn a host of self-management techniques whilst at the same time actively constructing and maintaining the self. Here is an intersection of the sort of power theorised by Foucault with an ongoing construction of the self described by Judith Butler (1988) as 'performative'. It is in this nexus of understanding Facebook as a technology of the self and a site of performative self-construction that the operation of power lies. The self as cyborg assemblage, performatively constructed within the surveillant assemblage, is inherently unstable and requires ongoing reiterations of discursively produced behaviour. Accepting the proposition that we are currently living in an age of political rationality that can be described as neoliberal and hence characterised by a style of existence that encourages forms of selfhood that are entrepreneurial, Facebook can be understood as a site through which individuals are able to further their entrepreneurial selfhood endeavours while also reflexively engaging in processes of self-government. The online self and the offline self are understood as being one and the same, with frictionless movement between behaviours and relationships online and offline. The Facebook self is thus an extension of the offline self. The ability to negotiate this movement is a principle requirement in contemporary life (Rainie and Wellman 2012) if one is to maximise, or at the least not to jeopardise, one's life-chances.
Facebook is not merely a leisure site but, properly understood, is a governable space. To explore how Facebook users actually operated within this space required a suitable methodological framework that was able to analyse the operation of power on multiple levels in relation to processes of subjectification and Facebook use. The following chapter outlines the research design that enabled the investigation of the behaviours and attitudes of Facebook users.
Chapter 3:

Methodology: Inquiring into Facebook's Relations of Power

As has been noted, existing analyses of Facebook have paid little or no attention to how the site's multi-layered and multi-directional surveillances contribute to the subjectivities of contemporary users. As a key technology of the self the relations of power remain opaque. This chapter outlines the methodological approach developed to investigate how Facebook's architecture, its internal force fields of power relations, and the behaviour of its users enable it to be a technology of the self. This approach was informed by the Foucauldian theoretical framework discussed in the previous chapter.

Three key research questions were pursued:

Research Question #1: In what ways might Facebook's digital architecture facilitate a form of surveillance in which the Facebook user internalises the surveillance gaze of other users, their Friends?

Research Question #2: What is the relationship between the on-line and off-line self?

Research Question #3: To what extent and in what ways might the relationship between online and offline identities be related to the wider political rationalities of our time?

The first question explores issues internal to the Facebook site in that it is directed primarily to exploring the relationship between the Facebook architecture and the practices of the sites users. The second and third questions relate this use to the wider social existence of the users by exploring the relationship between online and offline identities. In addressing these three questions the project explored the nature of this online/offline relationship by examining a number of distinct issues/areas:

- Facebook use
- Facebook in relation to employment and the workplace
• Facebook and privacy
• Facebook and surveillance
• Facebook and commercialization of personal information

However, answers to these questions are not self-evident, nor are they merely given by what Facebook users report or are observed to be doing. Nor is it a matter of proving this or that claim. As a number of social scientists have noted, 'proof' is not a particularly good aim in social science research (May 1997: 84) since the nature of evidence and the standards of proof are always contestable. Rather, compelling arguments must be made that highlight and uncover particular phenomena largely resulting from the 'messiness' of real people's lives. Rabinow and Sullivan (1987) discuss the emergence of an 'interpretive' social science. They see the positivist social science methods as being fraught with problems and the hoped-for emergence of a scientific paradigm in the social sciences as something that will never emerge due to the sheer messiness of the research object—the lives of people. Interpretation, rather, acknowledges the messiness of lived experience and attempts to construct modes of enquiry that are suited to the task of investigating lived experience. Rabinow and Sullivan 'contend that the failure to achieve paradigm takeoff is not merely the result of methodological immaturity, but reflects something about the human world' (1987: 5), namely that as both actors and observers are caught up in webs of meaning it is impossible to achieve a consensus on method. This does not mean abandoning the entire endeavour, of course, but rather acknowledging that all knowledge and its production is contestable.

Accepting that there is no pure, objective research gaze means coming to grips with what it is that constitutes good research. For Rabinow 'a good explanation is one that makes sense of behaviour. But to agree on what makes sense necessitates consensus; what makes sense is a function of one's readings; and these in turn are based on the kind of sense one understands' (Rabinow cited in Rabinow and Sullivan 1987: 8). This point is echoed decades later by
Nancy Baym (2009) in regards to what constitutes good qualitative research in internet studies. Espousing the interpretive turn and qualitative approaches, Baym (2009: 178) points to the ways in which researchers have abandoned the search for 'facts' in search of multiple truths. What Baym suggests is that instead of presenting 'facts' we, as researchers, are presenting 'arguments' (Baym 2009: 179). This stems from the acceptance that contemporary life is indeed multifaceted and messy, that 'unitary truth as the arbiter of quality' is unattainable and undesirable (Baym 2009: 178). Research should ultimately then be providing evidence that supports or refutes theory, or contributes to the refinement of given theories, rather than being seen as providing 'proof' (May 1997: 84). Hence in this thesis it is posited that the use of Facebook facilitates the operation of power and self-government, and extends the reach of neoliberalism. To pursue this line of investigation meant constructing a methodology that sufficiently allowed for an investigation into the myriad ways in which this occurs.

**Combining Methods: A 'Facet' Methodology?**

Compelling arguments are bolstered by a multifaceted research methodology. One commonly employed strategy of ensuring quality in social research is triangulation. Triangulation can be configured in a number of ways such as triangulation of measure, triangulation of observers, triangulation of theory, or triangulation of method (Neuman 2011: 164-5). Triangulation operates on the 'principle that we learn more by observing from multiple perspectives than by looking from only a single perspective' (Neuman 2011: 164). By employing a research design that triangulates methods and theory the research is strengthened as their complementary strengths allow for a 'richer and more comprehensive' study (Neuman 2011: 165). While this form of triangulation is commonly found in social science research, often referred to as
'mixed methods', the design employed by this thesis goes further and adds another, fourth element. This added element, and the ways in which the methods are combined, can best be described as 'facet methodology' (Mason 2011). While there are aspects of facet methodology that differentiate it from traditional mixed methods research the benefits of a mixed methods approach generally apply to facet methodology. Many of the points below are found in the literature on mixed methods research, but these should be seen as being, for the most part, applicable to a facet methodological approach.

'Facet methodology' is a particular methodological orientation that acknowledges the complexity of objects of social research and the need to investigate research objects from a number of angles or 'facets' as in the multiple sides of a gemstone. Mason suggests that facet methodology is 'an orientation and an approach, rather than a set of procedures that can be encapsulated in a framework or a recipe for research' (Mason 2011: 76, emphasis in the original). This orientation approaches research fields 'as constructed through combinations and constellations of facets as we might see in a cut gemstone' (Mason 2011: 76, emphasis in the original). By examining the research object from a combination of angles an overall picture is able to emerge. It is through the inventive combining of methods and lines of inquiry that a better understanding of the research object is revealed. Facet methodology comes from a 'pluralist disposition' to the use of methods and conducting research (Mason 2011: 83). Research objects have any number of facets that may be examined and the strength of the research outcome is determined by judicious methodological and theoretical choices made by the researcher.

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9 Mixed methods research generally refers to research that 'combines alternative approaches within a single research project' that 'crosses the boundaries of conventional research paradigms by deliberately combining methods drawing from different traditions with different underlying assumptions' (Denscombe 2010: 137).

10 A similar metaphor is found in Ellingson's (2011: 605) 'crystalline' approach to methodology.
A number of principles are found in Mason's conception of facet methodology. The most important principle concerns the orientation towards understanding the world as 'not only lived and experienced, but... multi-dimensional, contingent, relationally implicated and entwined' (Mason 2011: 78). This particular principle aligns with the Foucauldian –informed approach adopted in this thesis in which individuals are understood as being subjectified through an engagement with their social world and the various relationships between individuals and things, and the various mechanisms of power that are engendered through these relationships. This resonates with Mason's insistence that '[f]or the facet methodologist, whatever these things [objects of the lived world] are seen to be, a primary interest will be in understanding how they are connected and entwined' (Mason 2011: 79). As can be seen from the three key research questions, this thesis has aimed to demonstrate these sorts of connections and entwinements as found in the use of Facebook.

Facet methodology combines methods but should not be understood as simply being 'mixed methods' research. While a number of methods are combined within facet methodology each 'facet' constitutes a 'mini investigation' which represent 'a way or ways of looking at and investigating something that is theoretically interesting or puzzling in relation to the overall enquiry and seeks out particular instances of the kinds of entwinements and contingencies that are thought to be characteristic of the object of concern in some way' (Mason 2011: 79, emphasis in the original). Expanding on the metaphors of visibility found within the language of facet methodology, each facet should allow for 'flashes of insight' as light is 'cast' upon them (Mason 2011: 80). It is through the researcher's investigations and choices of methodology that data is generated. Rather than seeing the world as something waiting to be discovered as soon as light is shone on it, the data is understood as being a product of the
researcher's efforts to inquire into each facet. The aim then in facet methodology is for researchers 'to create a *strategically illuminating set of facets in relation to specific research concerns*' (Mason 2011: 81, emphasis in the original) which might help to construct an understanding of the ways in which the various interconnections and entwinements interact within the field of research.

Like facet methodology, a mixed methods approach is predicated on research that 'needs to have a clear and explicit rationale for using the contrasting methods' (Denscombe 2010: 147). The combination of methods should have a clear benefit that would not be present when using each method in isolation. The benefits of employing a mixed methods approach include improved accuracy of data collection, the ability to capture a 'more complete picture' of the object of research, an ability to compensate for the strengths and weaknesses of the included methods, an opportunity to develop the analysis throughout the research, and as an aid to sampling and recruiting participants for the various stages of the research (Denscombe 2010: 139-143).

One of the key ways in which facet methodology can be differentiated from mixed methods research is in relation to the kinds of methods used in the research design. Mixed methods researchers often emphasise the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods, with some adherents claiming that it must mix quantitative and qualitative, whereas facet methodology requires no such mix but rather the use of various methods from the 'spectrum' of quantitative and qualitative (Mason 2011: 84). This thesis employed qualitative methods and surveys which, while potentially a quantitative method, were used more as a means to generate questions and recruit participants for the qualitative stages as opposed to drawing any conclusive results on their own. The surveys provided an overview of the broad attitudes and
habits of Facebook users that informed the latter stages of data collection, as well as to indicate the extent to which Facebook use has penetrated the sphere of the everyday.

An important aspect of mixed methods and facet methodology is that it also affords the researcher the ability to develop the methods used during the research phase. Denscombe (2010: 140) offers an example where 'researchers who are designing a questionnaire for use in a survey can employ qualitative data through focus groups and interviews to improve the validity of a subsequent survey questionnaire'. This can apply to the reverse, as was the case in the present research project, where data collected from the survey instrument was used to both shape the sorts of questions employed during interviews, as well as to provide a background to the sorts of things that would be observed during the observation component of the research. Data collected through one method may also be used to develop the use of other methods. As an aid to sampling mixed methods research allows researchers to use one method to recruit participants for subsequent methods. Denscombe (2010: 143) gives the example of interviews or focus groups providing an opportunity to recruit participants for further research such as a survey. Again, the order of this is reversed in this thesis where the survey instrument included an invitation for participants to take part in the subsequent interview and observation stages of the research.

Some factors in employing a combination of methods need to be identified, namely the order of the methods used and the importance attached to each of the methods (Denscombe 2010: 144-5). This research project employed a sequential but overlapping order of methods, with the surveys being the first stage of the research while the ongoing observation phase ran for nine months after the launch of the survey. Interviews began to take place around 6 weeks after the first surveys were completed. While the surveys were completed over a number of
months the data that was being collected was then able to be used immediately so that, for instance, responses to open-ended questions in the surveys could be used to shape the sorts of questions that would be used in interviews. While the 'weight' of the mixed methods research is firmly on the qualitative side of interviews and observation, the survey data generated background information regarding the ubiquity of Facebook use, the times, places, and devices through which Facebook was most commonly accessed, and a broad indication of commonly-held attitudes and feelings toward various aspects of Facebook use.

The questionnaire was constructed using the Qualtrics software program. This software is useful in that it also analyses quantitative data that can yield univariate and bivariate statistics, and percentage tables. The qualitative data collected during this research project were gathered through online observation and one-to-one interviews. The analysis of qualitative data is markedly different to that of quantitative data due to the nature of the research objects and the data collected. While various qualitative methods have their own distinct analytic features, Denscombe (2010: 272-3) identifies three broad features of qualitative data analysis: It is 'iterative' in that the data is not analysed in a single 'one-off' moment but rather 'tends to be an evolving process in which the data collection and data analysis phases occur alongside each other'; it is 'inductive' insofar as 'analysis tends to work from the particular to the general' by studying small-scale objects and extrapolating more general statements; and finally it is 'researcher-centred' in that 'the values and experiences of the researcher are seen as factors influencing the analysis'.

The strengths of employing a facet methodology can ultimately be demonstrated in relation to this particular example of investigating discourses in relation to the construction of the self through the use of Facebook. The literature suggested that life after social networking
discourses might affect the behaviours of Facebook users (Albrechtslund 2008). Drawing on this particular aspect of the pre-existing literature a question was then posed in the survey that asked users about this issue. Survey respondents largely suggested that they did indeed consider the ways in which their use of Facebook might be shaped by the potential for ramifications to emerge and that this affected their behavior in self-regulating and self-censoring ways. This was again raised in the one-on-one interviews in which the interviewees confirmed and elaborated on the reasons why they might regulate their behavior when using Facebook in relation to this discourse. Furthermore, interviewees from a variety of locations and backgrounds tended to raise similar examples to illustrate their concerns which tended to be drawn from various mainstream media reports in which particular instances were reported of people losing their jobs for inappropriate use of Facebook, such as a female teacher who had posted scantily-clad pictures of herself to the site. A combination of methods allowed for a clear line to be drawn from the literature and through two of the methods used in the research. For the most part the participants in the observation component of the research did not post in ways that might, in accordance with life after social networking discourses, jeopardise their employment. If it were only the observation method employed here then no evidence of this discourse would be observed as it is in many ways an absence of evidence—i.e. a lack of scandalous posts—that confirms the operation and internalisation of the life after social networking discourse.

**Privacy and Designing Facebook Research**

One of the trickiest areas of internet research is ensuring that the privacy of participants can be protected. Whilst a common refrain in the present seems to be that privacy is impossible—indeed, as the then Sun Microsystems CEO infamously put it over a decade ago, 'privacy is dead, get over it' (Sprenger 1999)—researchers must contend with the difficult nature of
protecting privacy online when information, especially once digitised, 'wants to be free' (Wagner 2003). This made the research design process especially important in ensuring that participants' privacy was protected throughout the research process. Privacy in the research context is linked to other important ethical issues such as informed consent and voluntary participation, and these issues all fold together in the online research environment. The ways in which the internet, and the disruption it poses to notions of public/private, affects issues of ethics and the sorts of environments that may or may not require informed consent to be obtained by researchers. As Elm (2009: 70) has pointed out, a central question is 'how can we as researchers make sense of the variables “private” and “public” to better judge the appropriateness and ethical soundness of our studies?'. The fundamental element of privacy, in Elm's (2009: 69) estimation, pertains to 'the individual's integrity and right to self-determination' insofar as 'each and all individuals should have the right to decide for themselves what and how much they choose to reveal and what should be known to others'.

All participation in this research project was voluntary and informed consent was given at each stage of the research. The survey instrument Qualtrics allowed for the anonymity of users to be protected. The anonymity of subjects taking part in the interviews and observation stages of the research was ensured by changing names and generalising locations and other details of the participants whenever discussing them in the thesis. These were relatively straightforward and standard measures taken to ensure privacy. The design of the Research Facebook Profile (RFP) was slightly more complicated due to the nature of SNSs and networked publics, and Facebook as a 'semi-public' or 'semi-private' online space.

Sveningsson (2009: 74-7) usefully provides a template for ascertaining where upon a spectrum of public/private a website exists, be it public, semi-public, semi-private, or private.
Facebook (represented most comparatively to MySpace, which is Sveningsson's example) would be best conceived of as a semi-public environment, defined as such by Sveningsson (2009: 75) as:

one that is available for most people. It is in principle accessible to anyone, but it first requires membership and registration. In this category we find most web communities or social network sites.

Sveningsson (2009: 75-6) also notes the ability of social network site users to control access to their own profiles, by way of implementing the various privacy control settings available to users. By implementing these stricter sorts of privacy controls, in effect the website (or profile/environment) may actually be conceptualised as being a private online environment. Users too bring their own conceptions of privacy to the situation. Stern (2009: 94) posits the importance of 'allowing those we study to define their own privacy expectations' as well as the ways in which conceptions of privacy itself shift due to cultural context or historical specificities such that privacy itself is a concept in-flux. This adds to the ethical considerations a researcher must face. Accessing private online environments would require the researcher to obtain informed consent and as such the design of the research project required users to initiate a 'Friend Request' to the RFP if they wished to voluntarily participate in this aspect of the project at which stage the Friend Request was, as explained to participants in the information statement, taken as also being the giving of informed consent.

SNS profile pages 'can be understood as spaces in which identity is constructed and performed, where social interactions occur, are articulated, made visible, and subsequently archived by default' (Robards 2013: 218). This suggests that SNS profile pages should be regarded less as archival objects, and more as 'dynamic spaces which are constantly revised, maintained and (re)produced by their creators… and those connected to and permitted to contribute to the profile' (Robards 2013: 218). Treating SNS profiles as lived spaces rather
than as archival documents prompts some further methodological concerns. Firstly, issues of privacy must be considered that suitably deal with SNS profiles as spaces rather than artefacts. Secondly, an appropriate set of methods and ethics needs to be employed which fully allows for an overview of the activities that take place within such spaces to be captured. The fact that these spaces may only be accessed through a process of mutual 'Friending' means that there are particular ethical and methodological concerns that need to be fully considered when conducting research observation in SNSs.

One of the key issues in ensuring privacy in this observation stage arises from the very nature of what a SNS is. In the now standard definition of SNSs as outlined by boyd and Ellison (2008) SNSs are 'web-based services that allow individuals to (1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, (2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and (3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system'. This immediately creates a problem for protecting the privacy of participants who, in theory, are able to see exactly who else is a participant in this stage of the research as they are all privy to 'a list of other users with whom they share a connection' (the RFP), and are then able to 'view and traverse their list of connections'. These concerns were largely overcome by implementing strict privacy settings on the RFP so that all participants of this stage of the research – 'Friends' of the RFP – were unable to view the list of 'Friends' that joined the research project. Settings were also made so that no Friends were able to post to the Wall of the RFP. Overall these steps negate the issue of unintended visibility between participants and protect their anonymity.

Once the design for the research project had been completed, it was subject to a peer-review process within the Faculty of Business and Law before being submitted to the University of
Newcastle's Human Ethics Committee. The project was given ethics clearance on 18 January 2012 with the approval number H-2011-0337.

Managing the Researcher-Participant relationship and Facebook's Terms of Service

A different obstacle arose for the RFP because of Facebook's Terms of Service that prohibits users from making more than one Profile. This is only a potential issue for researchers who already have a personal Facebook account. In discussing this problem both Robards (2013: 228) and Davis (2010) reported that they used their pre-existing, personal Facebook Profile to conduct their research rather than create a separate 'research-only' Facebook Profile. In Robard's case this added an extra layer of complication as he was interacting with young people from his own personal Facebook Profile, which raised the potential for his own life to impact in undesirable ways upon the young research participants. Indeed, he suggested that many of the obstacles and ethical dilemmas he faced would have been a non-issue had he simply ignored Facebook's Terms of Service (Robards 2013: 229). It should first be noted that breaching Facebook's Terms of Service is not an illegal act but one that simply breaches Facebook's own norms. A violation may see the account suspended but it is not an actual breach of any laws.

Here then is an issue in which a number of factors need to be weighed up. On one hand it seems that Facebook's Terms of Service should not be violated and that this immediately rules out the creation of a research-only Profile. Robards (2013: 229) justifies the use of his personal Profile on the basis that this potentially offers participants a degree of familiarity and rapport that is beneficial in allowing them to 'open up' to him. On another hand, the relationship between researcher and participants need not follow the 'insider friend' model used by Robards but could instead benefit from participants consenting to take part in a study.
in which the researcher acts as a hidden observer. I wanted to observe the everyday, day-to-day behaviours of a number of Facebook users from various walks of life and to do so in a fashion that would be as non-intrusive as possible. I wanted to be able to observe them in their most natural of behaviours and for them to largely ignore the fact that they were under observation. Indeed, one of the most fundamental premises of the study is that the act of being observed by various agents of surveillance augments Facebook users' behaviour. Far from hoping that participants would 'open up' to me it was my hope that as a 'complete observer' (Angrosino 2007: 54), as opposed to a participant observer, they would simply go about their business in the most natural of fashions and largely forget that I was even watching them.

There are a number of factors that need to be considered in regards to Facebook's Terms of Service. Firstly they change often, and rarely to the benefit of users. Secondly, and in regard to the 'one Profile' issue in particular, the Terms of Service exist only to further capitalise on the behaviour of users by commodifying their online movements through processes of dataveillance. While Facebook's founder Mark Zuckerberg insists that having more than one identity 'is an example of a lack of integrity' (Zuckerberg cited in Kirkpatrick 2010: 199) in practice this imperative only serves the commercial interests of Facebook and is economic, not moral. As van Dijck points out:

Facebook and other SNSs favor the idea of people having one transparent identity that they disclose online, releasing habitual behavioral data and personal information in the process of socializing. Platform owners have a vested interest in pushing the need for a uniform online identity to attain maximum transparency, not only because they want to know who their users are, but also because advertisers want users' 'truthful' data (van Dijck 2013: 200).

Facebook's Terms of Service clearly exist only as an insurance to monitor and track their users' movements more fully. This tracking extends outside of the 'walled-garden' of
Facebook right across the web as Facebook collects data on all of its users' broader online movements (Henry 2011). On balance, flaunting this particular aspect of Facebook's Terms of Service is preferable in an effort to ensure the privacy and safety of both the participants and the researcher, and to ensure that the research is not pre-governmentalised. The bottom line in regards to Facebook's position is that their concern is not with the safety of users but with profit: 'The loss of advertisers, or reduction in spending by advertisers with Facebook, could seriously harm our business (Facebook statement to U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission, cited in Duncan 2012, npn). Ultimately, social research does not exist to add to the profits of corporations.

**Sampling**

Sampling is a necessity in most small-scale research (Denscombe 2010: 23) as the size of many research populations means that the difficulty in reaching all of the population's members is largely one that is impossible. Sampling is thus a far more desirable means for conducting research. While many research projects will aim for a representative sample this is again an almost impossible (not to mention undesirable) aim in relation to the present research project due to the size of a representative sample from the Facebook population which is officially listed as being over a billion users. The potential size of the research population for this thesis thus meant that it was impossible to survey a sample group of sufficient size to make any sort of generalisable claims regarding all of Facebook. This thesis makes no such claims. The sampling method used in this thesis is instead exploratory (Denscombe 2010: 24).

Exploratory sampling is regarded as being useful when conducting small-scale research that is largely qualitative in nature and in search of investigating emerging phenomena.
Exploratory samples can be used as a means to explore new avenues of social research. They are useful ‘as a way of probing relatively unexplored topics and as a route to the discovery of new ideas and theories’ and as such ‘it is not always necessary to select people/items for the sample in terms of getting an accurate cross-section of the population’ (Denscombe 2010: 24).

It is also a non-probability sample (Denscombe 2010: 13) recruited through a technique of snowball sampling (Denscombe 2010: 37). It was established during the design phase of the research project (including the peer-review and ethics clearance processes) that a sample of 500 participants for the initial survey was of a sufficient size to capture a broad range of Facebook users. While the techniques of quota and snowball sampling have drawbacks such as lack of representativeness and generalisability of claims emanating from the research (Atkinson and Flint 2003; Denscombe 2010: 37; Neuman 2011: 268-9), these can be overcome by ensuring that it generates a sufficiently large sample size (Mutanski 2001).

Moreover, the ability to leverage the reach of participants' social networks in disseminating invitations to take part in the research project meant that recruiting the target quota of 500 participants occurred more quickly than through other means of recruitment. In the end 506 surveys were completed. The breakdown of the participants in each of the methods is given in Table 3.1.

### Table 3.1 Overall participants and gender/age split

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Method</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>18-29</th>
<th>30-39</th>
<th>40-49</th>
<th>50+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Survey</td>
<td>506</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observation</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Denotes that ages were not provided in the profiles of a majority of Observation participants' Facebook Profiles.
The survey invitation was distributed via my own personal social networks on Facebook (with around 200 Friends) and Twitter (with around 1500 Followers) in which it was announced that I was seeking participants for my research and it would be appreciated if people would take part and further pass the invitations on by 'Sharing' on Facebook and 'retweeting' on Twitter. One of the criteria for eligibility to take part in the research was that participants could not already be Facebook Friends with me, but their Friends and Friends of Friends were eligible. This was done to guard against potential issues of bias or privacy concerns. This was especially crucial to the observation component of the research in which a key aim was to observe the performative displays of the self in the use of Facebook and where previous knowledge of the participants could have coloured the interpretation of their actions. The other exclusion criterion was that participants should be over the age of 18 years of age. This was put in place as I was eager to distance my research of Facebook use from an existing body of research that all too-readily frames the use of SNSs as a 'youth' practice.\footnote{As Robards (2013: 218) notes: 'While social network sites are certainly not populated entirely by young people, much of the research that investigates these sites in centered on young users, especially students'.}

Individuals interested in participating in the research followed a link via Facebook or Twitter to a webpage that housed the relevant information statement for participating in the research. After reading through the information statement participants followed another hyperlink to the Qualtrics survey instrument. Informed consent was given by participants as part of the survey. Participants who were interested in participating in the further stages of the research were able to follow the relevant links to either email me requesting an interview, during the organisation of which they were provided with another consent form pertaining to this, while observation participants were sent to another information statement that explained the nature of the observation component of the research. Here consent was implied as given as a
consequence of the participant following the next link to the Research Facebook Profile (RFP) and by requesting to add the RFP as a 'Friend'. At every stage of the research participants were free to withdraw their participation.

**Determining Appropriate Methods**

It is important to uncover what it is that people think and feel as well as what they are actually doing on Facebook. The research design sought to interrogate this from a number of angles. The design of the research project itself was one that was experimental insofar as it tried to utilise the affordances of networked publics to disseminate invitations to take part in the research. This section is divided into three sub-sections that deal with the three methods used in the research.

**Surveys**

Surveys, including questionnaires, are useful when seeking factual information from a number of people and especially in regards to 'what they do, what they think, [and] who they are' (Denscombe 2010: 12). While they are useful in capturing a snapshot of a wide range of people's views and opinions they are less useful in capturing the more subtle or complex aspects of people's lives (Denscombe 2010: 13). A variety of 'closed' and 'open' questions allow for the participant to respond to standardised categories of answers in the case of closed questions or they may provide longer, richer responses to open questions. Open questions 'leave the respondent to decide the wording of the answer, the length of the answer and the kind of matters to be raised in the answer' (Denscombe 2010: 165). These sorts of questions have an open box into which the participant can respond to questions such as 'How do you feel about…?' or 'What do you think about…?' which allow for the participant to offer their feelings or thoughts about a particular issue. These types of questions are useful as they allow
for the gathering of rich insights into the attitudes and beliefs of participants. Closed questions on the other hand are highly structured and allow 'only the answers which fit into categories that have been established in advance by the researcher' (Denscombe 2010: 166). The advantages of closed questions is that they enable standardised responses that are pre-coded.

Internet surveys, such as web-based questionnaires, are an attractive and useful form of survey instrument due to their relatively low cost, ease of use, speed of data collection and analysis, and their reliability. The cost to the researcher, in terms of money and time, are much less in internet surveys than other forms of surveying (such as telephone or postal surveys). Coupled with this is the fact that many online survey instruments, such as the Qualtrics system that was used for this research project, feature in-built analytical tools that do much of the work of analysis for the researcher. There is no data-entry required of the researcher as the survey instrument captures the data provided by the participant, which in most cases is captured and sorted instantaneously and reliably by removing any opportunity for the researcher to make any data-entry mistakes such as could be found in transferring paper records into data analysis software (Denscombe 2010: 14).

In the past it had been suggested that internet surveys might suffer from having a low-level of response as people that felt 'ill at ease' with using computers might be reluctant to take part in online surveys. More recent research suggests, however, that this is an unfounded concern and that online surveys might actually be preferable as a survey instrument when compared with other forms of survey, such as telephone or postal surveys (Denscombe 2010: 21). There are other issues of non-contact bias that are present in relation to internet surveys such that those who take part in them have been recruited through online spaces, such as chatrooms or
newsgroups, and might not be sufficiently representative of the broader population. This is a legitimate concern and one that is not shaken-off in the present research which makes no claims toward being generalisable or universal but rather seeks to be an exploratory investigation into the attitudes and behaviours of Facebook users.

Within my research the survey performed a number of functions. In the first place it provided the means to establish profiles of the Facebook participants. It was also a means to generate data about the broad sentiments held by Facebook users from which to contribute to the line of questioning employed in the interviews. The survey also included an invitation to take part in the interview and/or observation stages of the research. In this sense the survey was very useful in generating understanding of broad trends and attitudes, as well as for recruiting participants for the observation and interview components of the research.

**Interviews**

Interviews are formal conversations conducted 'for the record' (Denscombe 2010: 173). Interviews for this research project were conducted both face-to-face and via Skype. In each case a similar semi-structured approach was used. Semi-structured interviews are typified by the researcher having a 'clear list of issues to be addressed and questions to be answered' while at the same time incorporating a flexibility in the conversation so that interviewees are allowed a latitude to discuss and develop their thoughts in a casual manner (Denscombe 2010: 175). Before the interviews begin researchers need to attend to self-presentation so as to minimise the effect that interviewers might have on the interview process (Denscombe 2010: 179-80). This includes general presentation such as 'conventional clothes' and the use of common courtesies as well as attempting to comport oneself as 'neutral and non-committal on the statements made during the interview by the interviewee' although there are counter-
arguments that interviewers that conduct themselves in such a way might lead to a 'gulf' occurring between the interviewer and interviewee. Interviews are filled with 'affect' and impartiality is all but impossible to achieve. This is a given but can be managed through attention to the self as a researcher (Josselson 2013: 33-4). During the interviews, both face-to-face and via Skype, attempts were made to present well by dressing in smart casual dress and by beginning with pleasantries before engaging in the formalities of issues such as informed consent. A balance was attempted to be neither cold and impersonal nor over-familiar or over-enthusiastic about statements made by interviewees, although on the whole they were generally conducted in a comfortable and relaxed fashion that allowed for the interviewees to explore their sentiments in a conversational style while still being occasionally reined-in and directed back toward the topics and questions that were drawn up before the interview process began (Donley 2012: 44). Face-to-face interviews were conducted in places suggested by the interviewees such as cafes and even in a public bar and these situations seemed to lend themselves to convivial conversations that allowed the participants to feel at ease with the interview process.

A total of twenty interviews were conducted to find out what people thought about particular issues related to their Facebook use and to try to uncover some of the 'whys?' of their Facebook use. While the observation phase allowed me to see into the offline lives of participants this was merely the product of strategic choices to make these aspects visible. Purposive acts write the Facebook user's online self into being. Interviews allowed for an opportunity for users to report why particular things were presented online as well as why other things might be withheld. All interviews were conducted in a 'one-to-one' fashion. One-to-one interviews have a number of advantages over other formats. Convening a time to conduct the interview is far easier with one participant than with many. Only one person's
ideas need to be explored in the interview and transcribing and matching the voice with the talk is easier than with group interviews. Finally, the interview is easier to control in a one-to-one interview allowing the researcher to keep things on track (Denscombe 2010: 176). The interviews conducted via Skype also had the same advantages as face-to-face interviews, but there were a number of further advantages. The time and cost of travelling is negated for both the interviewer and the interviewee. Webcams allow for a visual aspect that affords each party visual cues that might play a large part in any conversation. While there is an inherent cost in the technology and the internet access needed to conduct the interview via Skype these are increasingly common in many households (Denscombe 2010: 178). It was recognised that not all households had the required technology and for this reason face-to-face interviews were also offered as a means to take part in this aspect of the research.

All interviews were recorded for later transcription and field notes taken during the interviews. Audio from face-to-face interviews were recorded using an iPhone as the primary device and an iPad was also used to record as backup. These devices have a number of advantages in the interview context over traditional note-taking recorders such as their ubiquity which can add to the naturalness of the setting and the ease of use in setting them up to record the interview (Beddall-Hill, Jabbar, and Al Shehri 2011: 77-8). The recordings were generally very clear allowing for later transcribing by hand to be done quite easily. Skype interviews were recorded using the third-party software 'Call Recorder for Skype' developed by the company Ecamm. These recordings were also later transcribed by hand. Once transcribed the documents were sent to the interviewees to check for accuracy and allowing them to correct, clarify, alter, or retract any of their statements. This step of allowing the interviewee to check the transcript is an essential stage of the interview process that allows the interviewee to confirm that what is on the record is an accurate reflection of what was
said during the interview as well as what they believe and feel. This allows for anything said 'in the heat of the moment' to be corrected or retracted if it does not reflect the interviewee's true position (Denscombe 2010: 189). Once checked by the interviewees the interviews were later coded, also by hand, and analysed using open and thematic coding to capture the varying responses (Bryman 2008: 542-4, 551; Gromm 2004: 189; Neuman 2011: 511-2; Liamputtong 2011: 216-7, 282-5). A number of broad themes were used with which to code the various statements. These were categories such as 'surveillance', 'personal rules for using Facebook', and 'commodification of data', as these were themes that underpinned the initial research objectives as well as emerging in the survey questionnaires. These themes link to the broader approach to identifying discourses that were used by Facebook users to inform their own use of Facebook.

Transcription is a time-consuming process, but while transcribing is laborious it is also beneficial in that it 'brings the researcher close to the data' and 'brings the talk back to life again' (Denscombe 2010: 275). The transcript is an important document that can then be annotated and coded thematically. In transcribing the talk there is a balance that must be struck between capturing the conversation as it happened and representing it in a way that is clearly understandable to the reader. This is problematic as people do not always express themselves in clear, finite sentences that translate well to paper. Interviews are punctuated with silences, 'umms', 'ahhs', and increasingly commonly 'likes', and there is a balance that needs to be achieved in representing the interviewee as they present themselves and making their statements more easily able to be read (Bourdieu 1996: 31, Denscombe 2010: 276, Josselson 2013: 176-7). The quotes from interviewees used in this thesis represent an attempt to manage this balance. Excerpts from the interviews were chosen that succinctly exemplify the various arguments throughout the thesis, however, intuitive decisions were made about
which excerpts to include (Gromm 2004: 19, 185). From the hours of interviews that were conducted only a small part of the talks appear in the text and it is through the choices made by the researcher that these excerpts appear. In this regard the excerpts are a product of the researcher's choices. This, however, is as most research data and findings insofar as the material does not exist 'out there' waiting to be discovered but rather is produced through the research process (Peräkylä and Ruusuvuori 2011: 529, Trainor 2013: 134). The researcher is the research instrument that provokes, captures, and produces the data through the process of interviewing (Brinkmann 2013: 106). Another reason for choosing to select certain excerpts pertains to the data that arose from the observation and survey stages of the research. In this regard the interviews provide a rich insight into the phenomena that was revealed through these other two methods. Finally, whilst interviews yielded detailed insights, given the sample size, the findings should only be taken as exploratory and do not exemplify the entirety of Facebook users' experiences online but should be as a contributory facet in the overall research project.

**Observation**

Observation as a research method has a number of useful characteristics, most especially in that 'it does not rely on what people say they do, or what they say they think' but rather allows the researcher to witness what it is that people actually do (Denscombe 2010: 196, emphasis in the original). The sort of observation used in this research project was participant observation in which participants were aware—to a degree—of their being watched while the researcher was hidden, or invisible. That this dynamic occurred in an online environment meant that some aspects of traditional observation were pertinent while others were not. There were a number of complicating factors in the use of Facebook as a research setting for the observation of online behaviours, some of which are captured by the emerging discipline
of 'digital anthropology' (Horst and Miller 2012a). While there are various methods of conducting digital anthropology, including being physically co-present and observing people's use of the internet, this research project observed only the online traces of people's use of Facebook. This follows from the thesis aims of understanding performative constructions of the self as facilitated through the use of Facebook.

Online observation has a relatively long history. Online communities have been observed through participant observation since the 1980s and include some pioneering works by Turkle (2004 [1984]), Rheingold (2000 [1993]), Baym (2000), and Kendall (2002). While these works documented emerging cybercultures and practices, more recent works in this area of online observation emphasise the ways in which online practice should be considered a facet of broader culture rather than a niche 'cyber' culture. To this end much of the work being conducted in online observation comes from an anthropological perspective. Miller's (2011) recent work is notable in this regard, as is Horst and Miller's (2012a) edited collection *Digital Anthropology*. One particular issue identified by Miller and Horst (2012: 13) arises from the terminology that is often used to describe digital cultures, that of 'virtuality'. Here the 'virtual' is often contrasted with the 'real'. For this reason Miller and Horst (2012: 13) admonish the use of the word 'real' in digital anthropology. They suggest that every time the word is used 'analytically, as opposed to colloquially, we undermine the project of digital anthropology, fetishizing predigital culture as a site of retained authenticity'. In conducting digital anthropology an eye must be kept toward the principle of holism. Digital anthropologists must keep in mind that 'no one lives an entirely digital life and that no digital media or technology exists outside of networks that include analogue and other media technologies' (Miller and Horst 2012: 16). It is pertinent here to restate that we are not talking about cyberculture but rather, more simply, *culture* itself.
Digital technologies, while often experienced or framed as new and often disruptive, by and large become 'normalised' in their use and within the rhythms of the everyday. Miller and Horst (2012: 28) describe this:

Perhaps the most astonishing feature of digital culture is not this speed of technological innovation but rather the speed by which society takes all of these for granted and creates normative conditions for their use. Within months, a new capacity becomes assumed to such a degree that, when it breaks down, we feel we have lost both a basic human right and a valued prosthetic arm of who we now are as humans (Miller and Horst 2012: 28).

A central orientation is to the emergence of moral norms related to the use of digital technologies (Miller and Horst 2012: 28). Digital anthropology is an important field in uncovering these emerging norms. A central strength of digital anthropology, or anthropology in general, is in its ability to study 'how things become rapidly mundane' (Miller and Horst 2012: 29). Rather than focusing on what is novel or new in digital culture, surely a Sisyphean task anyway, Horst and Miller (2012b) argue that a far more interesting and productive focus of inquiry comes when paying attention to instances of normativity in such environments. They argue that attention needs to be paid to 'the human capacity to create or impose normativity in the face of constant change' (Horst and Miller 2012b: 103). Issues of normativity are bound up with the ways in which people become who they are as a result of 'socialising within a material world of cultural artefacts that include order, agency and relationships between things' (Horst and Miller 2012b: 103). For Horst and Miller these are central to the study of digital anthropology. It is upon this issue of 'normativity' that this research shares a strong emphasis. A departure might be found in relation to the ways in which normativity is understood to arise in relation to the use of new technologies: 'Somehow, within the span of a few months, we know what is proper and not proper to post online, write in an email or exhibit via webcam' (Horst and Miller 2012b: 107). I would
suggest that normalisation and subjectification are ripe concepts to be employed in analyses as they are the primary ways in which normativity is mobilised and activated. Attention needs to be paid to both the structuring effects of the platforms as well as the discourses that users call upon when constructing the self—indeed, performing the normal self. Normativity does not arise in isolation but rather is linked to power and power effects.

It is important to note that while this project shares some methodological affinity with digital anthropology and ethnography, it does not make any claims to being within either tradition. Boellstorff (2012: 40) observes that, in his estimation, 'an alarming number of researchers of the online claim to do ethnography' when in actual fact they are conducting other forms of qualitative research that do not meet the criteria of being ethnographic. He warns that '[j]ust saying something is ethnographic does not make it so' (Boellstorff 2012: 40). One of the ways in which this might occur is in studies that do not see ethnography 'as a means to develop theory' or as a means to collect 'data in service of preconceived paradigms' (Boellstorff 2012: 43). Indeed, ethnography 'is not a method; it is the written product of a set of methods' (Boellstorff 2012: 53). While there is much in the present research project that makes it distinct from traditional fields of observation, such as ethnography for example, there are a number of aspects of traditional observational research methods that are relevant to the present online observation. Traditional field methods have often been employed in online observation in which a single researcher enters the research site (Gatson 2013: 246). Denscombe cites Becker and Geer's classic definition of participant observation:

> By participant observation we mean the method in which the observer participates in the daily life of the people under study, either openly in the role of researcher or covertly in some disguised role, observing things that happen, listening to what is said, and questioning people over some length of time (Becker and Geer [1957], cited in Denscombe 2010: 206).
Perhaps the most important aspect of the researcher's behaviour whilst conducting participant observation is that they attempt to preserve 'the naturalness of the setting' by conducting themselves in such a way that they do little to disrupt the situation being observed (Denscombe 2010: 206). It is this positioning of the researcher inside the situation being observed that affords the researcher with the viewpoint that allows them access to the everyday goings on of those being observed. It is this 'insider's point of view' that allows the researcher to observe the culture or event being researched with the ultimate 'aim to get insights into cultures and events—insights only coming to one who experiences things as an insider' (Denscombe 2010: 206, emphasis in the original). The researcher in participant observation is looking for the everyday, routine behaviours as well as more spectacular events and, like ethnography in general, a concern for 'holism' is often a core principle when conducting one's research (Denscombe 2010: 206-7). This principle of 'holism', however, is a point of contention in digital anthropology. This is especially the case insofar as that the question of what actually constitutes holism in digital contexts is highly contentious (Boellstorff 2012; Miller and Horst 2012).

A key distinction that separates the present research from ethnography concerns the types of people being observed. Whereas ethnographers might be concerned with a group of people or a community, for instance, this research project observed the individual online presences that, for all intents and purposes, only have the appearance of a unity due to the vantage point of the researcher at that particular nodal point of the social network. In this regard this research shares more of an affinity with the points raised by Postill and Pink (2012) who suggest that digital anthropology focuses too much on issues of community but would be better served by focusing on issues such as 'routine, movement and sociality' (Postill and Pink 2012: 123). This project focuses on two of these elements, everyday routine and the performance of
sociality. It also has a broader link to existing theory which brings it closer to Gatson's definition of multisited ethnography. Multisited ethnography extends upon the traditional model of the single observer method and seeks to 'situate contexts within a dialogue between theory and the field, and the micro mundane world to the macro systems that structure this world' (Gatson 2013: 247). This is either done through moving between online and offline sites or 'building a multilayered narrative that develops the larger social context of a community under study' (Gatson 2013: 248). While the notion of 'community' is not one that was pursued in this project, and indeed in itself marks a departure from many of the common notions of ethnography, this thesis sought to develop a 'multilayered narrative' that could incorporate the larger social and political context of the subjectified individuals under study.

Observation Method

Observation should be conducted over long enough period that the researcher is able to get a 'feel' for the situation being observed and accustomed to the everyday routines and habits of those being researched (Denscombe 2010: 208). As necessitated by the orientation to selfhood underpinning this research, a longitudinal study of a number of months was needed to observe the consistencies (or inconsistencies) of performative displays of self so as to observe the ways in which the unstable 'stable fictions' of the self were maintained. The observation component of the research took place over nine months during which time the actions of participants as displayed through the News Feed of the RFP were observed daily, generally taking in the previous 24 hours of all participants' activity. Field notes were taken every day during the online observation. In the first instance the aim was to get a sense of what sorts of things people were posting about and to establish a categorisation or taxonomy of the sorts of things being posted. Once a feel for the general terrain had been established it was then possible to focus on more specific matters. The field notes involved my own written
accounts of what was being observed as well as screen shots of user generated material. Over time the field notes became a rich source of data through which the performative constructions of a number of users began to emerge. While much of the posting contributed to the typology discussed in Chapter 6 and contributed to a general 'feel' for participants' use of Facebook, the postings of a select group of participants are discussed at length in Chapters 4 and 6 in relation to 'branded selves' and the use of Facebook as a technology of the self respectively. It should be noted that whenever material is used that comes from the participants' own Facebook posts that they are cited with the abbreviation 'RFP'. This material differs from interview quotes in quotes taken from interviews give an insight into what participants think and feel, the material from the RFP reflects what they actually do.

134 participants took part in the online observation component of the research. Participants were drawn from ten different countries\(^\text{12}\) and ages ranged between 18 and 62. The process of observation consisted primarily of scrolling backward through the previous 24 hours of material displayed on the News Feed. As such, this material was a representation of the sorts of things the average Facebook user would see when logging into the site and, it is fair to estimate, was the material that serves most largely to construct the imaginary understandings of one's Facebook Friends. While it is no doubt common for users to peruse some of their Friends' profiles in more depth, for instance by combing through photographs and the like, the research design was limited to observing the sorts of things that users post every day to Facebook. As such, what was being observed was the everyday use of Facebook.

\(^\text{12}\) Not all participants listed their location on their Facebook Profiles. Countries listed were Australia, USA, UK, Argentina, Singapore, Spain, Austria, Switzerland, South Africa, and Canada.
Limitations of the study

While much of the focus of the research was concerned with processes of normalisation and self-regulation, not all Facebook users behave in line with 'normal' subject positions. One of the limitations of this study concerned the study population who participated in various aspects of the study as a result of snowball sampling and through a process of self-selection. While the survey population was quite broad the participants that self-selected to take part in the interviews and observation were largely white, middle-class Facebook users from Australia—the sorts of people then who might conceivably be the measure of 'normal'. Only a handful of observation participants were from lower socio-economic backgrounds.

One participant who is discussed in chapter 6, Gary, emerged as being distinctly out of step with the norms articulated in discourses of Facebook use. While a handful of participants were observed posting somewhat risky material such as statuses that complained about their (clearly identifiable) workplaces or shared material that could be broadly construed as being racist or sexist, it was only Gary who posted material that was almost consistently 'risky', be it sexist, racist, or on the limits of the law. In many ways I am fortunate and grateful that Gary decided to take part in the research. When discussing my research with colleagues who were not particularly savvy with Facebook their first concerns were with the potential for Facebook to be a space in which deviant behaviour was the norm. This attitude largely reflects the 'moral panic' positions that were particularly prevalent during the years 2011-12 in Australia in relation to a news focus on the phenomena of social media 'trolls'. As a frequent user of social media for the past decade I was wary of such claims and knew them, in my experience, to be 'fringe' behaviours, particularly in relation to 'trolls' on Facebook and

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13 The tabloid newspaper *The Daily Telegraph* ran a campaign to 'Stop the Trolls' (Jones and Byrnes 2012) seeking to pressure Twitter to ban 'trolls' from the SNS. For a critique of *The Daily Telegraph*’s campaign see Ross 2012.
Twitter, and it concerned me that otherwise critically minded academics would be taken-in by news reports that were largely the purview of the more sensationalist and tabloid news media outlets. On the other hand, this did increase my sensitivity to the fact that a large proportion of my observation population was not overly-dissimilar to myself.

Gary represented a research population that warrants research in more depth. While this and other discussions (Marwick 2010; 2013) affirm the existence of neoliberal styles of self in SNSs, further research needs to be conducted in uncovering the motivations for SNS use by harder to reach populations of which Gary is a prime example. An analysis that puts issues of class to the fore might be of value here. Similarly, gender and race are issues that were not at the centre of this thesis but are undoubtedly productive areas of research to be pursued. While this thesis did consider issues of class and gender in relation to performativity further projects that are conducted with these issues as central would no doubt uncover a wealth of material. My hope is that my research will inspire research projects that are more sensitive to issues of power and the role of performativity and technologies of the self in relation to the use of SNSs, and that might conduct more specific lines of inquiry while using this methodological orientation.

Concluding Remarks

The nature of the research object being analysed for this thesis necessitated examination from a number of angles. It was clear from the outset that an approach that combined methods, a facet methodology, would provide the best model with which to inquire into Facebook use and the ways in which it was implicated in facilitating the operation of power and processes of subjectification. Power does not operate on one 'level' or in one site and as such any investigation into its operation requires that enough latitude is given to examine it from a
number of angles. By combining surveys, interviews, and observation, and linking the data to theories of subjectification, the research design was able to allow an investigation into the ways in which Facebook is used by many of its users as a technology of the self.

That the core issues at stake within this investigation concern the construction of the self, by the self, and the contingent and constructed nature of these processes required from the outset that a broadly qualitative avenue of inquiry be employed in this research project. By combining the research methods I was able to glean insights into a broad range of Facebook users' attitudes and habits, and to then inquire more deeply into some particular aspects of these whilst also observing them in action. Ultimately, this facet methodology approach combined with a broadly Foucauldian theoretical framework has allowed for a thorough investigation into the ways in which Facebook users themselves do power's work through processes of self-regulation and subjectification in their use of Facebook.
Chapter 4:

Networked Publics, Networked Selves: What Sort of Space? What Sort of Self?

This chapter explores the idea of Facebook as a 'networked public', in particular the influence this environment might have on the behaviours of Facebook users, along with the emerging 'rules' of use that Facebook users call upon to guide their interactions with the site. These are largely user-generated norms which, as discussed in the previous chapter (supra, pp.111-112), offer an insight into the ways through which power might manifest itself in online spaces. This chapter also demonstrates a link between the types of engagement users have with the site and various 'styles' of existence that are related to their work and work-related identities. However, before undertaking this exploration an analysis will be given of the sorts of selves being presented on Facebook. Facebook 'selves' do not appear of their own accord. They require the active labour of users to be created and maintained. The sorts of approaches used by Facebook users will be discussed by comparing them to the already-existing frameworks developed by other SNS scholars.

Writing the (Facebook) Self into Being

To become a Facebook user requires a number of purposive acts to be conducted. One of the key aspects of this is neatly summed in Sundén's (2003) notion that internet users 'write the self into being'. The Facebook self is, from the outset, a visible representation of the individual created and maintained by that individual, and it stands in for the offline individual. In this way the self and identity on Facebook are markedly different to the sorts of selves created through identity play in online spaces, a celebratory trope often used to discuss
anonymous online environments as provided through MUDs (Multi-user Domains/Dungeons) prior to the age of web 2.0. This point was discussed by one of the interviewees, Brenda (42, student):

When I was MUDding I was always role-playing. If my character was a pixie mage, I was a pixie mage. I wasn't me in Australia or blah-de-blah. I was a pixie mage and I would play that role, and if people were going “what do you do in real life?” and I'm like “I'm flying through the forest in my little fairy wings, what are you doing? What? What kind of place is this with the television? What is this thing?” because I'm an actress and I'm a role player and I like that sort of stuff. So when I was MUDding I was role playing (Brenda).

Brenda provides a snapshot of the sorts of behaviours typical of the anonymous internet that were discussed in Chapter 1. That Brenda 'wasn't me in Australia' demonstrates the ways in which the anonymous internet offered a placeless space in which to explore any number of identities including a 'pixie mage' unconstrained by any 'real' barriers. Brenda describes this as 'role playing'. The notion of 'role playing' as performativity emerges as a key element of the 'anonymous' internet as found in Facebook and will be discussed in Chapter 6. For now this discrepancy between anonymous identity role playing and the performative manner in which the self is constructed and self-disciplined can be summed in a number of provocative (and hopefully productive) questions: If we can become almost anything that we want, and this is central to the role of freedom in neoliberalism, then how does Facebook not facilitate this? In theory, we are given the tools here to be and connect with anyone that we want. And yet this is a space in which people choose actively to limit their range of behaviours. How and why would this somewhat paradoxical phenomenon of unfreedom within freedom arise?

This is a central pivot on which to gain sufficient purchase in an attempt to understand the operation of power in relation to the use of Facebook. Whilst the means for self-expression are multiplied the structural and ethical limitations are amplified through Facebook use.
(Edited?) Authenticity: 'it's probably patchy, but not different per se'.

The online self is produced by both the Facebook user's online behaviours and their interactions with others. Like the offline self, the online self is constructed through ongoing performative displays. Facebook users are faced with a tension between 'authenticity' and strategic self-presentation. The tendency towards 'authenticity' arises through a number of factors. The structural conditions of Facebook can be seen as a cultural surveillance object through which users' behaviours are largely visible to their Friends. Facebook Friends are largely people with whom the Facebook user also has an offline connection. Zhao et al (2008) frame these sorts of relationships as being 'anchored' or 'grounded' and posit identity on Facebook as being 'nonymous' (as opposed to anonymous). Anchored relationships means that claims made online are potentially accountable offline. Cultural norms also exist in regards to the presentation of the self as being 'authentic' (Vannini and Williams 2009: 3).

Operating in tension with this urge toward 'authenticity' is the problem of strategic self-presentation. This can be seen in relation to the 'life after social networking' discourses identified by Albrechtslund (2008) as well as in the norms relating to the sharing of information such as 'oversharing' or the dreaded 'TMI' (i.e. too much information).

One of the key strategies employed by Marwick (2010; 2013) in conceptualising selfhood in SNSs is the positioning of the self as 'edited'. Here lies a middle-ground between self-presentation as being 'authentic' or 'strategic'. While more strategic presentations of self are facilitated through the use of SNSs (a point discussed below in relation to the 'branded' self—infra pp.128-136) most presentations of self on Facebook can usefully be conceived of as 'edited'. Practicalities necessitate that the Facebook self is edited. Users simply cannot upload every aspect of their lives to Facebook. Much like a director of a film, users must make a conscious decision for information to be included. Information does not generally appear by
accident. It follows that any presentation of self is, by necessity, an edited self. Bella, a 21 year-old student, summarises this process neatly:

    I think it's certainly not particularly different. Like, I don't conduct myself differently on Facebook to what I do offline, but there's a whole lot of stuff that I do offline that I don't put on Facebook. So, it's probably patchy, but not different per se (Bella).

The poles of authenticity and strategic self-presentation provide a productive tension for exploring the ways in which Facebook users approach the presentation of the edited self. Interviewees were asked to consider how 'authentic' or representative of their offline self they felt their Facebook presence was. Most of the interviewees regarded their Facebook self as being authentic (albeit occasionally an edited authenticity) and representative of who they are offline. The issue of authenticity is vexed, as confirmed by the responses of the interviewees.

Jane, a 35 year-old police officer, responded to the question of authenticity with slight incredulity:

    You think I'm a different person online? I don't think so. I think that, like I said, I don't… yeah no it's pretty much who I am. I'm not a different persona online behind the computer as to what I am in real life. I think that my friends and those people who are my friends on Facebook would say what I post and what I put up there is a true representation of me (Jane).

Jane's inference that the question implied that she was 'a different person online' highlights the stakes in which authenticity is perceived as a valued trait. 'Authenticity' is perceived as a normative good, existing in opposition to 'inauthenticity' which carries with it negative ethical connotations. To be inauthentic is to be seen as behaving in a fashion that is perhaps duplicitous or conniving. Yet Facebook is a space in which users largely have control over their representation by choosing what aspects of the self to present while also having control over co-created markers of their self, such as being able to delete the posts and comments made by others that could reflect badly back on them. When asked later about the intersection of work with Facebook use Jane offered a caveat to her earlier answer regarding authenticity.
She suggested that she 'probably does self-censor' in relation to her work and not wanting to say anything untoward.

Similarly, Brigid, a 40 year-old political candidate, offered an account that demonstrated a full awareness of the issue of edited authenticity. When asked about how representative her Facebook persona was of her offline self she suggested that the nature of identity online is inherently edited: 'I think like most things on the internet it lies by omission. So it's me, but there's massive bits missing'. Brigid highlighted the fact that any efforts to 'write the self into being' will be patchy at best. The sheer impossibility, not to mention undesirability, for a direct match between representations of the online and offline self necessitates an incomplete representation of the self. That Facebook users retain a large degree of control over their presentation of self confers a degree of responsibility on them in selecting which facets of themselves are to be displayed on Facebook. Facebook users bring their own individual tactics and strategies to bear in selecting which aspects of the self are desirable to be made visible on the site.

Eric, a 55 year-old retiree, tended to post about a broad range of things but thought that it was necessary to downplay the negative experiences of his daily life. Eric contrasted his own actions with those displayed by younger Facebook users that he described as being attention-seeking: 'I s'pose there's things that I don't put on Facebook, right, like when I'm bored or when I'm sort of unhappy, I generally don't put that sort of stuff. You see a lot of the kids put that'. Here Eric suggested that whilst he may experience unhappiness it is not something that he feels he should necessarily reveal on his Facebook Profile. Eric continued:

So in that aspect of it I suppose that my Facebook persona doesn't have those kind of things in it, whereas my real life does…I think it's a bit sooky, you know. Like, a 16 year old girl going “oh fuck I'm bored” you know, some of that shits me, that kind of thing, it feels a bit desperate (Eric).
Eric feminised this particular behaviour and framed the posting of negative emotions on Facebook as undesirable. He labelled this behaviour as 'a bit sooky' or being 'a bit desperate' and suggested that it was a possible attention-seeking strategy. In posting only positive updates Eric's Facebook persona can be understood as being an edited self in which authenticity is found not in the acknowledgment of his negative moods but in the absence of being seen as attention-seeking.

Considered thought is given to how the self is presented and this was seen in the views of Clem, a 37 year-old PhD candidate and consultant. Her response to the question of authenticity and the Facebook self was:

I don't deliberately put forward an artifice, but I think you're always presenting an edited version of yourself, whatever medium you are. Even in face to face things you're never kind of completely the same ways you would be when you're on your own or just at home or whatever else (Clem).

Clem confirmed the sorts of claims made regarding the presentation of self in Goffman's front/back stage metaphor. The communication medium or spatial bounds within which a presentation of self is made exhibits an influence upon the individual by prompting them to present themselves in ways that they might not when in private.

Clem regarded herself as honest in her presentation of self but she was also conscious of what she said on Facebook:

I'm always mindful of not putting anything that's too off the cuff that could come back and haunt you later, but at the same time I think that I'm honest. I'm not saying that I'm doing things that I'm not. I think that whatever I put there would be something like what I think is true at the time (Clem).

The issue of 'life after social networking', of posts returning to 'haunt you later', confirms Albrechtslund's (2008) concerns for the potential for discourses to influence SNS users' behaviours. Clem's approach to maintaining her Facebook presence could be understood as
one that is 'considered'. She regarded her approach as one that was 'authentic but perhaps an edited authenticity'. Like Eric, Clem was reticent to post material that portrayed her negative emotions: 'you know, if you're in a bad mood or something like that, you don't necessarily want to think “well do I really wanna tell everybody that?” and stuff like that'. Clem contrasted her approach to Facebook with her use of Twitter in which she tended to be a bit more open about her feelings:

I'm probably a little bit less careful with Twitter because it is inherently more ephemeral. But even then it depends on my mood exactly. I go through phases where I say a lot of stuff, and other times I think “oh, you know, do I really want to say that to them or maybe not?” (Clem).

Here the distinction between Facebook and Twitter, and their different digital architectures, influenced Clem's behaviours within the two sites. The digital architecture of Twitter encouraged her to be more open with her posting on Twitter as opposed to Facebook\textsuperscript{14}. While Twitter and Facebook are both prone to moving timelines and newsfeeds and ultimately the perceived phenomenon of 'data falling off the page' (Dubrofsky 2011), Twitter's timeline moves at a much faster speed than Facebook's newsfeed and appears to the watcher to be more ephemeral. Here Clem hinted at the influence of the digital architectures as structures exhibiting an influence on users' behaviours, a point that will be addressed at length later in this chapter.

Even more cautious was Ted, a 62 year-old teacher, who linked the 'edited' self to self-constraint. Ted regarded his offline self and his Facebook persona as being a more restrained version of himself: 'Well obviously it's limited, but it's faithful. Well it probably comes off a bit better in some ways, but then I tend to, I tend to restrict myself a little bit'. Ted was conscious of the ways in which ICTs allow for instantaneous communication and discussed

\textsuperscript{14} According to recent polling by the Pew Research Centre teens are increasingly taking up use of Twitter to interact more freely away from the surveillance gaze of their parents (Kerr 2013).
the temptation that this presented. He pointed to the need to be cautious with self-revealing posts. He suggested that it might become an issue for younger people who were less well versed in self-disciplined communication. Ted offered his own children just that sort of advice about using the internet:

That's the thing too, it's so instant. If you're a young person, and it's not exclusively young people of course, but it's just that young people haven't been bitten as much so they're not as cynical as older people, or they're not as wary. It's such an instant world with things like instant messaging and texting and things happening all the time. The thing is you tend to respond straight away. Now if you respond in the heat of the moment with something, and you say “I'm going to get this person” or say this, or you post the ex-girlfriend's photo or the ex-boyfriend's photo, or all that sort of stuff, that's a real problem. So you have to be disciplined in your use. But that's a general thing, that's for everybody. Everybody has to be disciplined, that's what I think. But the tendency is if you're a kid on it, and I know there are all age restrictions, supposedly, but you also are well aware that there are quite young people using it, and they tend to be pretty open (Ted).

Ted's comments highlight the challenges that the structural affordances of new media offer to users and the supposed need for them to develop measures of discipline and self-government. There is a strong pedagogical aspect present as Ted attempts to inculcate a sense of discipline in the younger users around him, something that was also raised by Eric (discussed as a 'moral entrepreneur' on pp.180) who attempted to advise the young people in his life in disciplined use of Facebook, in particular the risks presented in terms of 'life after social networking' discourses.

Ted linked his own presentation of self with his Christian morality. He said that his version of self online was a 'slightly more Sunday version', referring to the presentation of self at church on a Sunday. He recognised that this raised issues with authenticity and continuity:

I mean, you shouldn't be like that, but having said that, you know how when you're in public you tend to tone down things a little bit perhaps? So maybe I'm slightly more proper, but I'm not sure. I certainly don't indulge myself with being angry on Facebook. But let's face it, I'm a normal, well sort of a normal human being, and I do tend to, and I do get angry at times (Ted).
Ted neatly addressed the sorts of issues inherent to most presentations of self in a public space, and in doing so revealed his own perception of the internet as a public sort of space within which one should maintain a measured presentation of self. Ted's conception of self-presentation on Facebook demonstrated the entwined nature of the architecture of the site, the role of his (Christian) ethics, and the role of 'life after social networking' discourses in shaping self-governing behaviour.

The caution evinced by Eric, Clem and Ted might be understood merely as a function of age. In some respects this might be true. However, younger users were also wary of this problem, perhaps even more so than Ted's comments might suggest. For example, Jason was a 19 year-old full-time student and full-time white-collar worker working in the utilities sector. He also suggested that he presented an edited self on Facebook. His online self was faithful to his offline self but with some omissions, particularly in regards to his sexuality. He suggested that he could 'perhaps be more openly homosexual than what I am' but he did not make any real secret of this fact on his Profile. During the observation stage of the research Jason posted photographs of himself with his partner on a number of occasions. Jason also stated that he did not feel a need to put too much of himself online because most of his Facebook Friends were people that he already knew offline:

I think it goes back to the people I have as Friends on Facebook are people that I, well the vast majority, are people that I know outside of Facebook so they already know me as such. Facebook isn't their only means of knowing anything about Jason, so I suppose I don't feel the need to fill in every detail and every aspect of my life as such (Jason).

This claim would suggest that Jason did not think that he invested much self-work in his Facebook presence. However, during the course of the observation it was clear that there was a strong performative iteration of his political interests. Jason is a passionate member of an Australian political party and often posted photographs of himself with federal members from
his party as well as posting links to news stories that related to his political concerns. While aspects of Jason's private life were somewhat downplayed, his subjectivity as a highly political party member was performatively maintained through his use of Facebook.

Despite age differences Jane, Brigid, Eric, Clem, Ted, Jason, and Bella offered similar perspectives on their presentations of a Facebook self. Their experiences illustrated the varying degrees of 'authenticity' that are at play in the presentation of the self. However, theirs were not the only strategies of self-presentation on Facebook. Other participants discussed some different approaches. As will be discussed below and in the next chapter these strategies involved (1) specific intentions, or (2) rule-making with respect to Friending, or (3) self-branding along the lines discussed by Marwick (2010; 2013), Gregg (2011) and Hearn (2008). The following section looks at those Facebook users that made more conscious efforts at self-presentation online that can be discerned as the 'branded' self, prioritising the maximisation of reward through branding techniques rather than that of 'authentic' self-expression.

**Branded Selves**

An altogether more conscious presentation of self can be seen in the phenomenon of the 'branded self'. This kind of presentation of self affirms critiques of SNSs that implicate them in facilitating what Bauman (2007) and Hearn (2008) have described as the commodification of individuals. A small number of interviewees and observation research participants expressed sentiments or displayed behaviours that represent conscious efforts to maintain a desirable and 'branded' self. This line of critique observes a 'fit' between the logics of neoliberalism, such as individualisation, responsibilisation, the assumption of risk, and the self as entrepreneur, and the commodified, branded mode of selfhood that Facebook is seen
to both encourage and reward. At least two different types of 'branded self' were identified during the course of the observations: the professional branded self, and the personal branded self.

The Professional Branded Self

Rhiannon, a 29 year-old sociology professor in North America, provided the most clear example of the 'branded self' emerging from the research data. She has been using Facebook since 2005 and was an early adopter due to her attending an Ivy League college as well as her college boyfriend being one of the first 100 or so members of Facebook. Rhiannon has over 700 Facebook Friends and has come to use the site in a largely professional context as a networking tool. Roughly a third of her Friends were 'people who I want to keep a Rolodex, in terms of where they are and being able to get in contact with people, especially for professional purposes'. Rhiannon was careful in what she posted to Facebook:

I am very, very careful never to post anything, or to write anything on somebody else's wall that I wouldn't want emblazoned across the CNN homepage. If it was anything that I thought was remotely sensitive, especially when I was in the job market... my god I was a nun. But anything that is remotely sensitive I'll send in a private email (Rhiannon).

Rhiannon's statement that she would not post anything online that she 'wouldn't want emblazoned across the CNN homepage' indicated that for her Facebook was a public space in which any information posted had the potential to reach a global audience. This was particularly important to her during her efforts to secure employment. In posting only innocuous material Rhiannon revealed an internalisation of the sorts of 'life after social networking' discourses in which one's Facebook posts might jeopardise her career.

However, Rhiannon went further than this in revealing her strategies of self-branding. Not only did she monitor her posts to ensure nothing untoward was posted, she also took steps to
shape her presentation of self in such a way that she stood out as a desirable academic 'brand'.

Rhiannon described her efforts to cultivate and maintain a professional image while in the job market. One of her particular strategies was to develop contacts with other sociologists. She initiated Friend Requests with many of them for 'if nothing else but name recognition'. In this Rhiannon acknowledged that many fellow sociologists were quite willing to accept Friend requests despite not knowing her in person, highlighting the acceptance within particular professional spheres to use Facebook as a professional networking tool. In this sense Rhiannon was cultivating her 'brand' as a sociologist within a broadened professional/social network. This strategy paid off for her as she was approached by a large publisher offering her a book deal:

So to give you a concrete and discrete example of how this helped me publishers came to me unsolicited to ask me about my dissertation and turning it into a book. I didn't approach them. But a couple of other high-name sociologists knew my name, not just from conferences, but from me writing things on Facebook and talking about my dissertation on Facebook. And they had mentioned it to editors and friends of the publishing house who then came and found me from my website and from Facebook, which are two different things, and started to talk to me about it (Rhiannon).

Rhiannon consciously maintained her brand by keeping her Facebook audience aware of and up to date with her research. This involved an effort to remind her audience of her activities by utilising a quirky hashtag meme to grab her audience's attention.

Visibility is something that must be maintained on Facebook and Rhiannon's self-as-brand represented an ongoing performative reiteration of herself as an academic. Rhiannon was quite explicit about the cultivation of her online self, which also extended to a mutual and collective maintenance of reputation as exercised by herself and her peers:

I don't mean to sound arrogant when I say this but I've been extremely careful about my online presence, and extremely careful about censoring stuff. And my friends are also very good about that. We don't upload pictures, we don't tag each other in photos, there's kind of a common social norm amongst us that you only put something on Facebook that is absolutely, you know, Caesar's
So it's not just me doing that, it's been a group effort. Because if my friends wanted to screw me over, they could (Rhiannon).

Rhiannon highlighted the ways in which the presentation of the self was not only an individual pursuit but also one requiring the goodwill and responsibility of others. It also hints at a certain paranoia evident insofar as one's Friends (and in some cases, assumedly competitive colleagues and co-workers) may prove to be a future adversary. It also demonstrated the ways in which one's own social milieu and 'social norms' play a strong role in the construction of the self. I asked Rhiannon if she and her Friends had actively discussed the need to maintain professional standards to which she replied 'I don't think we have to. We all just do it, do it just implicitly'. Rhiannon and her Friends both reinforce and protect one another's subjectivities.

Inez is a self-employed 33 year-old working in the 'wellness' industry in Spain, and like Rhiannon, she expressed a need to maintain a Facebook self that encompasses the professional 'branded' self. These 'branded' selves can also be seen as 'always-on' selves in which the imperatives of work are consistently present outside of normal business hours. These forms of 'always-on' and 'branded' selves mean that there is no clear demarcation between work/leisure nor the professional/private self. As a self-employed person in the 'wellness' industry Inez is the product that she is attempting to market. One of the reasons Inez used Facebook to market herself and her business is because she thought of Facebook as a cheap, easy, light, and informal way of connecting with people, and this suited her way of conducting her business.

Facebook is definitely a place where I can communicate easily and in an informal way with people who are in my group and say “oh I'm doing this, are

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15 The term 'Caesar's wife' refers to the 'moral significance of appearing good' (Driver 1992) as found in the quote attributed to Caesar regarding his divorcing her in the wake of her suspected wrongdoing: 'Caesar's wife must be above suspicion'.
“you interested?” and people react so their Friends see them react and… yeah it's cool (Inez).

While Inez framed this sort of Facebook use as informal it was also indicative of a form of networked individualism (Rainie and Wellman 2012). In this way Inez was able to leverage her own social network connections along with the trust and goodwill that these connections imbued in her efforts to reach outwards among her Friends' further social network connections.

All of this means Inez needs to approach Facebook in a specific way that maintains a friendly and accommodating image. As such she tended to keep her private details to a minimum and not post anything revealing:

I don't go putting really personal stuff on Facebook anyway. For me it's just “hello, I'm here”. You don't even see that I have a boyfriend, or what I'm doing, or if I'm going through a crappy day. I just put the happy stuff and that things are moving forward and… you know the things that you want to share with your friends but are positive of big mood (Inez).

Inez suggested that as the nature of her business was personal she found that sharing herself was useful in letting potential clients get to know her personally before using her services. This gives rise to a contradiction in her use. Inez hoped that Facebook would allow her potential clients to build up a sense of trust and familiarity with her personally through her Facebook presence, while at the same time she was presenting only a small portion of her actual self on Facebook. Whilst Inez framed this use of Facebook to market herself and her business as informal she also revealed an instrumental use of Facebook and the leveraging of her existing social network connections.

**The Personal Branded Self**

One of the more concerning issues arising from techniques of self-branding is the potential for its slippage into broader aspects of the self. The point is well-made by Gregg (2011: 6): 'if
our capacities for intimacy are most regularly exercised in the pursuit of competitive professional profit, we face the prospect of being unable to appreciate the benefits of intimacy for unprofitable purposes. Facebook, in her view, is a technology that replicates the norms of middle-class professional workplaces and re-articulates them through the social network site platform. This further encourages an adoption of the strategies and tactics appropriate to the workplace into the methods and modes of socialising. It is also an example of the ways in which the imperatives of neoliberalism are relocated into non-economic spheres. Facebook facilitates the operation of 'network capital' while also requiring the individual to manage their own 'network reputation' (Gregg 2011: 98). Whilst for some this heroic 'networked individualism' represents the new norm (Rainie and Wellman 2012) others are less enthusiastic. Gregg's (2011: 6) warning that 'we face the prospect of being unable to appreciate the benefits of intimacy for unprofitable purposes' is manifest in the instrumentalisation of friendship that potentially arises from the collapsing of 'Friends' into network connections who are maintained merely out of a concern for their potential for future leverage. Within this schema inconvenient 'Friends' are easily deleted with little concern. This is clearly exemplified in the perspective offered by Julia, a 19 year-old student who relocated from regional New South Wales to study in Sydney. Her discussion of her Facebook use offers an insight into a phenomenon that could be described as neoliberalised friendship.

Julia has been using Facebook since 2007. She first encountered the site when she was visiting the United States when her friends told her about the popularity of the site. Since then

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16 Elliott and Urry (2010:10-1) (see also Urry 2007) define 'network capital' as operating in a fashion similar to that of economic or cultural capital, but being largely 'subjectless, communications-driven and information based'. To have network capital is to be mobile, 'at home in' a number of settings and situations, to have 'connected lives', extensive networks of 'workmates, friends and family members' that are 'maintained through intermittent visits and communications'.
Julia has amassed almost 900 Facebook Friends which she thought was 'a bit embarrassing' although she qualified this with the fact that she has 'met every one of them in person'. Julia has a penchant for travel and met many of these Facebook Friends whilst travelling overseas. She was quite open about the fact that she used Facebook in an instrumental fashion. She uses Facebook as 'networking tool' for 'keeping in contact with useful people who I meet'. When asked to expand on the sort of capacity in which she found them useful for networking Julia responded:

Well, I mean like if I happen to be in France again and you know, I want a place to stay, or if I want someone to tee me up with a job or something like that, hopefully people will remember how well we got along last time I was in the country and they'll be able to drop me a few favours [laughs] (Julia).

Julia cultivates and maintains a network of Friends that are 'useful' in the sense that they present her with a number of opportunities in the future. In this way Julia's use of Facebook to maintain a network of Friends was little different to the professional use of a Rolodex in which a number of professional network contacts are maintained for the benefit of one's career.

To gain the most from this 'network capital' Julia must also manage her 'network reputation'. Whilst not explicitly discussing it in these terms, she was very aware of the need to do this and had explicit rules for managing her own conduct on Facebook. As such she described herself as presenting a 'censored' version of herself on Facebook:

I think I censor quite a lot of my postings just because it's all public. So people are going to develop an image of you. So you don't, like, I don't swear ever. Even though I swear in real life, I would never swear on Facebook because it's recorded immemorium [sic] (Julia).

When asked about who might potentially see any infractions of these rules and why she might be concerned Julia offered an instrumental explanation based on maintaining her image in a networked space:
I think it's people who I'm hoping to... you know, who I'm hoping to engage, re-engage with again. Like my close friends, my really close friends who I see all the time... PFFT... I don't care what they think! They've already made their decision about me whether they like me or not so that's totally fine. But an example is I have a friend, I met a girl in Malaysia when I was 13 who I ended up adding on Facebook and then last year I was in Switzerland and I re-contacted (sic) with her and I ended up staying with her for a week in Switzerland in her house in the Alps. So if I had have been posting stuff that made me look a bit dodgy and shady I might not have had that opportunity. So that's the kind of things that I'm thinking about, people who I might be re-engaging with, or people who I might want to... um... capitalise on [laughs]. You know, ask favours from, that kind of stuff. I just like to keep a generally good impression about the person that I am (Julia).

Julia was clearly aware of the potential for great reward from her network connections such as being able to stay in a Friend's house in the Swiss Alps. Equally clear was the need she expressed in maintaining her reputation by not 'posting stuff that made me look a bit dodgy and shady' as it might jeopardise any similar opportunities.

The precarious nature of these 'Friendships' was demonstrated in Julia's own estimation of her Facebook Friends. For Julia an annoying Friend is sometimes as easy to delete as their individual posts:

Some people just post crap all the time and if they're going to just post crap all the time I just delete them off my Friends list so I don't have to deal with it anymore. First of all I evaluate whether I'm ever going to be able to stay with them in Switzerland, in the French Alps or not [laughs], but if I'm not seeing any potential benefits and they're not really a close friend or anything then I delete them completely (Julia).

Julia demonstrated the paradox of the networked individual. Whilst she was at the centre of her own network and was surrounded by other network connections that could be deleted 'completely', she too risked the potential of becoming a devalued network connection. This risk required Julia to maintain her personal 'brand' as a desirable and non-risky network connection to her Friends. In order to maintain her brand image Julia must bear in mind the sorts of acceptable behaviours that could be displayed to her 900 Facebook Friends.
Julia represents a clear example of the adoption of professional network values within the sphere of personal friendships and the risks and rewards found in such forms of friendship. Julia's use of professional network management techniques for the maintenance of her personal network connections is emblematic of the blurring of professional and personal lives and styles of existence that are increasingly common in the use of Facebook. Complicating this is the fact that Facebook is a space that is neither wholly private nor public, but better conceived as being 'semi-public'. New norms arise amidst confused and often contradictory attitudes as to what sort of space Facebook should be understood as, and what sorts of behaviours are acceptable within its confines.

**Facebook, Work, and 'Always-on' Selves**

One manifestation of the blurring of the private and public arises in the slippage between work and leisure. Facebook emerges as a site within which users negotiate, or are subjected to, new and evolving norms pertaining to work and the use of Facebook. This arises in myriad ways.

**Subjectivity, Work, and Posting Behaviour**

An unanticipated finding of the research was an apparent congruence between particular forms of employment, subjectivity, and Facebook posting behaviour. This congruence emerged during the observation stage of the research. One of the more prominent ways in which this manifested was in posts that 'marked' or announced the end of the working day or week. These posts demonstrated a clear demarcation between the times of day devoted to work and 'not-work', along with a corresponding approach to Facebook posting suggesting that its use belonged to the sphere of 'not-work'. Posts such as 'And my working week is done. Hello beer o'clock!' (Brian, 33, Chef, RFP) or 'Back to work tomorrow' (Ernie, 41,
Truck Driver, RFP) were commonly expressed sentiments during the observation period. A number of research participants were observed posting regularly about drinking alcohol or were photographed at parties, pubs, or nightclubs in various stages of inebriation. These sorts of posts often garner the reward of 'likes' from their Facebook Friends.

'I wish my life goal was to get drunk and listen to Mötley Crüe because then I would be killing it' (Brian, 33, Chef, RFP) [5 'Likes'].

'Who goes to an elementary school fundraiser and ends up hungover the next day? Apparently this girl.' (Christina, age not provided, Teaching Assistant, RFP) [8 'Likes'].

'When you drink ALL the vodka on a Friday night and then spend the rest of the weekend remembering snippets of what happened... That' (Kelly, age not provided, Human Resources Consultant, RFP) [2 'Likes']

In many ways these examples are not unlike the sort of post-partying tales people regale their real-life friends with when later meeting in a face-to-face environment. When these Status Updates are posted within the space of Facebook this suggests that these Facebook users regard Facebook as a suitable sort of social space in which to share such information casually with their friends/Friends.

These sorts of posting behaviours might suggest that these users rejected the notion that Facebook was a public space open to scrutiny from people outside of their own peer group. Another interpretation is that they are aware but are unconcerned by any potential issues that could arise. This approach to posting was in sharp contrast with how many professionals understood the space Facebook occupies. For them, posting any sort of material pertaining to drinking was regarded as irresponsible and often served to mark a potential candidate's unsuitability for a position (Moses 2010). Social media reputation monitoring agencies such as Reppler and Reputation.com warn people to manage their social media presence by not posting or allowing themselves to be tagged in any pictures where they are pictured with alcohol, not joining Groups that celebrate alcohol, or posting any statuses that mention
alcohol use. Clearly there is a distance between those that regard Facebook as a space outside of the purview of the professional, or do know and do not care, and those for whom Facebook is entwined with work.

The above examples of Facebook posting can be contrasted with those observation participants for whom no real separation existed between their personal and professional selves. These participants revealed an unexpected correlation in relation to those Facebook users engaged in fields of employment typified by flexibility such as the creative industries or higher education and their posting behaviour on the Facebook site. Users engaged in these sorts of industries performatively constructed and maintained a subjectivity in which their work and personal life are one and the same. The participants discussed in this section posted predominantly about their professional lives, with many posting to such a point that even their recreational posts were tinged with references to their professions.

Marcus is a 33 year-old costume designer and artist in the United Kingdom. His posts mainly concerned his creative pursuits although these were interspersed with pictures of his baby, or him being tagged in photos with his family that his partner uploaded. Marcus regularly posted photographs of the costumes he creates. He often posted a number of times a day with pictures that showed the evolution of his creations. Photographs of himself and the pieces being created within his design workshop were generally coupled with location 'tags' that offered a link to his studio with relevant information and GPS coordinates. Posting over a number of months, his works were shown from the initial stages of their design through to their completion, then on to their professional use with 'behind the scenes' photographs of his works' use in commercial shoots, and later posting links to their appearances in magazines.
and fashion shows. Marcus' ongoing Facebook posts left little doubt that he was 'always-on' in regards to his performance of professional pursuits.

Peter is a 19 year-old also engaged in the creative industries. Peter is in the theatre industry and his Facebook posts are almost exclusively concerned with his pursuits in staging or attending musical theatre productions. He often posted photographs from the rehearsals of each production in which he was involved along with Facebook location 'Check-ins' at the various theatres in which he was working. Peter's Facebook presence suggests that he derived immense satisfaction from his work in the theatre. Even when posting material that was not pertaining to his own theatre work these posts reflected his passion for the theatre. Posts such as 'I should never be allowed in the 'CDs of musicals section of the library by myself' (Peter, 19, theatre designer, RFP) and 'Legally Blonde was AMAZING :D :D Everyone should go see it :)' (ibid.) reflect his dedicated interest in his field. For Peter, Facebook was a space in which to document his entry into the creative industry that he clearly loves.

Olivia, an academic, posted material almost exclusively related to her work. A large portion of her posts were links to blog posts on her own separate blog site. A proficient blogger, Olivia would often post two or three blogs a day which related to her research interests and link to these through her Facebook Profile. She also posted links to books and events that were related to her field of research as well as photographs of herself at conferences and literary events in which she was often pictured with keynote speakers from the events. Olivia would also post links to news articles that were relevant to her research area. She projected an image of being extremely busy but also immensely satisfied with her busy academic life. None of her posts contained any negative tones, not even the sad occasions of funerals or the deaths of people in her life where she remained philosophical about such matters. The tone of
Olivia's posts were generally very upbeat with Status Updates such as 'Oooh, prestigious journal I sent my abstract to on spec, has replied to say it is suitable for submission. No promises to publish, but *runs around squealing loudly*\textsuperscript{17} (Olivia, age not provided, academic, RFP). Olivia occasionally posted material outside of her research interests such as photographs of friends or links to news stories pertaining to current political events, but these were generally prefaced with her own take on the issue and her reasons for posting such as '1:3 women will have an abortion in their lifetime. End the stigma and shame about this safe and essential procedure. Watch and share Leslie Cannold's awesome TEDx talk' (ibid.). Thus Olivia can be seen as performing the subjectivity of a busy intellectual absorbing and analysing pertinent news events. In a post linking to a story in The Sydney Morning Herald in which Olivia was quoted she demonstrated the ways in which the maintenance of a branded self on SNSs can further careers: 'Look at me quoted in the Sydney Morning Herald! An opportunity that came from twitter networking. Bummer re the cliché photo' (ibid.). This post projects a casual and informal attitude towards something that is a formal and professional success, and thus an almost ironic, self-knowing 'cool'—the cache of the suave and sophisticated. Olivia's Facebook presence demonstrates the satisfaction and opportunity arising from her rich intellectual life and the ways in which it permeates all parts of her self.

A common thread can be gleaned from the Facebook behaviours of Marcus, Peter, and Olivia. While they present a self on Facebook that is 'always-on' in regards to their professions they all manage to engage the interest of their Facebook Friends with these posts. The 'social' aspect of SNSs should not be overlooked. Marcus, Peter, and Olivia maintain the interest of their respective audiences. All received rewards in the shape of positive

\textsuperscript{17} The convention of entering text within two asterisks is often used in internet text to denote a physical action. A sentence ending in *smiles*, for instance, denotes that the author is smiling.
encouragement in the form of 'likes' and positive comments that demonstrate a keen interest in the content that they are posting. There is a fine art in being able to manage this and not all of the observation participants were able to achieve it. Wendy, also an academic whose posts almost exclusively pertained to her work, linked to her other social media accounts on tumblr, Flickr, and Twitter. She would often post the same item on each account resulting in triplicate postings on her own Facebook Profile. Whilst Wendy had roughly twice as many Facebook Friends as Olivia she did not receive the same sort of positive feedback from her Friends. Very few posts received 'likes' or generated any sort of discussion in the comments. Wendy's Facebook presence demonstrated a lack of interest in maintaining a Profile that captured the interest of her audience. Whatever her motivations and satisfactions in posting, which she did often, it was not visibly rewarded by her Friends.

The need to be 'interesting' is one that underpins much of one's social media presence. The ability for audiences to Follow or Friend hundreds and thousands of social media network connections means that to maintain a 'branded' self is also to cultivate an 'interesting' self that cuts through the noise of pervasive social media and maximizes the potential for visibility (Bucher 2012). Research by Marwick (2010; 2013) and Marwick and boyd (2011) shows how some SNS users interested in cultivating and maintaining a 'branded' self will employ strategies of impression management by assessing audience feedback (in the form of Twitter 'retweets' and @-replies) and using this information to craft their social media presence strategically. The ability to ascertain audience responses through metrics such as ' Likes' and comments offers 'branded' selves the ability to gauge the interest of their posts. These sorts of links with other 'quantified self' (Singer 2011) strategies highlight the ways in which the self becomes both a subject to be inhabited and disciplined, and an object to be commodified.
Privacy: User Perspectives

As noted above, Facebook facilitates a slippage between what is public and what is private. Facebook complicates the nature of a binary public/private divide and instead is perhaps better understood as occupying a continuum of publicness (boyd 2011: 51-2, Nissenbaum 2009, Trottier 2012: 167). Users are confronted with a set of challenges in deciding for themselves how to approach this dilemma of publicness or privateness. They respond to privacy issues in a number of ways. One of these is to minimise the amount of information that is entered into the Profile itself. The profiles of a number of the research observation participants included fields that were left blank. Of the 134 participants 69% did not provide their date of birth, 17% did not provide their location, 41% did not list their current employer, and 21% did not provide details of their education. Further to this 59% did not display information regarding their religion, while 57% did not disclose their political views. Just over half of those surveyed made use of Facebook's customised privacy settings (57%) with varying approaches to this including the restricting of family members or colleagues from seeing posts, blocking Friends from posting or commenting on one's own Profile, restricting photographs so that they are only visible to family members, or separating friends into tiers with varied levels of access. One of the interviewees, Joan, a 40 year-old freelance writer, repeated an oft-heard refrain regarding privacy: 'My big thing is just the fact that you can no longer be naive about the fact that everyone's watching. There is no anonymity online'.

Interviewees had varying responses to issues of privacy. When asked about the issue of changing conceptions of privacy and what effects this might have on people Brigid strongly hoped that it would cause people to think about their actions online and to behave accordingly. Brigid suggested that in an age of transparency engendered by the internet people would have to learn to become more responsible in their use of the internet. While
Brigid saw a broad shift towards openness, especially in regards to her own role as a political candidate, she took steps to protect the privacy of her family: ‘I don't post a lot about my children, and I certainly don't put their names online. I don't tend to put photos up. I only put a few'.

Joan similarly took steps in her use of Facebook to safeguard her husband's and children's privacy. She saw this issue as one of caring for their privacy and acknowledged that while she was happy to have a social media presence this did not automatically extend to publicising details about her family:

I'm conscious of the fact that I'm making that choice to share part of myself online, and to be part of an online community, but my husband and my children get to make that choice for themselves. I can't assume that I can safely put bits of information out there that relate to someone else. I'm more careful because I'm aware that I don't have the right to share my husband and my children's information (Joan).

Joan's case highlights a potentially looming issue as people's digital doubles are increasingly co-created through the online actions of others. Joan said that she refrained from posting too much information about her family and framed this as an issue of responsibility or rights insofar as it was her choice to build her open online presence, but only inasmuch as this did not impinge upon her family. By extension this also suggests that the responsibility for each individual's online reputation is a cause for the individual's concern. The family, once firmly conceived as occupying the private sphere, is problematised as it enters the semi-public realm of Facebook.

This reconceptualisation of privacy was discussed by Clem, a consultant and PhD candidate. Clem said that she understood how confusing this changing nature of privacy could be and how people could be caught up by it, but she also maintained that there was also a degree of personal responsibility that people should exhibit in their online actions:
On the one hand there's gotta be awareness that what you're putting out there is in the public forum and if you start putting salacious pics of yourself online or something like that then, you know, you've only got yourself to blame and you've been a bit stupid (Clem).

Here Clem links personal responsibility ('you've only got yourself to blame') with either a lack of awareness or intelligence regarding the acceptable practices of online posting. An action such as the posting of 'salacious' photographs of oneself was seen by Clem to be risky due to the 'public' nature of Facebook and as such she thought these legitimate grounds for any consequences that may arise from engaging in such risky behaviours. This aspect highlights the issue raised above by Brigid in that many people are beginning to have to learn to adapt their behaviours and reconsider what is appropriate conduct online. As a networked public Facebook engenders a set of new behavioural challenges for users to negotiate.

**Networked Publics: Lives out Loud and on the Record?**

Networked publics bring with them a set of affordances or behaviour-shaping tendencies that, whilst not dictating behaviour, have both enabling and constraining effects. Whilst not explicitly framed in relation to power, boyd's 'networked publics' provides a model with which to understand its operation in the use of Facebook. As was noted briefly earlier in the thesis (supra pp.73-77), boyd (2011: 45-8) identified four structural affordances: 'persistence', 'replicability', 'searchability', and 'scalability', which in turn generates three dynamics—'imagined audiences', 'collapsed contexts', and the 'blurring of public and private' (boyd 2011: 49-52). Let us consider each of these factors in more depth in terms of the extent to which they were recognised and negotiated by the research participants. These architectural factors, and the influence they exert upon the behaviours of users, should serve as an orientation to the discussion in Chapter 6 regarding Facebook as an architecture of surveillance.
Persistence

Information posted online is ostensibly there forever. This suggests that Facebook users could possibly be held to account in the future for things said many years ago. The persistence of information is rendered even more visible since the launch of Facebook's 'Timeline' display in which everything a Facebook user has posted, or had posted by others, to their Profile is now represented visually in a sort of chronological time capsule in which the Facebook user's entire Facebook history is captured. Carla, a PhD Candidate, expressed concerns with this issue:

Part of the reason is that it collapses time. Something like Facebook, or anything on the internet, collapses time. So things that you might've said a few years ago that reflected your state of mind back then, which you might've radically altered your mind about today, it all gets collapsed as if it's just a static representation of your personality. That worries me (Carla).

Carla's description of the tendency of the internet to 'collapse time' is interesting as it raises the issue of a decontextualising of the user's information. She thought this problematic, as it negated any recognition for change and agency of the self. A permanent record of the self could potentially serve as a 'static representation of your personality'. In this sense Carla described the effects of having information persist as a sort of permanent record in which one's sentiments in the present are potentially made accountable in one's future.

Similarly, Mary, a 44 year-old paralegal from Sydney, discussed the issue of persistence in relation to the likelihood that teenagers will have to endure the consequences of their Facebook posts in the future:

I think it's a huge problem. And I don't know what, realistically, people are meant to do about it. I mean we all know that teenagers' brains are not wired to think about the future, they're not wired to think about consequences, you know, driving a car, or posting on Facebook, or whatever. And the fact is that it's there, the fact is that parents can't control it. Parents can't even pretend to control it. I mean, what do you do? I don't know, I don't know what the answer is to that. Educate them, educate them, educate them, educate them (Mary).
Mary highlighted something that has the potential to become a huge issue as a generation comes of age having spent the entirety of their formative years living their lives out loud and on the record. In many senses this fits well within the framework of 'life after social networking' discourses but there is also the potential that as an issue discussed largely in relation to the reckless use of the internet by teenagers, it occupies a similar territory to moral panic discourses. Much of the rhetoric surrounding 'life after social networking' discourses is aimed at, or framed around, the behaviour of teenagers (who are normatively seen as 'at-risk' subjects (Kelly 2006)) rather than 'mature' internet users somehow seen as being exempt from risky behaviours. boyd (2007) suggests that this is part and parcel of the contemporary lives of young people and that employers that overlook candidates based on their online posts might miss out on the best minds of my generation. Bright people push the edge, but what constitutes the edge is time dependent. It's no longer about miniskirts or rock and roll; it's about having a complex digital presence (boyd 2007, npn).

Concerns that young people are particularly vulnerable because of their age and naivety (recall Google CEO Eric Schmidt in Chapter 2 and the notion that today's young people might have the right to remove their online history) have given rise to considerations that might grant them some leeway. California's government recently passed a law allowing for young people to have their digital histories removed through an online 'eraser button' (Miles 2013). This general idea of a 'reset' button for young people was raised by Mary who suggested that young people should be granted an 'amnesty':

Maybe we should have some kind of amnesty when people turn 18 [laughs], anything that they posted prior to that, they can burn or whatever, because they weren't of… I mean, when you think about it, if you're not of a legal age to vote why should you be held responsible for other stuff that you're not apparently of a legal age to have responsibility for? If you have a legal age for the things like voting, I think it's unfair to hold people responsible for the things they said when they were 16, or 17, or did or posted or whatever. You can't expect young people to start curating their image [laughs] from that age. It's just impossible (Mary).
The persistence of information online is understood as a problem for Facebook users, especially for young people who might have to deal with the potential consequences of having information posted within networked publics coming back to haunt them. However, it is also clear from Carla and Mary's experiences that the figures of risk, the reckless online youth, also serve as a motivation for older users who construct their subjectivities in opposition to such a figure as responsible, mature, self-disciplined users of Facebook.

**Replicability, Scalability, Searchability**

Further complicating the issue of persistence are the second, third, and fourth affordance: 'replicability', 'scalability', and 'searchability'. Whilst owners of digital content have been concerned with the economic threat that digital copying of copyrighted material poses to them (Poster 2004) 'replicability'\(^\text{18}\) can also pose a threat to SNS users who find that information posted in one environment is easily replicated and placed in another online environment. The issue of replicability is often connected with another of the affordances of networked publics, 'scalability'. The nature of the internet and networked publics means that information is able to spread almost instantaneously to enormous audiences. The phenomenon of 'viral' information in the shape of internet memes (Knobel and Lankshear 2007) demonstrates the reach that information is prone to within networked publics. An illustrative example can be found in the case of the congressman Anthony Weiner. Weiner resigned after risqué pictures that he had sent to another person were revealed and circulated far beyond the initial recipient (Pilkington 2011). The fourth affordance of networked publics is 'searchability'. The power of search engines such as Google allow keen individuals to search for information with ease. Facebook's own search functions make it easy to find

\(^{18}\)Whilst differing somewhat, these concerns can also be linked with the diminished value of art in an aesthetic sense. See Walter Benjamin (1969).
particular users by searching for their name, location, interests and so forth. Information that may have laid undiscovered due to the sheer volume of data on the internet is easily found through the power of search tools. Clem, tempering her statement made above concerning the posting of 'salacious' photographs online, observed that 'having said that you've got to take into account the forum, you're effectively archiving, or making searchable the sorts of idle conversations that people have had down the pub for years'.

Clem highlights the way in which the structural affordances complicate user behaviours. Information posted on Facebook is digitised and as such potentially searchable once it is part of the digital archive. The four structural affordances combined present a set of new and unique challenges for Facebook users to negotiate and to keep in mind when posting anything to Facebook. Following from the four structural affordances of networked publics are three 'dynamics' that exists within networked publics. SNS users contend with 'invisible audiences', a 'collapsing of context' and a 'blurring of private and public'.

**Invisible Audiences, Collapsed Contexts, Blurring of Private and Public**

Visibility works in one direction on Facebook. Users are able to survey the actions of all of their Facebook Friends but are unable to ascertain exactly who views¹⁹ their own unless their Friends 'like' or comment on their posts. Facebook users have a reasonable idea of their potential audience in the shape of their own Friends lists, but as discussed above in regards to the potential for information to escape its intended confines, an audience could potentially include unknown or unanticipated viewers. This includes the possibility of future employers, for instance. This intertwines with the dynamic of 'collapsed contexts' in which Facebook

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¹⁹ An exception to this is in Facebook 'Groups', and in 'Group Messages'. Members of a Facebook Group or Group Message are able to see who has viewed a particular post. This is not the case in the News Feed or Timeline where users are unaware of who has viewed their posts.
collapses all of the Facebook users' network connections into the one flattened category of 'Friend'. The more complex the network connections are of the Facebook user, the more the potential arises for information crafted as being suitable for one audience to be unsuitable for another. In the quote above Clem raised the issue of context collapse as such conversations 'that people have had down the pub for years' become attached to the permanent record and the accountable identity that one occupies on Facebook. Whereas someone might casually make an unsavoury comment in the context of drinking with friends at the pub and experience no negative repercussions for it the same comment on Facebook potentially could have unforeseen consequences any time in the future due to the searchable and archived nature of information within networked publics and the collapsing of context.

As Facebook users engaged with the site over a period of time their connections become more diverse and complicated. Joan, a freelance writer, gave an example of this phenomenon:

> So originally my Facebook page started out as a personal thing. Then it was just family and friends, and people that I knew well. But it's really changed... I don't now post a lot of really personal stuff on Facebook because I have Friended a lot of other bloggers, a lot of people I've met online, and so I now am very careful. I never have pictures of my kids on there in their school uniforms, I don't mention where they go to school, because it's no longer just people I know - it's all sorts of people (Joan).

Here Joan addressed the issues that come from having a diverse audience being flattened into one category of 'Friend'. Joan felt that she had to change her posting behaviour as a result of having her professional connections ('no longer just people I know') become part of her personal social network. She posts less personal information and refrains from posting information that could potentially identify her children. Joan's experience highlights the tendency for people's interactions with the site to change as a result of their usage shifting from one of being primarily for leisure and sociality into one that more heavily leans towards
the professional\textsuperscript{20}. It also reflects the concerns expressed above by Rhiannon (supra, pp.129-131) insofar as their Facebook Friends or audience exist as both a supportive network (Joan discusses this in Chapter 6, infra, pp. 217) and a potential risk to be managed. The network becomes a source of both reward and risk.

This collapsing of context and flattening of network connections can manifest in other ways. Young Facebook users, for instance, posting with their university friends might find that these posts are less appreciated by grandparents or employers. Bella, an undergraduate student, found that apart from general concerns with privacy it was through being Facebook Friends with her mother that she also felt somewhat constrained when posting to the site. She said she was careful about posting on Facebook because 'I'm very conscious about privacy and security stuff, so I try very hard to not put, like, exactly where I am… Other than that it's mostly stuff that I don't particularly want my mum to know about'. While Bella was concerned with privacy issues and these concerns caused her to be careful with her posting, her visibility to her mother also exhibited an influence on her online behaviour.

Brigid discussed this in relation to the structure and audience of Facebook and compared her use of Facebook with her use of Twitter. As a political candidate for a progressive political party she maintained connections on both sites with a large number of fellow party members as well as political foes, along with people generally interested in political conversation. Like Clem, Brigid also found that Twitter facilitates a different type of self-expression to Facebook. Brigid found that she needed to be more careful in her posts on Facebook:

\begin{quote}
I think really carefully about what I put on Facebook, and it does also make what I put on Facebook very… mostly fluffy. Occasionally something like the
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{20}DiMicco and Millen (2007) actually discuss this as being a normative type of transition in Facebook users within the workplace as they mature from college students to responsible, professional SNS users.
refugee stuff will come up. So I've posted some stuff about refugees because there's a lot of people that I want to reach who know me who will go “oh hang on, if she's saying something else maybe I should calm down the rhetoric I'm believing”, and that's what I'm hoping for. To sort of try to remind people that we're talking about people. And I think I can get away with that on Facebook. But on Twitter that's just political. Any time I start doing fluffy stuff on Twitter I start losing followers [laughs]… Whereas Facebook, see it's good because it also means that I'm careful about what I put on it (Brigid).

This is an example of how the flattening of the imagined audience shaped Brigid's own self-expression. This aspect of the internalisation of the audience gaze will be discussed further in the next chapter in regards to the surveillance gaze and panopticism.

Complicating this further is the fact that it is not just Status Updates that make the Facebook user and their actions visible to their audience. Behaviours such as 'liking' a Friend's post are made visible in the Facebook News Feed. By 'liking' a post it is intimated that the Facebook user agrees or identifies with the original post's content. Joan explained how this often made her pause to consider the material that she was making visible to her teenage son who, being new to Facebook, was now able to see her behaviour online:

I'm very conscious now that I'll sometimes go to 'like' something and I think “ohhhh, do I really want that popping up on my son's News Feed? Perhaps not”, and generally it's more a [bad] language thing than anything. But, I'm conscious now that there are little eyes watching me. That adds a whole new dimension to it (Joan).

While a recent change to Facebook's architecture allows users to demarcate audiences it is not apparent that users are utilising this feature. Since September 2011 users have been given the ability to create particular groups with whom to share posts. However, just under a third of those surveyed (29%) said that they never use this feature, while 34% said they always use it, and another 38% said that they use it sometimes. This highlights the difficulty for users as reflected in their own practices in dealing with changing conceptions of what is public and what is private, along with the ever-changing development of the Facebook platform. Interestingly, there appears to be a generational aspect to this issue as boyd (2010) points out
that teenagers approach their online posting in such a fashion that their posts tend to be 'public by default, private when necessary'. This inverts the assumption of many older users that their posts are private unless they choose otherwise.

Conclusion

This chapter has affirmed some of the main existing claims regarding the nature of selfhood on Facebook and the influence of the structural design upon user behaviours. The presentation of the self on Facebook is, by and large, a 'nonymous' and 'authentic' albeit 'edited' one. While some users engage in techniques of self-branding and use the site in a way that will enhance their professional lives, others employ strategies of Friending and exclusion so as to be able to express themselves without fear of any potential negative ramifications in their professional lives. As will be shown in the next chapter, some users engaged with Facebook to let off steam at the end of a busy working day while also using the site to buttress the sense of isolation felt in coming home after work to a solitary living arrangement. Work, whether a part of one's Facebook presence or kept apart from it, emerged as a key concern in the decisions Facebook users made in their engagement with the site.

The observation phase of the research confirmed that many Facebook users performatively construct a 'branded' self while many others do not. The ongoing, performative nature of self-construction required an ongoing observation of Facebook users' behaviours rather than a simple content analysis of their Facebook Profile in order to gain an insight into what they 'do' rather than simply 'show'. What emerged through the ongoing observation was a correlation between particular forms of employment and types of behaviour on Facebook. Individuals employed in industries typified by entrepreneurialism, contractualism, and flexibility such as those in higher education or creative industries tended to project a
subjectivity in which there is no real discernible demarcation between work and not-work. Conversely, many of those employed in more stable or traditional forms of employment or roles in which there is a clear demarcation between work/not-work tended to post in ways that suggested that they were 'off the clock'. Many observation participants used Facebook outside of their working hours in a 'leisure' capacity. On the other hand many observation participants, much like Rhiannon interviewed above, did not post in any sort of capacity that suggested that they were 'off the clock', posting material that at most times suggested a subjectivity that was 'always-on' in regards to work.

The ways in which Facebook is conceived by users as a public broadcast medium or a private communication channel can have serious legal ramifications. Legal cases in which Facebook users have lost their jobs for posting material deemed to be inappropriate equally suggest an ambiguity as conflicting judgements fail to deem Facebook as a private or public space under the purview (or not) of employers (Thornthwaite and Barnes forthcoming). Facebook then represents an intriguing space in which no firm rules are yet in operation. User practices and sentiments thus allow a means through which to assess the extent to which extra-legal discourses permeate and inform users' decisions and attitudes towards engaging with Facebook. In an absence of concrete laws it is telling to analyse the ways in which discourse shapes the self-perceived boundaries of acceptable Facebook behaviours.

Facebook occupies a 'space' that is conceptualised as being a sort of 'networked public'. This space exhibits a set of behavioural influences upon Facebook users due to the ways in which digitised information is subject to the set of affordances found in networked publics. While this chapter has affirmed these influences and the 'edited' self the next chapters will demonstrate that this is only a part of the entire picture. Further consideration will be given to
the role of structures in the behavioural choices of Facebook users, but the scope of the inquiry will be broadened by arguing that networked publics are better understood as a mechanism of power insofar as they are also an architecture of surveillance. Furthermore, discourses relating to Facebook and its proper use also provide a structural resource for meaning-making and exhibit an influence upon the choices that Facebook users make when engaging with the site. More importantly, these structural influences are implicated in the processes that make up the construction of the self. Chapter 6 will explore this issue of selfhood further as Facebook is analysed as a technology of the self. For now, we turn to Chapter 5 to explore how surveillance is experienced by actual users as they negotiate the various constraints and opportunities for liberation within the online world of Facebook.
Chapter 5:  
Discursive Formations and Facebook's Architecture of Surveillance

The previous chapter established the existence of modes of selfhood on Facebook that can be seen as 'edited', 'branded', or 'authentic'. It demonstrated that Facebook users present a specifically 'edited' self within the structuring architecture of 'networked publics'. It also highlighted the roles that user-generated norms or 'rules of use' play in shaping their behaviours, as well as uncovering links between forms of employment and 'styles' of use and self-presentation. Drawing on the views of participants this chapter examines the structural dimensions that shape both the possibilities for and the nature of the 'edited self'. The chapter demonstrates how these phenomena are directly related to and are a product of the operation of power arising from architecture, surveillance, and discourse, and contributing to processes of self-government. The Facebook user is akin to both autobiographer and film director engaged in writing, editing, and portraying the self—processes that require a multitude of strategic choices. Many of these choices are prompted and shaped by the sorts of audiences and structures inherent to Facebook. While the previous chapter demonstrated how the 'edited' self was constrained and produced via the affordances of networked publics this chapter will explore the surveillance architecture of Facebook as a discursive formation and the ways in which this exhibits a structuring influence upon the Facebook user's actions. This will be broadly explored in regards to Facebook as a technology of surveillance, as well as assessing the role that discourses pertaining to Facebook, class, gender, capitalism, and labour play in structuring Facebook users' experiences and understandings of what Facebook actually 'is'.
Facebook, the site, exists on one level as little more than computer code. For Facebook users it also exists as a virtual structure, a 'dwelling' (Trottier 2012) inside which they house their digital selves. Since the early days of 'cyberspace' spatial metaphors have suggested a conceptualising of the internet as 'somewhere' rather than 'nowhere'. Following on from Lessig (2006) and the understanding that 'code is law', Facebook is conceptualised as a space in which code acts as a form of virtual architecture that guides and shapes the possible actions of those dwelling within the site. The architecture itself exhibits an influence upon the behaviour of Facebook users. Drawing on the work of Foucault as developed earlier in the thesis (supra, pp. 77-79), especially Discipline and Punish (1977), this chapter will examine the effects of the digital architecture upon Facebook users' behaviours. It will be argued that it is most effective in establishing a form of self-monitoring and self-regulation of user behaviour and as such plays a central role in the construction of the self.

A further structuring effect arises from the role of discourse. As has been established earlier in the thesis (supra, pp.24) Facebook is a discursive formation in which particular forms of knowledge are produced and circulated and which serve as resources for performative self-construction. Discourses possess both enabling and constraining capacities. It is evident that a vast body of knowledge pertaining to Facebook is being produced every day in both mainstream media as well as between individuals. Media reports that discuss, for instance, Facebook users being fired from their jobs for posting material deemed to be inappropriate convey the message that certain forms of behaviour are desirable while others are not, and that breaching these appropriate behaviours has direct 'real-world' consequences. At the same time these reports also present desirable and undesirable subject positions, the moral and immoral Facebook user, whose behaviours online exemplify and embody a subjectivity
aligned with particular political (and economic) values. The immoral Facebook user who behaves in unethical ways finds themselves cast aside from the flows of employment and consumerism, and thus exists as an example to be avoided. A key aspect of this is the manner in which particular behaviours are represented and articulated in discourse. The example of the dismissed employee carries with it a particular set of knowledges and representations. It establishes the legitimacy of the intrusion by the employer within Facebook as a legitimate sphere relating to work rather than simply leisure while upholding the interests of the employer over the dismissed employee. Here then is an intersecting of a number of discourses. Those discourses that pertain to Facebook intersect with discourses of hierarchy and work, discourses that normalise the individual as having a moral commitment to employment and consumerism, and the legitimation of internet surveillance practices in the present era.

**Facebook as Surveillance Architecture: 'Lateral Panopticism'**

As has already been discussed in Chapter 2, a great deal of the surveillance that occurs in SNSs can be understood as horizontal surveillance as opposed to top-down institutional surveillance. More importantly, Facebook surveillance is predicated upon mutual visibility. What *is* actually visible to each Facebook user is a uniform visibility of the 'News Feed' and the digital traces of their network connections from their own egocentric vantage point. Like the inmates in the panopticon the only actually visible physical body is their own. The data to be presented demonstrates that Facebook functions as a panoptic form of surveillance engendering processes that exist as a form of *productive* power in relation to the building of subjectivity. The processes of self-monitoring and self-regulation are greatly facilitated by the architecture of Facebook and the dynamics of networked publics. Facebook surveillance
has become integral, at least for Facebook users, to the performative production of the self and the internalisation of the surveillance gaze.

**Internalised Audiences and the Surveillance Gaze**

The structural affordances and dynamics of networked publics identified by boyd (2011) exist as a set of challenges and complications for Facebook users (supra, pp.144-152) who find that their information can be used in ways contrary to their intentions. Arising from this situation is a normative set of regulations that urges users to refrain from posting information that could be used in ways that might harm them if it were to escape its intended confines. This is further complicated and amplified by the dynamics of networked publics, including the feature of 'invisible audiences' and 'collapsed contexts'. The invisibility of audiences is a central pivot for the functioning of Facebook panopticism.

Facebook users are largely aware of their potential audience based on those who exist as network connected 'Friends'. There is however a disjunct between the potential audience and actual audience. Several factors complicate this. Data is prone to 'falling off the page' (Dubrofsky 2011) such that there are temporal factors at play so that the likelihood of a Friend seeing a Facebook post is greater if they are viewing their own News Feed shortly after the item is posted than if they log into Facebook hours later. The number of Friends each user has also complicates this through a sheer vying for diluted attention through a 'crowding out' effect. If a user posts something to Facebook and one of their Friends has 800 Friends of their own, the activities of these 800 people will quickly push the user's post off of their Friend's News Feed. Facebook users however have no way of knowing if somebody has viewed a post unless it receives 'likes' or 'comments', but this too is only a small sample of the audience as 'likes' and 'comments' are not guaranteed whenever a user posts an item to
Facebook. The invisibility of audiences is further complicated by a 'collapsing of contexts' in which all of a Facebook user's network connections are flattened into the category of 'Friend'. Hence the Facebook user must construct an imagined audience to which they are posting suitable material. This is no simple task as users are largely unaware of who is viewing their material unless their audiences announce themselves. The 'norms' surrounding this suggest that it is common practice to peruse one's Friends' material without announcing one's presence, a practice colloquially known as 'Facestalking'.

**Facestalking**

Facestalking is the perusing Friends' Facebook profiles without leaving any comments or 'likes'. The term Facestalking draws on the real world term 'stalking', but as applied to the Facebook practice it is largely considered as a much more harmless and normal one than its real-world namesake (Trottier 2012: 81). Many Facebook users engage in the practice while some prefer to make their presence known. Jane, a police officer, felt an obligation to let her Friends know that she was observing their Facebook behaviour and thought that her Friends also engaged in this custom:

> I always comment on other people's posts. I think it's kind of a way of letting people know that you're looking at them. I think if you just look at stuff and you don't actually participate, I think “well, that's a bit, that whole voyeuristic thing of, you know, like stalking other people's lives on Facebook” (Jane).

Jane's use of the term 'voyeuristic' raises the point that visibility on Facebook is only possible due to its being a technology of surveillance. Jane was the only interviewee to mention the issue of voyeurism, insofar as she felt that to view a Friends' Facebook Profile without announcing her presence, could be construed as a form of voyeurism. That she was the only person to raise this issue reflects the acceptance by most Facebook users that they are on display within the social-surveillance architecture.
The acceptability of Facebook as a technology of surveillance, and hence giving it an aura of legitimacy, rests on the fact that users give permission to others to view their behaviours and that any material posted on Facebook is done so with the tacit knowledge that it is for the purposes of display. Jane discussed the mutual surveillance practices and customs that she and her Friends engage in: 'If my friends have posted photos of the kids and I'll say “oh that looks cute” or “it looks like you've had a good weekend”… and they do the same to mine as well'. This mutual commenting on each other's photographs represents a means for Jane and her Friends to negotiate the surveillance arrangement by overcoming what, to her mind, is a possibly deviant practice (stalking) by making her presence known through commenting on posts. This is however a somewhat unusual example insofar as Jane was the only interviewee to express this particular perspective. Clem, a PhD candidate and consultant, for instance, said that she posts very little and mainly observes on Facebook: 'I'm probably more of a watcher more than a participant on Facebook. I tend to be looking at what's going on and what other links people are posting, rather than generating much of my own content'. Other interviewees suggested that it was normal to comment on and 'like' their Friends' posts, but this was more out of maintaining and nurturing friendship through the offering of 'little pieties' (Goffman 1971: 62) of everyday interaction rather than out of a regard to negate a perceived sinister presence in unreciprocated watching. The way in which 'Facestalking' has come to be considered a normal, mundane practice, highlights the normalisation of surveillance between lateral and invisible audience members.

**Imagined Audiences: Known and Unknown**

It is established that Facebook, within networked publics, tends to collapse contexts and flatten network connections. This means that within Facebook all the diverse groups of people with whom someone connects—friends, family, co-workers, professional and social
acquaintances—are collapsed into the same audience as 'Friends'. These network connections, or Friends, also make up a large number of the intended audience for each Facebook user. By and large, however, this is only a potential audience. No user is able to know definitively who has seen any of their Facebook posts. With this in mind each Facebook user posts with an imagined audience in mind. Reconceptualising this within the surveillance perspective of the panopticon allows for an analysis that is able to interrogate the power relations at play within such an architecture of surveillance.

The Facebook user's imagined audience plays a role similar to that of the tower guard in the panoptic surveillance assemblage. While this surveillance assemblage includes the imagined audience it also includes unintended but possible audience members such as future employers. Within Facebook's surveillance architecture the possibility arises for information to 'leak' from its intended container (Lyon 2001) through the affordances found in networked publics. The persistence and searchability of information may allow interested and unanticipated parties to view one's posts. The replicability and scalability of information means that it is easily recontextualised and used mischievously. These factors play a part in many individuals' approaches to using the site as they necessitate practices of self-monitoring and self-regulation. Understood as architectural factors of a surveillance technology, the affordances of networked publics are able to be interpreted as engendering particular power relations in which Facebook users are entwined.

Facebook users often think about the reactions of their audience when using Facebook. They self-monitor and self-regulate their posting behaviour as a result. Survey participants were asked 'To what extent, if any, do you take into account the perceived reactions of others when posting on Facebook?'. Of all those surveyed only 14% of respondents said that they did not
take the reactions of others into account when posting to Facebook. 42% said that they took the perceived reactions of others into account when posting. A further 4% said that they tended to post in ways that enhanced their image. 22% said that they purposely withheld from posting information that could be potentially embarrassing. It is clear that Facebook users are generally concerned with the ways in which their behaviours on Facebook will be received by their audience. What is unique about Facebook is that its users do the work of self-monitoring and regulating their actions as a result of their visibility to the Facebook audience. The operation of power is facilitated through the internalisation of the imagined audience's gaze within the surveillance architecture of Facebook.

It is not only existing, semi-known audiences that are of concern to Facebook users. The possibility for information to 'leak' from its intended audience both in the present and the future means that Facebook users must also reckon with the effects of their information escaping from its intended contexts. Not only are current Facebook Friends part of the imagined audience but—as life after social networking discourses remind them—so are present and future employers. Survey participants were asked which particular audiences they were concerned about when posting with the question 'How would you rate the level of consideration you give to your posts on Facebook in relation to the following groups?'. Table 5.1 shows the levels of consideration given to different audiences.

**Table 5.1: Levels of consideration given to potential audiences**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Consideration</th>
<th>Friends</th>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Co-workers</th>
<th>Employers</th>
<th>Future employers</th>
<th>Overall audiences</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Not at all</td>
<td>10.08%</td>
<td>8.46%</td>
<td>7.77%</td>
<td>10.40%</td>
<td>14.95%</td>
<td>3.59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. When I think about it</td>
<td>17.14%</td>
<td>12.05%</td>
<td>10.88%</td>
<td>8.05%</td>
<td>11.84%</td>
<td>9.92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Occasionally</td>
<td>18.95%</td>
<td>16.91%</td>
<td>16.84%</td>
<td>9.73%</td>
<td>11.53%</td>
<td>21.31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Most of the time</td>
<td>30.85%</td>
<td>28.54%</td>
<td>29.79%</td>
<td>23.83%</td>
<td>20.25%</td>
<td>42.41%</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Every time</td>
<td>22.98%</td>
<td>34.04%</td>
<td>34.72%</td>
<td>47.99%</td>
<td>41.43%</td>
<td>22.78%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The clear clustering around the category of employers and future employers suggests that the role of employability is a key concern, prompting self-monitoring and necessitating varying levels of engagement in practices of self-regulation. Family and co-workers also emerge as key influences on Facebook users and their need to self-monitor. Alison, a 41 year-old chef, limited her Friending to only those co-workers with whom she did not work closely. She discussed the potential for employers to be concerned with candidates' use of Facebook and suggested that she had anecdotal evidence of employers checking Facebook: 'My brother runs a business and he was saying that quite a few will go and check out people's Facebooks when they apply for jobs and that's becoming more common'. Alison disagreed with the practice:

I wouldn't agree to that. As far as I'm concerned that's my private time, and what I do in my private time has nothing to do with you. And if I want to rant about work then I don't want you to hear it because that's my private time (Alison).

Over the course of the interviews it emerged that while some users felt that Facebook was a private space that should be outside of the purview of employers, others accepted that it was a legitimate source of information for employers when researching a candidate's background. In either case the conceptual understanding of invisible audiences needs to be broadened to encompass the incorporation of unintended audience members and users' internalisation of the surveillance gaze. In many respects, these unintended audiences are in fact known to the users, not directly from firsthand experience, but indirectly through a process of imagining undertaken by the user when posting.

Facebook's architecture is one that is predicated on the user's contributions to maintain visibility, but it does so in ways different to other SNSs. The actual architecture of Facebook compels disclosure (Marichal 2012). A number of interviewees discussed the differences between the architectures of Facebook and Twitter and the ways in which they posted differently to each site. Interviewees who used both sites suggested that Facebook and its
known audiences restrict their ability to post as openly as they do on Twitter where audiences are often less known and identity is more anonymous. While Clem discussed this in regards to the 'ephemerality' of Twitter (supra, p.125) Isobel, a 28 year-old medical physicist and PhD candidate, suggests that it is the difference in audience between the two sites that prompts her to be more careful when posting to Facebook than Twitter:

I'm much more likely to put stupid stuff, or stuff that I want to complain about, or stuff that I couldn't necessarily get fired for but maybe someone at work wouldn't like me for putting it there [on Twitter]. So I'm more likely to put it on Twitter because it seems a little bit more anonymous than Facebook to me (Isobel).

Isobel identified the possible ramifications for her professional life as a reason for withholding more on Facebook as the audience is both more 'known' and has the potential for leaking to her extended professional networks. She also raised the role that her Facebook audience plays in regards to her self-monitoring on Facebook: 'I don't really post heaps on Facebook about personal stuff because of the people that I'm Friends with on Facebook there are only a few that I would like to share this stuff with'. Isobel also suggested that she was uncomfortable with posting too much personal information on Facebook because she was Friends with her family members whereas none of her family followed her on Twitter. Isobel jokingly suggested starting a second Facebook account 'where I can just bitch about my sister'. Having a more 'anonymous' audience on Twitter allowed her to express herself more freely while the 'known' audience of Facebook, especially those in her own family, encouraged her self-restraint. This awareness prompted many users to develop ways of managing their posts to minimize potential problems.
Strategies for Managing Audiences: 'So you've got work, you've got home, and you need a third place'.

Users developed rules and strategies regarding whom they would and would not allow to connect with them as Facebook Friends. Mary, a 44 year old paralegal from Sydney (Australia), said she was “fairly relaxed” about who she was Facebook Friends with. She did however have a strict rule about not Friending colleagues:

I don't have any current work colleagues, I don't even put where I work because otherwise people will start trying to hook up with you from work and I just don't want that. I just wanted that personality to be completely apart from work (Mary).

The feature of 'searchability', discussed in the last chapter, poses an issue for maintaining Mary's privacy hence the omission of details such as her work that might otherwise more easily allow colleagues to find her on Facebook. For Mary her presentation of self in what she described as a 'conservative' workplace conflicted with her 'real' personality which she reserves for her home life and her presentation of self on Facebook:

My work colleagues are, well, it's an American company, and it's based in [the] bible belt, so it's a very conservative... um, right up the top it's very conservative, a very conservative culture... And, so I guess some of my life is not all that conservative (Mary).

Mary aimed to keep her personal life separate from her working life. She felt that this necessitated maintaining a strict separation between the two within her Facebook presence. This was an important separation for Mary to enforce. Facebook for Mary was a leisure space, a means through which to unwind and regenerate her labour power at the end of the day:

I live alone and I live close to my work, so it's basically, you know, my work is mentally exhausting, so it's basically, go home, turn on the TV, turn on the computer, start mucking about with the art stuff or whatever, but Facebook is always sort of running there in the background (Mary).
In this sense Facebook becomes a very important means through which Mary was able to place a buffer between the working space of her day and her personal, private life.

Facebook also served as a significant part of Mary's social life. It provided a degree of satisfaction away from work and a means of sociality which was something particularly important for her because she lived alone. Mary described Facebook as a 'third place':

So you've got work, you've got home, and you need a third place. So in the old days it might have been like the bar in [the television show] Cheers. That's why that show is so attractive, because everyone's got this notion in the back of their mind where how fantastic it would be to have a third place where you walk in and everyone knows your name, where it's like family but it's not like family and so on. I think Facebook kind of serves that purpose more now than it may have when it started... but yeah, it's definitely, for me, it's definitely my 'third place' I would say. Again, as sad as that might seem (Mary).

Mary's use of a spatial metaphor raises a number of key points in relation to the ways in which she uses Facebook. It is increasingly common for people to live alone (Klinenberg 2012). Mary highlights the role that Facebook plays in supporting the individualised lifestyles that are becoming more prevalent, and this is something that Alison also confirmed as a motivating factor for her use of Facebook after work. While Mary positioned and policed the boundaries of Facebook as a 'third space' it is clear that it also served as a 'release valve', a means for leisure and unwinding. It was a means for socialising within a present defined by logics of individualisation and self-reliance. For Mary Facebook was an outlet of her 'real' self as well as a coping mechanism for dealing with the demands of life within contemporary neoliberal capitalism.

Mary's sentiments were echoed by Alison, a 41 year old chef from Newcastle, Australia. Alison also used Facebook as a 'third place' and a means through which she relaxed and regenerated her labour power after work:
You know, I think that's one of the reasons why I like Facebook, because I end up being so tense and it's probably why I'm pissed [drunk] on Facebook because I'm so tense when I get home, I'll grab a beer and I'll sit down, and I live alone as well, so it's my company, you know, it's the people I talk to while I'm doing other stuff (Alison).

Like Mary, Alison lived by herself and used Facebook to wind-down after work. It was a space to connect with others while living alone, possibly affirming some of the concerns raised by Turkle in *Alone Together* (2011), but more demonstrating how broader logics of individualisation are complemented and sustained by Facebook use. Alison was also concerned with limiting her Facebook audience so as to be able to post to Facebook without having to be too concerned with self-monitoring and regulating her behaviour. Alison's Facebook posts, observed as part of the research, reflected this disposition. Alison would frequently post about her relief at being home after a hard day of work and would often post about her after-work drinking. She would regularly post in a manner that suggested that she was using Facebook as a means to socialise with others via the interactivity of the site with numerous Status Updates, at times becoming more indicative of her becoming progressively more inebriated, and engaging with her Friends in the comments attached to her posts in a free-flowing and conversational manner.

When asked about whether she worried about what she posts because of her Facebook audience Alison said that she preferred to take efforts in selecting her Friends: 'I guess I do worry about it when I'm adding (Friends), but I don't worry about it when I'm posting. Does that make sense to you? Because I do tend to just work it out beforehand, and if they're going to be an issue then I just won't add them'. While Alison was Facebook Friends with some of her colleagues these tended to be those with whom she was not working closely in the kitchen. Being Friends with those with whom she worked closely had caused problems in the past and since then she restricted her Facebook Friendships to only those co-workers that
work on the floor of the restaurant and not in the kitchen. For Alison this was enough of a separation as her dealings with the floor staff were less than with staff in the kitchen, as well as being less volatile due to the conditions of working in a busy kitchen.

Mary and Alison both employed rules of their own making in an effort to maintain a clear separation between work and the home. They did so by attempting to manage their Facebook audience and by keeping undesired watchers from observing their use of Facebook, in effect negotiating the potential panoptic effects engendered by unwanted audiences. This allowed them to free themselves from the gaze of co-workers and the possibility of revealing information that could cause friction within their workplace.

**Surveillance as Labour: 'if you're not paying for the service, you're the one being sold'**.

While the mutual surveillance aspects of Facebook exhibited an influence over the behaviours of Facebook users a somewhat paradoxical disinterest in hierarchical forms of surveillance became evident during the research interviews. Even though users might internalise the surveillance gaze of their friends and family members they were clearly ambivalent toward the issue of dataveillance and the capitalising of their information for commercial benefit. This ambivalence taps into the sorts of concerns expressed by Fuchs (2011a; 2011b; 2010; 2009). Fuchs highlights the ways in which companies such as Facebook capitalise on the unpaid labour of Facebook users. Interviewees confirmed the 'privacy paradox' (Cohen 2012: 108) insofar as they were concerned with their own privacy as it applied to their immediate lives, but they also regarded the commercial use of their information by Facebook as a fair exchange. Jason, a 19 year-old student and white-collar worker in the utilities sector, typified the sort of response given by interviewees:
See, it's like, a line and I can't remember who said it but it's a decent quote and it's something like “if you're not paying for the service, you're the one being sold". So I've been fully aware. Facebook have obviously been able to provide a free service and is obviously a massive company that's worth billions of dollars, it's making money through the use of that data (Jason).

Julia expressed a similar sentiment:

I don't have an issue with people using me as a statistic. I'm part of the population and if Facebook needs to make money from somewhere and these other people wanna market their product, it's just the way the Western world works. It's the weird, abstract structures that we've created for ourselves and I'm a part of that. I'm not gonna fight it. Hopefully one day I'll be able to capitalise on it (Julia).

Rhiannon's position was that she entered into the relationship fully aware of the situation:

What's the quotation? “If you get something for free you're the product”. They're providing a product which I'm choosing to take part in. So as much as I don't love the idea of information being out there, I use credit cards, right? I send emails, I have a presence, there's information being mined about me constantly. So if I really wanted to stop using the products, well, that's my choice. And obviously it's a choice I haven't made (Rhiannon).

For these Facebook users the use of their information was something that was a natural part of using the service. The convenience of the service outweighed any potential exploitation that might be experienced. That such geographically and socially distant participants should repeat the same refrain (Jason, an undergraduate in Australia and Rhiannon a professor in North America) highlights the ways in which discourses permeate liberal democratic Western societies.

Jason concluded his thoughts on the subject: 'you know obviously it's a concern so you've gotta be worried about what they can do with it, but they have a legal right to do that, I mean it's a free service and they've gotta be making money somehow'. Jane expressed a similar sentiment: 'I think that it's part and parcel of using the product, do you know what I mean? Yeah, I mean it's a free product. I guess that they're making some money out of advertising, sponsorships, selling advertising, and then datamining'. Others thought that their safety lay in
numbers. Toby, a 30 year-old business development manager, doubted his usefulness in terms of his behaviours being able to be translated into economic value: 'I think I'm less useful than some 'cos I use it so infrequently, but I don't have a problem with the info on Facebook being used to market to me or anyone else. It's a voluntary service, I went in eyes wide open'. That the exploitation occurs at such a remove is a possible explanation for the sentiments expressed by Facebook users, but it also demonstrates the normalising power of the discursive formation in which these practices are experienced as legitimate. The naturalness of capitalism is evident insofar as it is the everyday lived reality for the participants and as such needs no explicit justification. The illusion of choice here suggests that if one does not approve of these practices then one should simply not use the site. As 19 year-old Julia suggested above 'it's just the way the Western world works… Hopefully one day I'll be able to capitalise on it', affirming the processes of subjectification in which subjectivities within the consumerist West are expressed performatively.

While surveillance analyses of SNSs that focus on structural exploitation are useful in their corrective to earlier SNS analyses that only focused on user experiences, economic analyses too are limited in their ability to provide a full picture of structural effects upon user behaviours. Users take as given that structural exploitation is built into the platform, but this does not weigh heavily on their minds. The structures that do affect Facebook users are those that are more immediately apparent to them. This includes the internalised surveillance gaze of the imagined audience along with the structuring role of discourses of Facebook and surveillance.
Discourses of Surveillance and Facebook

Another structural aspect of Facebook emerges with some clarity when it is viewed as discursive formation. Discourse operates as a structuring force upon thought, language, and practices by making sense of the world as well as providing readily-available 'meaning-making' resources. They do the work of interpretation or providing meaning by way of offering a set of normative meanings. As Foucault has demonstrated, discourse operates at the juncture of power and knowledge (Foucault 1978: 100; 1981). In the case of Facebook, sets of understandings are circulated within various media and are present in Facebook users' understandings and attitudes toward Facebook, and are infused with prevailing understandings and multiple power relations and politics through which individuals interpret their own experiences with Facebook. They form part of the resources drawn upon by the Facebook user in practices of self-regulation and self-construction.

Ultimately, discourses of surveillance and Facebook can be seen as providing the overall structures of meaning and sense-making that inform the decisions that users make in relation to their behavioural choices and dispositions, as well as being entwined with the overall surveillance assemblage. In this sense we find a narrowed range of acceptable practices and behaviours that contribute to a shrinking 'universe of discourse' (Marcuse 1964). Through discursive practices specific to Facebook, we can see articulated a set of preferred meanings and subject positions. This section will look at the descriptions given by interviewees and the ways in which these resonate with media-circulated ‘truths’ related to Facebook. It will be demonstrated that the meanings held by individuals are far from arbitrary and need to be understood as largely being shaped by ready-made meanings present in dominant discourses which are themselves imbued with particular political logics and power.
The processes of meaning-making, and through that, identity creation and recreation, are intimately linked with subjectification. We can define subjectification as the 'multifarious processes and practices, through which human beings come to relate to themselves as persons of a certain sort' (Barnard-Wills 2012: 34), thus having a particular (but always negotiated) identity. More precisely, identities:

are discursively constructed, multiple and plural, contingent and open to change, vulnerable, and an outcome of processes of power. It is therefore a highly political conception of identity. Because identity is a political construction it cannot be prior to politics but is maintained, constructed, transformed through political struggles. (Barnard-Wills 2012: 75)

Of particular interest for this thesis are the 'truths' that might be best described as 'life after social networking' discourses (Albrechtslund 2008). These relate to the possibilities of behaviours conducted online coming to jeopardise the future career prospects of SNS users.

These concerns can be summed up as follows:

When youngsters lead a life in mediated publics, the fear is that their adolescent thoughts, musings and immature actions might become a millstone around their neck, since the information will be embarrassingly accessible later on. One such speculation has to do with getting a job in adult life (Albrechtslund 2008, npn).

Here we see 'at-risk' logics coming into play as the potential for an individual to maintain an active identity and status as employable (and also as a consumer) is placed 'at-risk', or jeopardised, by their actions on Facebook. These sorts of 'at-risk' logics are particularly poignant when linked to the life-chances and 'transitions' of young people (Kelly 2006). Also present in Facebook's circulation of discourses are those that legitimate hierarchy, that enable work to be understood as taking precedence over individual autonomy, and that foster a particular understanding of individual responsibility (i.e. a strong emphasis on the need for individuals to be responsible for their actions). These primarily coalesce around the issue of avoiding risk to employment because of 'unsafe' Facebook posts. As the interviewees reveal,
these can be understood as contributing to and reinforcing broader political logics as found in the normative discourse of neoliberalism.

**Facebook Discourses and the Mainstream Media**

Mainstream media are a primary means for the circulation of 'life after social networking' discourses by reporting both factual stories of people being fired for inappropriate Facebook use as well as by publishing stories that seek to warn of the dangers of inappropriate Facebook use and offering advice on how to behave online. Newspaper reports regularly warn of the potential ramifications Facebook users face if they do not comport themselves in proper ways. In 'The terrors of Twittering; growing up in an unexploded data minefield' (Hearn 2010) Facebook users are warned that 'Party antics and examples of extreme behaviour posted for fun on Facebook and other social networking sites are set to become ghosts that haunt individuals when they try to get credit, homes or jobs as adults'. The article cites Geordie Guy from *Electronic Frontiers Australia* who warned 'Reclaiming your online identity is like trying to unbake a cake. If potential employers have seen you drunk with your top off, you can't undo it' (Guy cited in Hearn 2010). Newspaper articles like this contribute to a growing body of cautionary tales. Newspaper articles such as 'Waitress fired for griping about tip on Facebook', 'Police warn teens about Facebook', 'Beware getting off your Facebook' (Whyte 2011), 'The Web Means the End of Forgetting' (Rosen 2010), 'I Flunked My Social Media Background Check. Will You?' (Honan 2011), 'Bosses using social networks to screen job applicants' (Fenech 2011), 'Good Guy fairly sacked over Facebook rant' (Hurst 2011), and 'Facebook drinking posts teacher Elizabeth Scarlett reprimanded' ultimately contribute to and legitimate 'life after social networking' discourses.
While these articles themselves contribute to 'life after social networking', it is important to note that many of these articles rely upon the contributions of job recruiters as well as so-called SMEGs (see Chapter 2) who themselves gain financially from the existence of such 'truths' by conducting social media courses that capitalise upon individuals and businesses that seek training in the proper use of SNSs. Both recruiters and SMEGs benefit from the legitimization of 'life after social networking' discourses and their articulation with hegemonic neoliberal values as recruiters' vetting methods using Facebook are unchallenged and SMEGs retain their 'expert' status. For example, one recruiter bragged how she 'conducted an hour-long internet search on an IT position candidate and discovered a Twitter reference to him smoking marijuana', while another stated that she had 'come across some horrendous stuff such as compromising photos, illicit drug taking and illegal behaviour. If we see that, we won't hire them' (Whyte 2011). Thus recruiters and SMEGs position themselves in the role of 'expert' within a schema of media reports that legitimate their own interests and allow them to articulate a particular form of normativity. This then becomes a power/knowledge schema in which 'life after social networking' discourses combine with other prominent discourses, in particular those with neoliberal frames of references. These sorts of 'life after social networking' discourses were also prevalent in the research interviews.

**User Perspectives on Facebook and 'Life After Social Networking' Discourses**

Interviewees had different takes on the issue of 'life after social networking'. Perhaps surprisingly, many agreed that employers had a legitimate right to dismiss employees or not hire potential candidates based on their Facebook presence. Toby, a 30 year-old working in sales and business management, said 'I am concerned about employers and authorities encroaching on peoples' privacy but have less sympathy for those who court disaster by posting compromising information on a social network and then cry foul if there are
Julia, a 19 year-old student, said that while it was not at the forefront of her mind while using Facebook it was something that she considered:

I am always aware that employers may be looking at my Facebook Profile so that's always in the peripherals. I mean it's not the main decision maker. The last thing I think about when I make a post is “oh what will my future employer think”. But it is there, it's definitely a consideration, whether or not it's a massive consideration, or if it's very conscious or not (Julia).

Julia thought that it was legitimate for employers to use Facebook to vet potential candidates, and that it was potentially a better measure of a person than a face to face interview:

I think it's fine for employers and things to go on and sus out people's Facebook profiles. That's what the interview was for back in the day, when people would have a face to face interview. But there's more opportunities now to go beyond that, to sus out who they really are. And I think that's totally fine. Business has to have their best interests at heart. So if someone's just a really great con-artist, it's not really fair that they get the job if they're not smart enough to make their Facebook Profile private (Julia).

Julia raises a number of very interesting issues here. She makes the claim that a Facebook user's online Profile is more representative of who they are as a person than how they might present in a highly structured face-to-face situation such as a job interview in which the interviewee is prepared for a strategic interaction and presentation of self. In many ways this observation highlights the shortcomings of analyses that rely on a Goffman-esque approach to self presentation in that face-to-face encounters are more likely to facilitate strategic self-presentation than online spaces in which identity is mutually co-constructed (Trottier 2012) and sustained over a period of time. Second, Julia also asserts the legitimacy of employer use of Facebook to monitor staff and potential candidates while placing the onus upon the individual to negotiate this relationship. Julia's position suggests that she strongly identifies with the rights of employers over those of individual employees, and is in effect presenting a clear acceptance of the logic of capital. It is a clear example of the penetration of neoliberal sentiments into the everyday discourses of Facebook and, as such, an indicator of the hegemony of neoliberal identities that place the interests of business over those of
individuals. Third, she also expresses a sentiment that reveals the normalisation of surveillance in everyday life. Fourth, another striking observation is made by Julia in regards to the links between a Facebook user's intellect and their approach to Facebook's privacy features. She suggests that if a Facebook user is 'not smart enough to make their Facebook Profile private' then any consequences arising from their Facebook use are legitimate. Other interviewees framed these issues similarly insofar as they agreed that individuals are responsible for the care of their Facebook self and maintenance of their network reputation. To not do so is to be 'stupid'. Here we also see an example of a shift in approaches to privacy where these views indicate that past protections need no longer apply. It also reveals neoliberal responsibilisation as an ever-increasing fact of life for Facebook users.

Clem offered a somewhat more sympathetic account of the issue and suggested that there needs to be a balance between the rights of individuals and the use of Facebook by employers. She suggested that there are two sides to the issue and that while personal responsibility should be demonstrated by Facebook users the use of Facebook by employers to screen individuals is potentially a problem:

To say I'm on the fence is the wrong thing, but I think I've kind of got a bit of a moderate view here... I'm a little bit concerned about employers screening prospective employee's presence online. Because it's kind of like, look, people are entitled to a private life as well... But, you know, for a lot of jobs there are a lot of things that you may or may not do in your free time that shouldn't necessarily impinge on that (Clem).

Clem identified a key issue in that Facebook users often conceive of their Facebook use as being outside of the legitimate purview of employers. As discussed in the previous chapter (supra, pp.153) this is something that is far from being settled as neither Facebook users nor the legal system have definitively decided whether Facebook is a legitimate source of information for employers. That this issue is unsettled in any official frameworks makes it a
ripe area of research for understanding how the discursive formation of Facebook influences user sentiment as well as influencing their behaviours online.

Maeve, a 26 year-old marketing co-ordinator, discussed this very issue in relation to her own employment. She felt her use of Facebook and the ways in which it revealed aspects of her private life should be seen as separate from her actions at work: 'It doesn't necessarily cross my mind, like I'm not worried that something's going to go off from Facebook and I'm going to lose my job over what I've done'. Maeve was more concerned with her presentation of self as being competent in her expression and grammar online as she felt that this was more important to any employer than what she did outside of work hours:

I'm conscious that because I'm in marketing and one of the things that I do look after is social media. I look after Facebook accounts and things like that so I'm quite concerned that if I'm putting Facebook Status Updates that are incorrectly spelled and my grammar is wrong, that could, if my boss or my future boss is looking at that, they would be going “oh well we don't want to hire this girl because she can't spell properly” (Maeve).

Here Maeve highlighted the ways in which a Facebook user's presentation of self encompasses more than the strategic management of information about themselves, but also other markers of the self, such as competent self-expression. She suggested that this is far more important than some of the other issues that are raised in regards to the professional presentation of the self on Facebook:

I'm more worried about [spelling and grammar] than my actual actions, but that's just because I'm comfortable with how I act in the real world. If someone's going to sack me because I had a few too many drinks on the weekend it's probably not the company I want to be working for (Maeve).

While Clem and Maeve did not favour Facebook use being accessed by employers most of the other interviewees accepted, in varying degrees, the ways in which people conduct themselves out of hours was a relevant and legitimate issue for employers. In many senses these attitudes reflect broader attitudes towards increasing securitization as evidenced in the proliferation of
CCTV and airport security summed up in the disposition of 'if you have nothing to hide you have nothing to worry about'.

This issue becomes further complicated in cases where an employee is considered to be in a role that is predicated upon their integrity and morality. This can especially occur in cases such as teachers or childcare workers in which they have a duty of care toward children (Trottier 2012: 166). Joan, a 40 year-old freelance writer, brought up an example that had been in the news in which a teacher had been dismissed for posting erotic pictures of herself on Facebook:

There was a teacher a couple of years ago now, a young girl who put pictures of herself dressed in all sorts of scanty clothes on her Facebook Profile, a young teacher, who was fired from her job because the parents weren't happy with someone who was a primary school teacher… she may have been a high school teacher, and they weren't happy with someone who was representing herself that way online and who lived that kind of lifestyle teaching their teenage boys particularly (Joan).

This is an example of how a news story becomes a discursive resource for thinking and even interpreting Facebook issues. Joan's comments highlighted the ways in which a person's employment might be jeopardised because of their behaviour outside of work as revealed through that person's posts on Facebook. In Joan's mind it was not the actions themselves that were the issue. The problem for Joan was the Facebook user deciding to post this information to Facebook and thus open to the scrutiny of others:

There are plenty of people out there who do that kind of thing in their personal life where it's not online, who never get fired from their jobs just because people don't know about it. But everyone's watching. You don't have to be on Facebook. You don't have to post those kinds of personal things on there. You don't have to make them public. If you do then, you know? People can see it, and you've got to be aware. My theory is I don't put anything on Facebook or Twitter that I wouldn't be willing to stand in the middle of a shopping centre and say out loud (Joan).

By drawing on a news story about an employee who was dismissed for inappropriate Facebook use Joan reframed this as a discussion related to her own use and what was
ethically acceptable. This is a good example of how a Facebook user, in this case Joan, links an already existing discourse of 'life after social networking' to their own understanding of what was taken to be a legitimate use of Facebook. It is a clear demonstration of how Facebook users draw on other discursive resources, beyond Facebook, to inform their own ethical choices and behaviours.

Clem raised another story that was current at the time of the interview in which the news media were reporting examples of Facebook users being dismissed from their employment for posting racist material on various Facebook sites. Clem felt that this example was instructive in its highlighting the complexity of issue:

I'm sympathetic to the libertarian point of view that this is a form of free speech, and I'd be a little bit concerned at people's political views being used as a screening tool by prospective employers but then on the other hand some people say some really… I mean you know, some of the screengrabs I've been sent about what people say about Aboriginal people and stuff like that, you just think “Oh god… does this still happen?” . So it's like there's a bit on both sides. So don't be stupid, but also don't be a frigging Big Brother power hungry freak about your employees (Clem).

Clem's comment referred to the activities of an Australian activist group, 'The Anti-Bogan' (de Brito 2011). These activists take screengrabs of racist posts that are made on various Facebook Groups and Pages and forward them to the offender's employers. Many of these offenders have since had their employment terminated. The Anti-Bogan site often posts follow-ups of their activities such as the publication of response letters from the offender's employer. This sort of activity itself reiterates the structural aspects of replicability and scalability of information within networked publics. At the same time these sorts of news stories reporting on such activities demonstrate the ways in which these issues enter into a

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21 There are many Facebook Groups and Pages that could be considered to be highly racist. There was a lot of discussion observed during the research about a Page named 'Aboriginal Memes' in which highly racist jokes and 'meme' photos were posted to the Page. This Page was the focus of many news stories and anti-racism activities. Observation participants were seen sharing information about the site and urging Friends to 'like' the 'Shut Down Aboriginal Memes' Facebook Page.
feedback loop by becoming cautionary tales that shape the behaviours of other Facebook users. In this example, Clem's own opposition to racism resonated with anti-racist activists 'outing' racist posts to their employers; yet at the same time she was nervous about the 'Big Brother' ramifications of employers in general using Facebook gather data on or judge the leisure time activities of their employees.

Brigid, a 40 year-old political candidate, also discussed the news stories regarding racist memes and provided a similar take on the issue of The Anti-Bogan activists. In her view this particular story highlighted why Facebook users needed to internalise such discourses and to engage in processes of self-regulating behaviour. Brigid contrasted the posting of racist material with the sort of behaviour Joan discussed relating to the posting of erotic photographs:

I think in 10 years time most bosses of 26 year olds are going to be able to find naked photos of them and stuff [laughs]. But that's what I mean, in 10 years time they're gonna just go “it was dumb, but that's what 16 year olds do” and let it go. But I don't know about stuff like the racist memes (Brigid).

Brigid clearly saw the potential for new norms to develop around the use of Facebook. As a relatively new technology, especially in the more mainstream sections of society, norms are still being contested. This was clear in the disjunct between Joan's view regarding the posting of explicit photographs and Brigid's that it will become something that people will have to accept. Brigid suggested that 'people are just going to take into account that it was 10 years ago and they were 16 at the time. So I think that's what's going to happen. At the moment it's all ground-breaking and we go 'oh my god' but we're learning. It's a brand new thing. Brigid's take on the issue supported those claims that a generation of young people using SNSs will

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22 While Facebook is 10 years old its use outside of those with .edu email addresses and penetration into wider demographics is clearly a more recent phenomenon.
all have some sort of blemish on their reputation through their use of the sites and that this will usher in new norms of forgiveness for such transgressions.

All of the above examples illustrate a 'life after social networking' discourse that is itself nearing normative status. For the most part interviewees did not question the legitimacy of employers using Facebook to vet candidates or dismiss employees. Furthermore, as these sorts of examples are articulated through mainstream media they come to serve as cautionary tales both contributing to the legitimacy of neoliberal capitalist discourse as well as providing the resources from which to draw upon and inform individual approaches to self-regulation on Facebook. In this sense mainstream media reports serve the function of 'moral entrepreneurs' (Becker 1963) in enforcing the desired rules of conduct. A number of interviewees discussed media reports of the efforts of some employers requesting the Facebook passwords of candidates during interviews to vet their online behaviour ('Senators Question Employer Requests for Facebook Passwords'; Valdes and McFarland 2012). For them this became something of a line in the sand even though they might otherwise regard the use of Facebook to vet candidates as a legitimate practice. Jane thought that it was unacceptable: 'I've heard of stories about employers checking people's Facebook pages and even asking them in interviews “show me your Facebook profiles” and things like that and I don't think that's appropriate'. Similarly, Carla also disagreed with the practice: 'That worries me. Especially the thing now where there's reports of employers asking for Facebook passwords in job interviews, that freaks me out'. Toby was more sceptical:

I guess my perspective is that anyone who puts up a post that can be read by more than its intended audience and then complains that there are consequences from that is not really deserving of the same sympathy as someone whose boss insists on seeing their Facebook wall, not that I've seen evidence of that (Toby).

For its part Facebook disavowed the practice and threatened to sue employers who engaged in it (Brodkin 2012).
The Role of Moral Entrepreneurs

Some of the interviewees, especially older ones, also found themselves adopting the role of moral entrepreneur and educator. Eric, a 55 year-old retired IT professional, placed himself in a position of responsibility and care for many of the young people in his life. He is Facebook Friends with many young people in the small rural town in which he lives and often finds himself offering them advice on their use of Facebook: 'In a few instances I've warned the kids about what they're posting and saying that if you put this stuff that employers look at Facebook'. On the other hand, as a retired employer he sympathises with employers using Facebook to vet candidates and monitoring employees:

    I used to be an employer. We didn't have Facebook then, but I would certainly do it. If I was employing someone I would look at them on Facebook. I think it's a valid tool. If they were sort of posting shit about my company, if they were my employee and they were posting shit about my company then I would take action on that. I believe that's fairly valid. Because it's a public forum (Eric).

Eric explained that he warns young people that their use of Facebook could jeopardise their careers: 'I just say that employers will look at this, they'll look you up when you apply for a job and if you've got this kind of stuff then they might, you know, they won't employ you. They'll look dis-favourably on you'. While he explained that dispensing such advice is 'a bit parenty' he felt responsible for making sure that the young people in question were aware of the stakes in regards to the things that they are posting on Facebook. Eric has had varying success with the dispensation of such advice:

    Some of them will say thanks. And some will just stop doing it, stop using that kind of tone. And some will just continue and you just don't, some of them are just hopeless cases so there's nothing you can do. And they're never gonna get a job anyway because, that's that kind of attitude. But, yeah, some of them picked up and, then penny's dropped, and it's good (Eric).

Eric finds himself in a position in which he is actively responsible for providing guidance. His rationale was that he does so in an effort to minimise the potential for risk to jeopardise their life-chances. Yet his own disposition toward the issue was one in which he agrees with
the legitimacy of employers using Facebook to vet and monitor employees. He was both a moral entrepreneur and mentor towards the young people in his life. By observing them and their use of Facebook he acted as a monitor and a mentor by registering behaviours that could cause them to jeopardise their future careers while at the same time attempting to correct their behaviour online.

Interviewees reported examples they had witnessed that confirmed 'life after social networking' discourses, which often served further to legitimise employer use of Facebook. While Eric used his experiences as an employer to inform his decisions in regards to advising the Facebook use of the young people in his life, Jason discussed his own use of Facebook and how this was affected by events that he had witnessed. Jason was aware of examples where Facebook users had been dismissed from their employment because of their use of Facebook and had also seen this happen in his own workplace. These events shaped his own behaviours in regards to the people he would Friend on Facebook: 'I've been very careful and I've made sure that I haven't made Friends with the people I work with. I've just been careful to keep some, some level of distinction'. This decision was in part prompted by reports Jason had heard in the media:

I read and hear about concerns that people have with adding employees and employers and then the issue that that creates, or the possible issue that creates, especially in the United States where I think that labour laws aren't as friendly to the average employee where data could be used against someone, or they're worse off because of their affiliations on Facebook with their employer (Jason).

Jason followed this with an anecdote from one of his previous workplaces:

I used to work at a grocery store and I was Friends with people on Facebook at the grocery store and there were just some members of my team had an issue, and that really highlighted it for me, where they had their manager and they'd called in sick for whatever reason and they weren't really sick, they'd gone somewhere and it was on Facebook and they got in trouble, which I think is a relatively regular occurrence with people but it certainly just highlighted that it's a good distinction to have, don't Friend the management (Jason).
Both kinds of event became a source of warning for Jason, a cautionary discourse that shaped the ways in which he then behaved himself on Facebook. These came to be formalised as a set of guidelines that shaped his own conduct. This is a generalisable formula for the ways in which many Facebook users also take heed of discourses about Facebook and use them to inform their own engagement with the site by way of setting up 'rules' for its use.

**Conclusion**

Facebook users must contend with broad structural influences that play a role in their engagement with the site. Far from being a space in which users are encouraged to experiment with identity and freedom, Facebook exists as a highly political space in which the operation of power is facilitated through the influence of the site's architecture and structural affordances. While concerns about institutional and hierarchical surveillance are acknowledged, Facebook users accept and work within a surveillance technology in which the self is encouraged to self-monitor and self-regulate behaviour in accordance with Foucault's understanding of panopticism. Here the structure of Facebook comes to have an effect upon the individual, while simultaneously applying similar power effects upon all users, by encouraging users to do the work of surveillance and regulation of the self (and for some, the regulation of others). The techniques of Facebook's panopticism are both individualising and totalising as all Facebook users are caught within the technology whilst each individual is responsible for applying its effects.

A second structural aspect, itself linked to that of the surveillance architecture, is that of multiple, competing and intersecting discourses. Discourses operate as a sort of affordance by providing a range of resources that enable particular understandings to emerge and circulate, while at the same time demarcating the horizons of possible interpretations. Discourses both
enable and constrain by providing a multiple set of meanings imbued with ready-made values and understandings, while at the same time constraining by either negating meanings or simply being absent. The existence of neoliberalism as a hegemonic discourse, as discussed in Chapter 2, means that other discourses are informed through the logics of neoliberalism. As such the sorts of discourses pertaining to Facebook and identified as 'life after social networking' discourses are themselves informed by the logics of neoliberalism. Far from challenging neoliberalism's 'truth' values, 'life after social networking' discourses reinforce neoliberalism and its inherent values such as a valorisation of the individual as an entrepreneur, the validity of the employer-employee hierarchy, and the linking of employment and consumerism as necessary condition for political worth (Bauman 2007). Thus far, the interviewees have provided a picture of Facebook as a key site in and through which power and politics operate within the sphere of everyday life. Whereas this chapter broadened the scope of inquiry from the individual in Chapter 4 toward an emphasis on the structural, the following chapter returns to the ways in which Facebook users document and diarise their everyday behaviours thus making Facebook a form of technology of the self.
Chapter 6:

Facebook as Everyday Technology of the Self

This chapter examines the ways in which individuals constructed and transformed their behaviours and attitudes through an ongoing performative engagement with themselves and others within the Facebook environment. As discussed throughout this thesis online behaviour is conducted within an almost limitless, but paradoxically tightly constructed, space of freedom. Whilst the structure of Facebook and its emphasis on anchored identity and surveillance directs users toward 'authentic' displays of self it also allows users to present themselves in their best light or to project a hoped-for version of the self. Facebook's integration of these processes of performance and self-construction confer an element of power to the site as it augments the efforts of users to pursue these goals.

The Facebook Profile becomes a nexus of risk and reward in such a way that it is seen as a site through which future life-chances can be jeopardised or maximised. It is here that the self might be cared for in such a fashion that the presence on Facebook does nothing to risk one's career but rather facilitates entrepreneurial networking and career-building opportunities. Reputation is something to be maintained through self-labour and the vigilant application of brand management techniques such as the enhancing of one's status. That not everyone does this highlights the role of resistance in the operation of technologies of the self.

Also present are a number of forms of care of the self. One conception of the care of the digital self relates to the 'life after social networking discourses' discussed in the previous chapter. As we saw, these discourses had a strong emphasis on reminding users to keep their digital identity 'clean' insofar as it is not contaminated by unsavoury elements or behaviours
that might jeopardise future employment. The notion of a care of the (digital) self has been also been raised in connection with other issues such as identity theft. In the view of Whitson and Haggerty (2008), for example, the ever-growing amount of online information regarding each individual, in the form of the digital double, emerges as a source of risk for the physical self. Here the personal details of the digital self must be kept secure so that they do not fall into the wrong hands to be used by an unauthorized third party for their own gain. This is identified by Whitson and Haggerty as a particular source of risk for individuals in the present age. Attending to this risk means that the individual user must make an effort to protect their (physical) verifiable identity and to limit any financial losses that might arise through identity theft. These two forms of care of the digital self are related in that aspects of the digital self might include undesirable markers of 'categorical suspicion' (Barnard-Wills 2012: 14; Werbin 2011) within modern securitised surveillance states. In each of these conceptions the care of the self is focused on mitigating risk in an era of individualisation and entrepreneurial selfhood. These two forms of the care of the self are not necessarily exclusive to Facebook, but also operate in other SNSs and online environments.

An altogether different form of care of the self can be seen in the use of Facebook as a site for the exercise of technologies of the self. Here users engage with the site as a means to improve or master the self. This form of self-care relates to the ways in which individuals are engaged in processes of self-transformation. A key concern of this chapter is to focus on the ways in which the individuals under observation engaged in processes of self-care through their engagement with Facebook.

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23 Barnard-Wills (2012) offers an excellent analysis of the intertwining of identity, surveillance discourses, and categorical suspicion within the modern securitised state and the implications that arise from this for processes of subjectification.
Much of the information posted to Facebook can be seen as a form of diarising of the everyday. While the information is often posted with a view to its ephemerality, the introduction of the Timeline means that information is able to be searched with ease. This problematises the issue of ephemerality in that while the individual posting largely sees the information 'fall off the page' fairly quickly, the information itself persists, something that the introduction of Facebook's 'Timeline' makes abundantly clear. This sort of diarising differs markedly from earlier physical forms of diary writing because it is written for an audience rather than just for the self. In this sense it can be interpreted as a mixture of both confession—via 'portable electronic confessionals' (Bauman 2007: 3)—and publication.

**Typology of Diarising: the 'Status Update'**

Over the course of the research participants were observed posting to Facebook many times a day. While a few barely posted more than once a week, the participants who post regularly demonstrated a form of diarising of the everyday. One major area of posts took the form of the sharing of weblinks or the posts of others, a phenomenon in itself that demonstrates the social nature of SNSs. An equally significant category of posts was the 'Status Update', which is now one of the core features of Facebook. When a user logs into their Facebook timeline the first item seen at the very top of the page is the box into which to update one's status. Facebook prompts users to update their status with a variety of phrases. At this moment of writing Facebook asks 'What's on your mind?' Users are reminded by the very design of the site that their engagement with the site is one in which they should publicly reveal their lives to others. Facebook's founder, Mark Zuckerberg, famously touted the need for individuals to engage in a style of existence predicated on a 'radical transparency' (Kirkpatrick 2010: 200). Users may not themselves feel as though they are engaging in a display of 'radical

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24 An exception to this might be prominent figures and famous people who wrote their diaries with a view to later publication.
transparency' (only one interviewee, Brigid, explicitly expressed this sentiment—supra, p.80), nevertheless Facebook augments the social relationships of its users in this very way. Living a life out loud through a performative engagement with Facebook means that for many users what was once the purview of the private is now on the record and on display for the benefit of their Friends and the profits of Facebook.

During the research it emerged that users posted Status Updates in a number of distinctive ways. These can be characterized according to the degree of complexity or density of the content and the amount of self-effort required to create it.

- **Phatic** – a marker of a user's presence with ephemeral, disposable content
- **Ordinary interpersonal surveillance (OIS)** – mundane, everyday updates
- **Status enhancement/display** – relatively 'spectacular' posts, compared with the ordinariness of the content in OIS posts, that seek to elevate the user's standing
- **Resolutions of the self** – posts that serve as markers of the user's resolve, akin to one's 'New Year's Resolutions', in which users chronicle their attempts to submit to self-discipline and self-improvement

This typology allows for a categorisation of the everyday diarising through the posting of Status Updates, and the modes of engagement Facebook users have with the site and their various relationships.

**Phatic Posts**

The notion of 'phatic' refers to or 'denot[es] or relat[es] to language used for general purposes of social interaction, rather than to convey information or ask questions' ('phatic', OED 2010). Phatic posts on Facebook can be understood as being light or 'lean' in actual content but often serve to maintain visibility or act as a reminder to one's Friends that they are present on the
site. Often these will take the shape of posting something innocuous such as 'hi facebook' or 'i'm bored LOL' and while they may often serve as a point from which a conversation arises in the comments, the post itself is not intended to convey much by way of content other than to say 'I'm here'. This perhaps represents the sort of posting that is pointed to by critics such as Turkle (2008: 127) when caricaturing communication on SNSs as being narcissistic or devoid of merit, or being emblematic of an 'I want to have a feeling/Get me a friend' mindset. A post such as 'By jingo I'm a bit bored !!!' (Christine, 41, health care worker, RFP) generated 28 comments from Friends wishing to discuss all manner of things such as what her Friends were currently doing and other general conversational matter. Gary's (20, unemployed, RFP) post 'What's everybody doing tonight? Bored and don't have anything on' is another example of this sort of post. Here Gary, an unemployed young man, utilises Facebook as a means to announce his feelings of boredom as well as to serve as a conduit to socialising with his peers. This sort of post is intended to be ephemeral insofar as its use value to Gary exists only until he finds Friends to hang out with, or until the window of opportunity ('What's everybody doing tonight?') passes. Phatic posts are cosmetic and typified by their ephemerality and the minimum of effort required in maintaining the visibility of the user.

**Ordinary Interpersonal Surveillance (OIS) Posts**

The second category of diarising can be understood as a form of Ordinary Interpersonal Surveillance (OIS). OIS captures, for the most part, mundane everyday activities as found in posts such as 'My son made this bracelet for me at preschool today. :)’ (Kerry, age not provided, occupation not provided, RFP) or 'So bored I'm considering doing the ironing…' (Sandra, age not provided, occupation not provided, RFP). This is a form of diarising that has some measure of content (as opposed to the very content-lean form of phatic posts) but
operating at a very mundane level. Like phatic posts, OIS posts serve to engender and maintain sociality. In a sense OIS posts are the glue that binds sociality on Facebook. OIS posts, like phatic posts, constitute a form of 'mediated presence' (Germann Molz 2006). I frame these sorts of posts as Ordinary Interpersonal Surveillance because:

1) Ordinary: These sorts of posts pertain largely to the sphere of the everyday. Unlike the 'spectacular' posts below (status enhancing) OIS posts are typified by being largely unremarkable in their content.

2) Interpersonal: These posts are performed or consumed as predicated on interpersonal connections of the order found in the everyday such as found between neighbours, family members, friends, and acquaintances.

3) Surveillance: The architecture of Facebook is a surveillance architecture (as was established in the previous chapter). It is only through the leveraging of Facebook as a technology of surveillance that information exchanged through posts are able to be amplified in both scale and reach.

The kind of ordinary and interpersonal information shared in OIS posts would normally be part of any person-to-person exchange of information. It is within Facebook that the sharing of ordinary, interpersonal information is augmented due to the surveillance architecture of the SNS as a networked public.

OIS posts inform one's social network connections of everyday activities. They make up the bulk of the sorts of posts present on Facebook. Over the course of the observation component of the research it became clear that the majority of user-generated posts\textsuperscript{25}, those in which the

\textsuperscript{25} I contrast user-generated posts to the social sharing of content generated by others, often in the form of memes or of links to other websites. This form of posting, or social sharing, was the most common form of interacting with Facebook that was observed during the research. See John (2013) for a discussion on the emergence of 'sharing' in Web 2.0.
user provides content of their own creation through the posting of Status Updates, tended to be a form of diarising about the day's events. This often included posts that discussed the user's family or friends and served both to maintain a form of visibility and presence on the site as well as to generate discussion of said events. That this form of posting should be most prominent matches with the survey data in which OIS emerged as the most popular reason for using Facebook. Survey participants were asked 'For what reasons do you primarily use Facebook? Check all that apply'. 85% of survey participants said that they used Facebook 'To see what my Friends have been doing lately', while 75% responded 'Leisure'. An interesting contrast to these responses was that only 51% said that they used Facebook 'To tell people what I have been doing lately', while only 20% said that they used Facebook 'For professional purposes'. From this it would appear that people enjoy viewing their Friends' posts more than they enjoy posting information about themselves, while the perception that Facebook was a leisure site more than a professional site was also strongly evidenced by the ratio of posts that pertain to matters outside of work compared to those that do mention work. While observation participants were seen commenting about work this was, for the most part, a matter of 'letting off of steam' through minor complaints or expressions of relief at the working day being over. Only a small number of participants expressly used the site in an explicitly professional brand-building and networking capacity such as those discussed in Chapter 4.

26 I am leaving aside the issue of dataveillance and the creation of value through 'sharing' and 'liking' content in this particular discussion. The work of Christian Fuchs (see Chapters 2 and 5) is important for his insightful analyses of this aspect of SNSs.
OIS posts, along with the 'liking' and 'commenting' on them, can be understood as a form of social grooming\(^27\) (Dunbar 1998) in which a large number of relationships are able to be maintained with the minimum of effort. A great deal of Facebook's appeal to users stems from the ease of ability in keeping abreast of the activities of their Friends as well as being able to easily keep others informed of their own activities. Within the surveillance enclosure OIS posts represent both a performative construction of the self as well as a maintaining of visibility for the Facebook self within its myriad network connections.

OIS posts are typified by a concern with the everyday, especially as they relate to the domestic sphere. Users were often observed posting material that writ large the mundane rhythms of the everyday. Christine (41, health professional, RFP) posted with delight that the school holidays meant that she would be surrounded by her family 'Yay school holidays have begun...: I love it when they are all home ! :))))'. This sort of post was itself largely unremarkable to a wider audience but was well-received by those Friends that related to Christine's experience. This particular post received eight 'likes' and a number of comments that expressed either pleasure for Christine's happiness or contrasted it with their own less than positive experiences of having children home for the school holidays. Christine often provided snapshots of her everyday life within the domestic sphere: 'Roast chicken and veg for tea Chocolate bikkies, chocolate cake with chocolate icing for lunches and snacking done. I'm outa the kitchen for today... Time for a wine :) ' (ibid.). In this post Christine described a typical daily routine, one which recorded her skills and achievements, and also indicated a serious moral presentation of self. Not only was she a good mother and provider, she was a

\(^{27}\) 'Grooming' here refers to the sorts of behaviours undertaken between members of a social group to maintain sociality and should not be confused with the 'moral panic' understanding of the term in which online predators 'groom' children for the purposes of abuse.
responsible person who treated alcohol as a reward for a job well done. Her pleasure came not from drinking as such but from serving others and earning her reward.

OIS is visibly manifest in the posting of photographs and through the phenomenon of Facebook check-ins in which a user announces their presence in particular (and largely commercial) spaces. Along with the sorts of textual posts just discussed photographs and Check-ins provide ongoing authentifications of the lives of Facebook users. Photos provide representative proof of the reality of a user, and Check-ins give GPS data that verifies one's physical location. A large amount of the content posted to Facebook consists of the uploading of photographs. Many of these are tagged with 'locations' or spaces grounded in GPS data. Users were observed posting their location in this fashion or through the use of the 'check-in' feature. A less frequent but surprising phenomenon was that of users 'checking-in' to their own homes. In an era of privacy concerns it was somewhat surprising to find users 'checking-in' to locations such as 'my bed' or 'my loungeroom', ostensibly allowing for many unknown or unanticipated viewers to know the location of the user's home.

A good example of the way in which photographs are central for Facebook users can be seen from Ted's engagement with Facebook. At 62 Ted is an older user of Facebook. He joined at the urging of his children who thought it would be an easy way for him to keep in contact with the rest of the family who are now living around the world. His Friends list has since

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28 An important aspect of the user of the location features, but one that is outside of the scope of this thesis, is the commercialisation of the virtual 'second city' (Owen and Imre 2013). The second city emerges as an urban digital double where users 'check-in' to businesses through Foursquare (often integrated with a user's Facebook Profile) or the similar Facebook 'check-in' feature. Participants were often observed 'checking-in' to bars and restaurants, and these check-ins were often accompanied by photographs of them and their friends at the location. While Facebook users could be said to be constructing the self through such activities they could also be understood as simultaneously 'building' the commercial 'second city' through forms of immaterial labour (Coté and Pybus 2011).
grown to include colleagues and fellow church members, but the primary group of people with whom he interacts are his family members. Ted found Facebook beneficial in allowing him almost-instantaneous contact with his daughter's family who had moved to the United Kingdom. In Ted's words:

We get stuff like views out the window with the snows falling being posted on Facebook. So yeah, it's great. It's a really nice thing to be able to do. And it's nice to be able to get feedback quickly. We sent her a parcel not so long ago, it only took about 4 days to get there. And it was great, straight away we got photos, we got feedback on Facebook (Ted).

Ted benefits from being able to see photographs of his daughter and her family's life in the United Kingdom and is able to discuss this with his family in an instant. In this way OIS serves as a means of interpersonal surveillance to facilitate the care of the self and others. In contrasting Facebook communication and the sending of an international parcel which took four days to arrive to his family (itself a significant speeding up of international mail over the last century) Ted drew attention to the tendency of ICTs to intensify the temporal experience of existing within a 'media life' (Deuze 2012b). It is through the leveraging of the surveillance architecture of Facebook that Ted and his family were able to maintain their familial bonds. It is also an example of the ways that the augmentation of the family within surveillance enclosures is experienced as largely unremarkable.

One particular phenomenon relating to OIS is what might be described as a tension between data 'falling off the page' versus data sediments and the 'digital double'. Facebook allows its users to see into the lives of their social connections effectively, in almost-real-time. Whilst OIS posts are often experienced as almost-instantaneous information sharing this is coupled further with the phenomenon of experiencing data as 'falling off the page'. This results in giving many users a feeling that their posts are ephemeral. This feeling of ephemerality is complicated by the introduction of Facebook's Timeline feature and the articulation of 'life
after social networking' discourses that highlight the permanence of Facebook posts. Within Facebook's architecture of memory the fleeting moments of everyday life become part of a 'permanent record'.

Over time all of these types of posts sediment to reveal an ongoing diary of the self and its relationships in the form of an online presence much like the digital double (Haggerty and Ericson 2000) in which an un-curated representation of the user begins to appear. Facebook's gradual rollout of the Timeline feature in 2012 meant that users were often confronted with an easily-visible history of their lives as lived through Facebook. Users were initially confronted by the Timeline and posted disparagingly about it being applied to their own Facebook Profile. Users were seen sharing photos with the caption 'We hate the Timeline! Please share, if you want the old Facebook!' and changing their new Cover Picture (a feature of the new Timeline) to a photo with captions 'this timeline shit sucks'. Maria (age not provided, student, RFP) saw the writing on the wall: 'I am afraid to say it out loud so I will whisper.... I dont have timeline yet. Please don't remind the boss, cause I don't want it either.. shhhhhhh ;). Comments such as 'finally gave in to the timeline...' (Ryan, 19, Student, RFP) demonstrate user frustration at having the Timeline added to their Profile with no chance to opt-out. Michael (24, student, RFP) expressed a mixture of enthusiasm and surprise at having all of his hitherto buried information in front of him: 'Realised I have a timeline now - must stop looking at things I did years ago'. OIS posts that were experienced as ephemeral and an unimportant part of the everyday emerge as something entirely different as users are confronted with the sedimentation of information and their own digital double.

Users were also seen responding to the Timeline during the observation stage of the research by way of curating their image. As the Timeline was gradually rolled out users began to pay
more attention to their profiles and began to fill in educational and employment details, as well as taking advantage of the new category of 'Life Events' in which events of significance, such as purchasing a car or bringing home a new pet, were able to be added by the user. Life Events also referred to retrospective moments which users began to fill in such as their weddings and births of their children. The seemingly ephemeral posts of users were excavated and diarised—literally—in the new chronological Timeline. Newspaper reports began to appear warning that the new Timeline feature was a potential alternative to the traditional CV (Landau 2012). Tellingly, users were given a 7 day cooling-off period in which they were afforded an opportunity to go through their Timeline and tend to their image by removing unwanted posts before their Timeline was able to be seen by their Friends (Facebook Timeline 2011). The introduction of the Timeline made it clear to users that they must take care of their digital self. For many users this means maintaining a representation of self that is unlikely to cause concern in the future, while other users perform and maintain the self in a more spectacular fashion. This is the third category of diarising engagement with Facebook.

**Status Enhancement/Display Posts**

Status enhancement/display posts are quite different from the phatic or OIS forms of diarising. They are typified by spectacular representations of the self. A small number of users stood out during the observation stage of the research as their use of Facebook contained little that could be described as ordinary or everyday. Rather, their posts were typified by extraordinary displays of self. Whilst this shares some overlap with the notion of the 'edited self' discussed earlier in the thesis it also shares an affinity with the idea—itself expressed through an image meme shared by Kevin (who is discussed below)—that the Facebook Profile often exists as a user's personal 'highlight reel'. The notion of the Facebook
Profile as a 'highlight reel' is at odds with those Facebook users who engage with the site by diarising the everyday through OIS or technology of the self posts.

Individual users often take advantage of Facebook's ability to allow them to control their image in ways that would maximise their own life chances. This harks back to the concept of taste displays as being related to cultural capital (Gregg 2011: 89-93). These sorts of posts were, by and large, in the minority compared with phatic and OIS posts which accords with the survey findings. In answer to the question, 'To what extent, if any, do you take into account the perceived reactions of others when posting on Facebook?', only 4% responded with 'Some - I tend to post things that will enhance my image to my Friends'. This small result could be explained by an aversion to being seen as inauthentic. While 4% represents too few respondents as a basis from which to draw any further conclusions, when it is cross-tabulated with survey participants' annual income it emerged that there was a spread across all income ranges with the largest number earning less than $20000 US per year. As discussed in the Chapter 4, interviewees responded that they felt their Facebook persona was reasonably authentic insofar as it represented who they felt they were and how they wanted to be seen by others. Observation participants, however, were regularly posting material that could be construed as either seeking to enhance or display their social status.

As discussed earlier in the thesis (supra, pp.119-128) the concept of the 'edited' self referred to a presentation of self that was the result of omitting information that was less flattering, or by only including material that would show the self in a favourable light. Somewhat similar to the edited self was the 'spectacular self'. Two participants in particular, Gary and Kevin, stood out in this regard. While in many ways Gary and Kevin might seem worlds apart they also evinced some overlap in regards to the ways in which their posts can be understood as
performative constructions of the self that are infused with particular discourses of class and gender. Whilst the lenses of class and gender are not employed in this analysis as a primary means of interpreting the data, it is clear that class and gender were important factors in the performative construction of the self of the participants through processes of subjectification.

Gary is an unemployed 20 year-old living in a low socio-economic, working-class outer suburb of a regional city in Australia. Unlike almost all of the other observation participants, Gary's posts were often racist, derogatory to women, or were boasts about semi-criminal activities involving drugs, petty vandalism, and harassment. Gary's posts often detailed his exploits with his friends such as abusing security guards or shouting racist provocations at people of foreign appearance that they encountered while out driving their cars at night. Gary had more than 1600 Facebook Friends and his posts generated dozens of likes and comments in which his Friends espoused similar views to his own. A photo making fun of Muslim women received 21 'likes' and 8 comments in which Gary's Friends shared their disdain for Muslims and Asians alike. A run-in with the police in which he boasted of being pulled over at 2am by detectives and being searched generated 11 'likes' and 52 comments. Gary's Profile was peppered with words like 'sluts', 'niggers', 'fags', and all manner of other derogatory language. In all of these posts there did not seem to be any censuring comments about his behaviour by his Friends.

While many people might baulk at the material Gary posted it was clear that within his social milieu his posts were entirely acceptable, if not celebrated. He was clearly popular with his Friends. Gary was unemployed and he listed Centrelink, the government department

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29 Gary had just over 1000 Facebook Friends at the beginning of the observation period and this number grew over the nine months of observation to 1600, the largest number of Friends in the observation cohort. Kevin, also discussed in this chapter, had the second-largest number of Friends with just over 1400 by the end of the observation period.
responsible for social security and especially for the management of unemployed people in Australia, as his employer on Facebook. In a sense Gary was performing Goffman's (1968) 'stigmatized individual' in that he was accepting of the label of unemployed and in turn displayed this spoiled aspect of identity as a badge against the 'normals'. From a Foucauldian perspective Gary was cognisant of his classification as unemployed and used this classification as a means, perhaps, of ironic rejection of the label. Judging from Gary's Facebook presence there was no attempt to remedy his being unemployed, but rather an active celebration of its freedoms. Gary was able to stay out until the early hours of the morning with his friends without needing to rise early for work of a morning.

Gary's subjectivity as a young unemployed man from a poor working-class area, as it unfolded on Facebook, was performed through the use of a number of elements of signification. While marginalised economically Gary was able to leverage Facebook as a means through which to succeed socially and symbolically through his exploits of deviance and petty criminality. Here class and gender were reproduced performatively within the space of Facebook. Facebook was used as a site through which to organise his social life, a fact highlighted in a post in which Gary announced that he had lost his mobile phone thus leaving Facebook as the only means through which to contact him.

In many ways Gary stood as a counter-figure to the ideal neoliberal self and corresponded with the 'at-risk' figure in youth transitions into the entrepreneurial self (Kelly 2006). Here too was an embodiment of the 'life after social networking discourses' in which the at-risk figure was posed as jeopardising their future life-chances through an irresponsible or risky use of Facebook. While this may be the case there was also a resonance here with the young working class males discussed by Paul Willis (1977) and their various ways of reproducing
class through the adoption and performance of particular masculinities. Understood performatively we can see how Gary utilised Facebook in a manner that reiterated a number of particular gender and class positions. These were demonstrated through posts that displayed a hostile form of heteronormativity in which other forms of sexuality were demonised as well as through the aforementioned displays of risky behaviours. Facebook offered Gary a means to pursue online activities that would otherwise be pursued offline in the company of his mates and bragging about his exploits.

In contrast, Kevin is an IT professional who has worked for large multinational corporations. He listed five countries in which he had lived during the past six years. Kevin's presentation of self was as a global, flexible worker able to move countries at a moment's notice. His Facebook Profile was full of exciting adventures and travels, often accompanied with understated commentary that treated such global movement as all very normal. Like Gary, Kevin had over a thousand Facebook Friends. Kevin also posted multiple times per day detailing the minutiae of his life as well as sharing links and other items of interest that demonstrated to his Friends his status as an educated, atheist, urbane global traveller.

Kevin made use of the Facebook location features to show the places he travelled. In 2012, for example, Kevin had been tagged in 912 separate places across four continents. He often posted photographs with location tags from airports and luxury hotels demonstrating his mobility and global lifestyle. In late December Kevin posted from London Airport 'Achievement unlocked: last flight for 2012 (next stop Zürich) — at London City Airport'. Earlier in the year he posted 'So who's in Zurich, Paris, London, Montreal, NY, Miami, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Brisbane, Sydney, Melbourne, Perth or Hong Kong?' While other

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30 Kevin's use of gaming language, 'Achievement unlocked', is interesting here as it is an ironic representation of the gamification of professional life.
observation participants employed a similar question when planning their travels, none had quite as impressive a list of destinations over which to 'humblebrag', to borrow Alford's phrase (2012, npn). Other 'Check-ins' included an exclusive Formula One after-party in Italy and photos from courtside at Wimbledon. Kevin, in Zygmunt Bauman's (Bauman and Lyon 2013: 59) parlance, carried his own 'personal panopticon' on his back like a snail. Constantly on the move and compelled to upload evidence of his travels and exploits, Kevin created a digital double that lived a life far out of reach of most people. This constant display comes to be a necessity in the present for many professionals as they strive to maintain their desirability as a candidate at the next potential employment opportunity (Gregg 2011: 96). Kevin's Facebook Profile was testament to being a winner with a 'mobile life' (Elliott and Urry 2010); a boy from Perth grown up to become an elite participant in the IT world. Kevin cultivated a global network of social connections through his Facebook Profile, something that Gregg (2011) and Rainie and Wellman (2012) argue is a prerequisite for members of the international professional class. Kevin was the commodified self, par excellence.

Both Gary and Kevin used spectacular displays of the self performatively, to construct their online selves. Both invoked class inflected symbols with which to perform their self. While these performances were worlds apart they also shared common stock with which to perform the self. Their respective masculinities were demonstrated through spectacular behaviours utilising the symbolism of cars, alcohol, and nightlife. Many of the exploits posted by Gary involved the use of cars as a means through which he and his friends socialised, and this was

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31 Alford (2012) attributes the term 'humblebrag' to comedian Harris Wittels. A 'humblebrag' is typified by extremely false modesty or a downplaying of one's fortunate circumstances and is often the purview of the rich and famous when posting to the SNS Twitter. Alford gives many examples including one from the self-help New Age guru Deepak Chopra: 'Hope & despair are born of imagination. I am free of both' (Chopra cited in Alford 2012). Wittels has set up a Twitter account (@Humblebrag) that retweets celebrities' Twitter humblebrags such as Stephen Fry: 'Oh dear. Don't know what to do at the airport. Huge crowd, but I'll miss my plane if I stop and do photos … oh dear don't want to disappoint' (@stephenfry 2013).
an almost-exclusively male pursuit for him and his friends. For Kevin too the car became a key part of his performative construction of his (masculine) self through his 'check-ins' located in the exclusive section of the Formula One Grand Prix and his photographs of his access to the use of luxury that were posted online to his Friends. For both Gary and Kevin their night-time exploits became important markers of their lives in the frequenting of bars and as a background setting to socialising with friends. Both Gary and Kevin reproduced dominant masculinist values and behaviours through their respective performances of their online self. Facebook was a means through which to do so.

**Resolutions of the Self Posts**

With the silly season coming up I'm announcing it for all and sundry: my personal challenge is to be alcohol-free from now through til my birthday (when birthday champagne will be had!). As always your support in my get healthy/stay healthy endeavours are appreciated :) (Colleen, age not provided, occupation not provided, RFP).

This quote from Colleen exemplifies the fourth category of posts, 'resolutions of the self'. This can be understood broadly as being a particularly focused form of what Foucault (1988) termed 'technologies of the self'. As we have seen (supra, p.61) Foucault identified the act of writing and diarising as a particular technology of the self through which 'notes of everyday activities and events were taken in order to be examined and contemplated later on for the purpose of self-care' (Bakardjieva and Gaden 2012: 155). Fundamental to the notion of technologies of the self is the use of techniques or practices enacted by the individual in the pursuit of self-improvement or mastery. But whereas in Foucault's work this was about mastery of a physical body, in the context of Facebook it is the intertwined online and physical self.
As the chapter has shown thus far, Facebook is probably the most prominent form of diarising about the self used in the present. While its users may not actively construe it as such, Facebook operates as an ongoing diary. Users discovered when having the aforementioned Timeline thrust upon them. Of particular importance here is the technology of the self in which participants' hoped-for selves were writ large. Whereas Foucault's discussion of technologies of the self concerned individuals writing for no-one but themselves or occasionally a master or a superior, users of Facebook write for themselves and a largely-known, semi-public audience. As discussed in Chapter 2, one's Facebook audience is, most often, comprised of already-formed 'anchored' relationships (Zhao et al 2008). When a Facebook user makes a bold claim about themselves online it is anchored with the weight of hundreds of Friends who will ostensibly be seeking verification.

A number of Facebook users seemingly employed these sets of power relationships to their own ends when making posts that they sought to be held accountable for. These were especially evident in relation to mastering the body through diet and exercise. As well as the body, Facebook users sought to use the site as a technology of the self for the mastery of the mind and the soul by way of seeking to diarise their efforts in study, in work, and in relation to their religious faiths. While earlier research has argued that people online present a version of the 'hoped-for' self (Bargh et al 2002; Zhao et al 2008) these sorts of Facebook posts actually make clear that they are utilising the site as a space in which to express their hoped-for self as something to be achieved offline, a self different from the one actually engaged in writing and posting in the present. It is in this way that users were observed using Facebook to make 'resolutions of the self'.
Facebook, like many online technologies, exists not as a separate or discrete 'online' space but is one more facet of people's broader lives. Whereas utopian discussions of online identity celebrated the potential to leave the corporeal body behind, what is found on Facebook is a very real state in which corporeal bodies and lives are entwined with online spaces. One manifestation is the very popular practice of posting photos of the physical self online, which was discussed in regards to Ted and his family earlier in this chapter. Another manifestation of this, and the subject of the next section, is the writing of the body online as a technology of the self. The body, as a terrain for action, is written about in posts in which the self is revealed as a subject for scrutiny and self-government.

The Body as a Terrain for Normalisation through Resolutions of the Self

Participants were observed using their Facebook profiles as a technology of the self through which to announce their intentions to diet and exercise, and to measure the outcomes of these intentions. One participant, Sabrina (age not provided, working in industrial relations, RFP), announced that she was 'Determined to fit back into the two size 12 work dresses I just tried on. At least they do up, but I know they fit better once *sigh*'. In this one example Sabrina declared her intention to lose weight, implied that she has already mastered her body by losing enough weight to fit back into her dresses, and the resolution emerged through her acknowledgment that she was once able to better fit into the dresses. Implied in her comments is that her physical size has come about through her own lack of self-discipline, but by taking charge of her physical self she aimed to change that through the pursuit of the appropriate disciplining of herself. Many of the research participants were observed posting updates to Facebook that were concerned with resolutions of the corporeal self. However, two particular participants provide exemplars of the phenomenon of the 'resolution of the self'. Gabrielle and Colleen, both young women in their twenties and thirties respectively,
actively used Facebook as a technology of the self to enforce self-discipline and self-government over their corporeal selves. For these Facebook users the surveillance architecture of lateral-panopticism is leveraged as a motivational factor for the disciplining of the corporeal body and the care of the self. Discourses of health and beauty, particularly in relation to the bodies of women, permeate the attentions given by individuals when reflecting upon their own body as a site of power and self-government (Wright, O’Flynn, and Macdonald 2006). Efforts to subject the body to diet and exercise as announced through Facebook posts see a reward in the form of 'likes' and 'comments' in which the individuals were often praised for their actions.

For instance, there are a number of things that can be teased out from the threads of Gabrielle's (age not provided, occupation not provided, RFP) post: 'Day 1 of Michelle Bridge's 12 WBT, walked to work with the mister. According to the pedometer: Time: 1hr12min, Average speed: 6.63km/h, Cals: 1463! Very good start to the day'. Here Gabrielle explicitly drew upon techniques advocated and displayed on the reality television programme The Biggest Loser. Michelle Bridges is one of the 'expert' trainers from the show who has capitalised on her fame by launching the training program 12 Week Body Transformation Program (12WBT) in which Gabrielle was participating. Participants pay hundreds of dollars to be part of this program. This particular post of Gabrielle's highlighted the ways in which the reality TV format aligns neatly with SNSs as a surveillance technology as well as a technology of the self. Much like the contestants on The Biggest Loser, participants in the Michelle Bridges program are encouraged to confess their dissatisfaction with their current

32 For example, see Andrejevic (2005; 2006) and Dubrofsky (2011) on the links between surveillance, the reality TV genre, and SNSs. See Kelly and Harrison (2009), Ouellette and Hay (2008), and Wong (2001) for analyses of the reality TV genre through a Foucauldian lens as a key site of neoliberal governmentality.
body, to announce publicly their goals to achieve a 'better' self, to diarise their exercise and eating, and to submit to the expertise of the trainer.

Gabrielle's post received 5 'likes' and 15 'comments' further discussing her exercise and comparing tips and fitness routines. Gabrielle updated her Friends every few days with her experiences on the program and outlined her tribulations in attempting to lose weight: 'Gah! Why do people keep offering me cake/chocolate/cupcakes/tim tams - they know I can't have them. Stay strong Gabe, we can work through this' (Gabrielle, age not provided, occupation not provided, RFP). Here Gabrielle announced her intent to avoid the temptations of unhealthy foods and by posting this information looked for support from her Friends in this endeavour. Her reference to herself in the third person ('Stay strong Gabe') denoted the subjectification and objectification of her self/body as a governable subject/object over which she maintained a constant and visible watch. This is a clear expression of the subject/object split found in Foucault's conception of power and subjectivity as Gabrielle refers to herself as the object of the medicalised and normative gaze. Gabrielle's mastery of the self through denial of pleasure at the site of the body demonstrated an instance of the biopolitics of the subject as facilitated through Facebook as a technology of the self, and by drawing upon the discourses of health and the body as articulated through the power/knowledge nexus promoted as expertise in the RTV show *The Biggest Loser*. Constructing herself through interactions with Facebook and interpellating the lifestyle marketed via RTV, Gabrielle's is a clear example of a 'media life' (Deuze 2012b).

Colleen, in her mid thirties, is an immigrant living in Sydney. Over the course of the observation component of the research she worked in a number of temporary positions. She posted to Facebook very often, usually dozens of times a day. Her posts were quite often
about her pop cultural interests, but among these were usually quite detailed summaries of her day. She listed the things she had done and with whom she did them. Pertinent here was her posting of information relating to her health and diet. Colleen regularly posted of her struggles with finding work and with her health. These often involved posting of an evening with information about her diet and exercise, as well as her attempts to secure employment undertaken during the day. She also posted future plans of action in which her hoped-for self was announced to her Facebook Friends.

Colleen's presence on Facebook was intriguing in that she posted a number of serious updates regarding her health and her work efforts, but these were overwhelmed by her many posts about comic books and TV. She used the second-party apps 'Get Glue' and 'Miso' to 'check-in' to the shows she was watching. There were a large number of these sorts of posts and it was not uncommon for her to post dozens of these in any given day. In this way Colleen was similar to Brenda, the gamer discussed in an earlier chapter (supra, p.120), whose Profile was also full of posts from her use of Facebook game apps. Both women's daily lives were filled with the consumption of media. Where Brenda discussed the strategy of employing a more suitable 'clean' second Facebook presence for the purposes of job seeking, Colleen did not. And unlike Brenda, who purposively refrained from posting any personal details, Colleen posted a lot about her health problems and her lack of lasting success in employment.

In contrast with many of those observed participants who posted only very vaguely about their actual selves, Colleen's posts were often quite personal. She had over 500 Facebook Friends all privy to the minutiae of her health issues, both physical and mental, including the posting of pictures of her symptoms and her efforts to seek help by detailing her visits with
doctors and mental health professionals. In one post Colleen detailed very revealing facets of her present state, and some of the remedial steps that she was considering:

Holy it never rains but it pours, Batman! 5 interviews this week. 3 for actual roles, 2 just agency meetups. I am feeling better about life.

…

Also a psychiatrist appointment at a new place tomorrow (which I am nervous but positive about) and some results back from my blood tests (terrifyingly low vitamin D and need to check for celiac) but in general getting answers about things and learning positive ways to deal with things that makes me very happy (Colleen, age not provided, occupation not provided, RFP).

Present here is a therapeutic element to the visible confession. Just as the concept of the 'sick role' (Parsons 1951) identified the competent, functional person as one who seeks to remedy their maladies rather than revel in them, Colleen here opened up and revealed her burdens and her plans to overcome them.

This included a mastery of the self through diagnosis and remedy, as well as through curbing her social life and its inherent intake of alcohol. She announced to her Friends:

So today is day 1 of 3 months of no alcohol! Doing it in conjunction with the Doctor to see what effect it has on the fibromyalga and on the anxiety. Had a lovely couple of girl's nights this past weekend to farewell, which was a good thing.

…

To my friends, please be awesome and supportive (as I know you are). I will continue to be fun and awesome even without alcohol and we will have all around good times! (Colleen, age not provided, occupation not provided, RFP).

Here we see Colleen inviting her Friends to monitor and facilitate her resolve by being aware of her sobriety. Implied in her post is an appeal for her Friends to help in her endeavour not to drink alcohol with them.

Another way in which Colleen utilised Facebook as a technology of the self was through diarising her day and comparing the intent and the outcome, a process that Foucault (1988) discussed in relation to the examination and care of the self. Thus Colleen:
Today's list
Eat healthy breakfast (done)
Laundry (on the line need to put away)
Listen to 2 more hours of ecology (this arvo)
Renew library books (done)
Do my RPG stuff (80% done)
Touch base with my employment agents (done)
Vacuum and mop (about to do)
Walk to coffee shop and back, stopping for coffee and comics there (30 mins each way, exercise! And after the vacuum and mop)
Check job listings AGAIN (after the coffee shop/walk) (Colleen, age not provided, occupation not provided, RFP).

Colleen posted this as a reminder to herself and to her Friends that she was keeping occupied with the steps needed to remedy both her health and her employment prospects. This list also contained notes about her hobbies and interests (RPG - role playing game) as well as the mundane tasks in her life (vacuuming and mopping) and the efforts to improve herself through study (listen to ecology lectures).

Colleen looked backward as well as forward in her posts. After three days of abstaining from alcohol she posted: 'Did I mention I gave up smoking along with drinking? Day 3. Colleen is a grumpy something something' (ibid.). Four days later she posted '<--- celebrated 7 days of no drinking or smoking with nudie juice and later tea. Plus cookies. Tomorrow I'm walking to the [the] library with [my friend] and I'll insist we stop at a cafe for something tasty. Yay!' (ibid.). A month later she revealed that she had been successful in her efforts to stop smoking and that it had been '6 weeks of pretty much not drinking either. There've been the occasionals but it's pretty much a non-existent thing in my life. And honestly not really missing that either. It's nice to have a once in a while cocktail or cider but I'm not really fussed' (ibid.). The language in this most recent post changes from that of being concerned with the impacts on her health to that of self-mastery ('honestly not really missing that either'). Much like Gabrielle, Colleen's body became a subject and site of self-government enmeshed within the digital space of Facebook as a technology of the self.
Much of the aforementioned can be seen as attempts to 'work through' identity and the self. A further aspect of this is seen in the process of revelation, through confession and submission to expert guidance. This is either exterior, for example submitting to an expert such as a dietician or counsellor, or by turning the gaze inward and applying expertise in the form of truth-as-discourse upon the self as both subject and object. Here is the 'hailing' of the 'normal' healthy subject. As a viewer of a RTV programme such as *The Biggest Loser* an individual might absorb the information being proffered and then apply the same techniques of self-mastery and virtue of the healthy body to one's own body by subjecting one's self to a training regime designed by a star of the RTV show itself. We see this explicitly in the case of Gabrielle who was attempting to lose weight by using the Michelle Bridges regimen and diarising these efforts on her Facebook Profile. Here Facebook operates as a technology of the self through which to document her efforts at self-improvement.

This particular form of self-improvement is predicated on discourses of health and fitness and is operationalised through a hailing of the healthy RTV subject. By adopting the same means of attaining the physical body promoted through *The Biggest Loser* Gabrielle is intentionally interpellating the normal subject position promoted through the RTV format by disciplining her body in a process of normalisation. Here we see an intersecting of technologies of production, technologies of sign systems, technologies of power, and technologies of the self. Production, where individuals pay hundreds of dollars to emulate the strategies of self-mastery as promoted through the RTV genre; sign systems, where discourses of health and beauty are articulated through the RTV format; power, where the bodies and 'truths' articulated through the RTV genre are presented as the mandatory norm towards which individuals must discipline themselves; and of the self as individuals apply techniques of self-
transformation, informed by a moral imperative of self-improvement, that are facilitated through the use of Facebook. But technologies of the self are not only applied to the corporeal body. Facebook also operates as technology of the self as related to the spheres of technologies of production.

Work and Study
Putting aside these largely corporeal aspects of Facebook as a technology of the self, many Facebook users engage the site in conjunction with their own work efforts. Two main types of engagement were found here: one in relation to higher education studies, and the other to being self-employed. Student participants often posted about their need to complete assignments, and then later about their results. Self-employed workers often discussed the need to complete self-directed tasks. Both students and the self-employed posted about their need to construct a balance between their educational or professional commitments and their personal lives. Facebook became a space in which they worked through these conflicting tensions in a semi-public environment. Here others were able to join in with advice on how to conduct the self in such semi-structured educational and professional environments. Ultimately, for both students and the self-employed, Facebook facilitated the transformation and government of the self by utilising the site to leverage visibility in the form of the digital double as a means for self-actualisation.

Student participants came from all stages of their university careers. This included young undergraduates and mature-age students as well as postgraduate students. All discussed their studies in varying capacities such as the difficulties of managing study with employment and family life. For some of the participants their studies were in competition with the other aspects of their lives, while for others their identity as a student was at the fore. This was
often manifested through Facebook posts that professed a deep engagement with their research or through an active and visible presence in extra-curricular pursuits such as student politics. Students were also aware of the issue of Facebook as a 'time-sink' in which a significant amount of their time could easily be lost. This often manifested itself in self-deprecating and humorous ways such as 'You can tell we're entering week five of semester when I sit down to do some serious uni work and end up spending more time on Facebook than I have all year' (Maeve, 26, marketing co-ordinator, RFP). During the interviews Spike, a 28 year-old undergraduate student, discussed the temptation that Facebook offered during boring classes 'Sometimes I'll use it during tutorials, mostly on my own laptop', as well as when he should be working on assignments 'If there's something to do, like I have to do an assignment I'll close it. But if not I usually have it open, and a TV programme, or eBay or something, but after a while I'll go back and look'. Similarly, Jason, a 19 year-old undergraduate student and white-collar worker in the utilities sector, noted that his Facebook use had to be curbed during semester as his time was taken up with study and employment: 'I think with, especially being back at uni and work, the time that I have to spend on Facebook has decreased an awful lot'.

While the issue of Facebook as a drain on productivity was often discussed in relation to business and employment it did not of itself concern the present line of inquiry. What is interesting for my discussion is the ironic form of self-surveillance demonstrated through the nexus of the performance of procrastination. Users and their audiences were often 'in' on the irony insofar as the tension between productivity and procrastination as performed through Facebook was often treated light-heartedly. While this can be understood as a form of a humorous engagement with the site it also demonstrated a hailing of the concerns of many businesses that Facebook is a drain on productivity. Both Maria (a mature-age student) and
Joan (a stay-at-home mother and freelance writer) demonstrated this very thing in their use of Facebook. Both saw it as a source of performing the self and an opportunity for procrastination, as well as viewing the site as a source of leisure. While Maria and Joan each had responsibilities to attend to they both found themselves 'pulled' back to Facebook.

Maria posted to Facebook around a dozen times a day. She posted Status Updates and shared content, particularly humorous photo memes, and was a lively commenter on her Friends' Facebook posts. Maria's own Status Updates reflected her overlapping commitments, particularly her life at home with her family and her studies as a mature age student pursuing an undergraduate degree in the humanities. Maria's posts demonstrated both a diarising of the minutiae of the domestic sphere as well as an ongoing performance of her student subjectivity. Many of the posts from her home life were typified by lightweight social surveillance (OIS) with posts about household chores. She occasionally used the spotlight of her Facebook Profile to sanction her husband through slight forms of ridicule: 'stupid is the husband that scares the shit out of the wife while she is in the shower..' (Maria, age not provided, student, RFP). It was not uncommon to see Maria posting material about her children and their activities. This was especially pronounced in regards to her oldest daughter who had turned 18, a life event that caused Maria some worry. She posted Status Updates expressing her worries over the sorts of things that come with having a daughter about to begin her tertiary studies and beginning to attend late-night parties.

Interspersed with these posts were Maria's Status Updates about her studies. She often posted about her assignments and deadlines. There was a tension present between Maria's efforts to perform the diligent student role and her use of Facebook as a means to procrastinate. Her post 'I just can't get motivated to study today :/' (ibid.) alerted her Friends to her current
feelings toward her studies. Here was an acknowledgement that as a student she felt that she should be studying but was unable to do so at that moment. Facebook became a tool of procrastination through which she spent time socialising with her Friends as they commented on the post. Maria had a handful of Friends that, like her, were mothers pursuing studies as mature age students. Maria and this cohort of Friends would often post comments on each others' Status Updates. That they were all experiencing similar fears and concerns seemed to bring a sense of solidarity and comfort as they discussed things outside of their studies as well as their assignments and their classes. It was not uncommon to find Maria seeking advice from her Friends. She posted this in an effort to overcome a hurdle in her assignment: 'Attention UNI friends: Help needed with referencing!!! I am using multiple books by the same author. In what order do I list them? Most recent first? Or by alphabetical title listing. Thanks :)' (ibid.).

Engaging in studies as mature age students often results in a great deal of upheaval to their identities. Maria used Facebook as a technology of the self to grapple with her changing identity. Much was performance, but it was also the constitutive grounds for constructing a successful academic subjectivity. This was demonstrated through her use of the Facebook 'check-in' feature in which Maria checked-in to her university library on a Sunday. Here, her efforts to perform the diligent student could be quantified through the use of the check-in which verified the time and her physical location at that moment. To be in the university library on a Sunday is not a particularly common pastime for many undergraduate students. For Maria to do so with the verification of the Facebook check-in enabled her to signify the extraordinary nature of her visit.
This performance of diligence was also demonstrated in Maria's Status Updates from her home. A post such as 'I'm cleaning my desk so I can work at it... decluttering all the crap pens and scrap paper makes a difference...' (ibid.) alerted her Friends to the fact that she was aware of the need to do some work while not actually engaging in any practical form of it. Here again is the tension between performing the student role and the use of Facebook as a tool for procrastination. This was an ironic form of self-surveillance in which Maria described her 'decluttering' of her desk, itself a classic work-avoidance activity. Maria often posted of her successes as a student. She updated her Friends with the progress of her assignments: 'power point almost done, and it's not due for another week. YAY me!!!!' (ibid.). This small victory was negated later in the day when she posted 'I'm trying to get my presentation slides ready but I have got a mental block.. arghhhhhh :/ ' (ibid.). Occasionally Maria's frustration emerged and she would use Facebook as a means to express them: 'I'm so over [class] and this frigging WHY essay response, it's doing my frigging head in.... SOOOOOOO OVER IT!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!! ARGHHHHHHHHHHH. I want wine and lots of it NOW!!!!!!!!' (ibid.).

In many ways Maria's posts reflected the typical undergraduate student's experiences with their studies. Maria's commitments at home, however, were unlike those confronting many younger students. It was clear through Maria's posts that, like many women worldwide (Baxter 1997; Beagan et al 2008; Warren 2003), she carried the bulk of the load of her family's domestic duties. Her individual pursuits in the shape of her studies were pursued amidst the overlapping family commitments. Her academic pursuits took her away from her roles as wife and mother and it was through Facebook that much of the identity-building occurred. Maria asserted this through posts such as 'well its Friday?? I wish I had a life.. oh yeh I do, the life of a student.. bahahahaha :P' (Maria, age not provided, student, RFP). While
Maria spent a great deal of time engaged in OIS posts it is clear that she was also building an identity as a student. Facebook became a technology of the self through which she could performatively assert and reiterate this form of selfhood.

A similar situation confronted Joan who described herself as a self-employed freelance writer and stay-at-home mother. She was also a participant in both the interview and observation stages of the research. Her Facebook Profile was full of diarising posts about her family's activities and events. Interspersed within these were posts about her writing that often detailed the conflicting obligations between her writing and her family. In the interviews Joan described the ways in which Facebook allowed her to connect with people from her already-existing relationships as well as to branch out and connect with other writers. While this mixture of known and semi-known Friends augmented her Facebook use, her professional connections allowed her to use the site as a means to discuss writing issues as well as to discuss issues that came with the occupation in general. For Joan her 'workplace is the internet'. Joan gave an interesting insight into the role that a site like Facebook can play in the everyday life of the self-employed:

Writers work in isolation. They don't work in normal work environments where they interact with colleagues and often they work at home alone. So social media, Facebook, is like the water cooler, it's like a workplace. And so that, communication-wise is another facet of what Facebook is. For people who don't work in traditional office environments it can act as the lunch room or the place that you share news about what you do and updates and connect with other people who are writing or are doing the same thing as you even through they are not in your lounge room or study or wherever it is that you work. So that's another thing. I network with a lot of writers and they love social media. They promote their books and things, but it's a way of remaining connected to the world when your profession, and the way it works, kind of disconnects you (Joan).

Joan's experience mirrored that of another interviewee, semi-retired George, who also discussed the ways in which SNSs allowed for isolated and individualised workers to retain a sense of connection with others while working alone. For Joan, however, Facebook offered a
sense of social as well as professional connection. Facebook facilitated her work by allowing her to get feedback from other writers. This helped her to maintain a degree of self-confidence in pursuing a career that was inherently risky insofar as one's abilities as a writer are connected to self-worth and identity in ways that other careers and subjectivities may not be. Joan also discussed the hours that writers keep in fitting around the responsibilities of traditional work and family life. It was not uncommon for her to be able to find other writers through Facebook to discuss an issue at some odd hour in the middle of the night. For Joan 'social media means that when you're awake there's someone else who's awake, so you can connect when you can, when you're available, there's someone there to bounce ideas off and connect with'. Joan's use of Facebook in this fashion demonstrated the ways in which a broad network of connections as facilitated by a SNS allowed her to draw on a heterogeneous network of influences in the maintenance of her professional self.

While Joan discussed the ability for Facebook to serve as a means for socialising and seeking advice from peers, her posts tended to be a mixture of information about her family and friends, as well as using Facebook as a professional technology of the self. Joan often posted reflective updates with her intentions to conduct work or as a means through which to negotiate the multiple responsibilities in her life. In this sense Joan was similar to Maria who also struggled to maintain a subjectivity requiring a certain degree of self-discipline. Joan tended to use her posts as a means to diarise her intentions and efforts to maximise the small amount of free time in her day to get her writing tasks completed. This would occur through posts that summed up her present feelings as well as surmising her chances at completing her work. She posted 'I was up until stoopid o'clock last night writing something for my book blog… Doesn't bode well for a productive day/evening' (Joan, 40, freelance writer, RFP).
Here she told herself and her Friends that her efforts working late the night before have taken too much of a toll on her to feel ready to complete the tasks before her.

The theme of time-management came through often in Joan's posts. While she may have struggled for times in which to complete her writing tasks she also hinted about issues with motivation. During the interviews Joan discussed this issue and the ways in which connecting with other writers would at times alleviate this:

> Because you work untraditional hours there's someone there, and because sometimes us creative types are a little temperamental, and a little emotional, and a little in need of a little bit of bolstering, there's always someone there when you go on and go “oh I'm just hopeless and I can't think of this and I can't finish, it'll never happen and I don't know what to do” and there's always someone there to go “make yourself a cup of tea, have some chocolate, get back into it, you'll be fine”, which we kind of need to do it (Joan).

Joan would also post updates that expressed the sort of self-motivation required to conduct her writing. Thus she posted this Status Update:

> No longer waiting for the 'right' moment to put new plans into action. No matter how long I wait, there is always something else that needs to be sorted out before I can do what I really want to do. It's never going to be the 'right' time, so I might as well get started now (Joan, 40, freelance writer, RFP).

This was imbued with the sort of language of self-help and self-actualisation reminiscent of broader self-esteem movements (Cruikshank 1993). The language of self-improvement features strongly in this manifesto of the self in which Joan posted semi-publicly that she intended to limit the amount of excuses that she creates in justifying her putting-off work. Elsewhere she posted that she had 'So much to do, so little time. For every item I cross off the To Do List, I seem to add 10 more. I definitely need more hours in the day' (Joan, 40, freelance writer, RFP).

Joan's many commitments were discussed in her posts. In one posts she lamented having to neglect her children as she concentrated on her writing. 'Rounding off a day of being the most
boring mother ever. I've ignored the kids all day because I had writing deadlines to meet and now they will be served a dinner of bacon, eggs and toast because I have nothing else to feed them. #ParentingFail' (ibid.). This post received three 'likes' and thirteen 'comments' in which Joan's Friends variously supported her efforts by mentioning their own battles with feeding children, or by saying how much they too would like bacon and eggs for dinner. In this sense her feelings of guilt were alleviated by her Friends, but it was also an admission of guilt in the form of a confession that her responsibilities did in fact take time from one another. In another post Joan expressed her satisfaction at having completed an important task but tied it back into her other responsibilities: 'Just sent off list of edits for draft manuscript I have been contributing to. Not much else for me to do now until the editor has a chance to look it all over. Excited and relieved. Now on to the rest of my To Do list' (ibid.). In these ways Joan's Facebook posts represented attempts at working-through her conflicts in a semi-public space that offered the chance for both reassurance and penance. Facebook operated here as a technology of the self through which to confirm the ethical choices made in the pursuit of the subjectivity of self-employed writer while also maintaining the performance of the busy, ethical self. Posting a Status Update of this sort to Facebook is both performance and an opportunity to have one's behaviours validated.

Both Maria and Joan demonstrated the ways in which everyday diarising manifests through Facebook as a form of technology and care of the self. Both Maria and Joan juggled multiple commitments that vied for their attentions. As wives and mothers their posts suggested that they were largely responsible for carrying out the bulk of the domestic tasks such as cleaning and cooking for their families and it was against these responsibilities that they sought to find time to pursue their own projects of self in the form of education or creative self-employment. It was evident throughout the observation that gender roles played an important
part for parents as many Status Updates from women revealed the amount of domestic labour they performed while men tended to perform fatherhood largely through the occasional posting of photos of their children. This image of gender differences in parenting rehashes stereotypical routines of parenting in which a father demonstrates his commitment to fatherhood by placing a photograph of his children on his desk while a wife maintains the hands-on daily care of the children. Whether or not this is actually the case is not apparent. Facebook provides a space through which these gender relations are played out performatively by parents of both genders.

Both Maria and Joan, student and writer respectively, had important projects of the self that took them away from their roles as wives and mothers, and both turned to Facebook to diarise and work-through the issues generated by these conflicts. In seeking to do this they both made use of large social networks from whom to seek advice or consolation, or to act as a sounding-board for their frustrations. Ultimately, the projects of self that each sought to undertake were a departure from their roles as maternal heads of their families. Individual improvement and self-reliance were now new goals that had to be taken into account. For both Maria and Joan, Facebook provided space for the operation of various technologies of the self through which they might achieve these goals. Facebook was also a space within which they could enact forms of self-care through engaging in posts of advice and consolation.

Maria and Joan were each engaged in individualistic pursuits which required them both to find time away from their domestic commitments as well as to redefine their subjectivities through the construction and performance of their respective endeavours. Both as mature age student and as freelance writer a large amount of self-directed entrepreneurial effort was
required to inculcate their selves with the required self-discipline and commitment to succeed. A possible obstacle to Maria and Joan's success arose from them each having to do the bulk of their families' domestic duties. Maria and Joan sought to balance the tension between their home lives and their individual pursuits. At the same time their husbands left the home each day to engage in their own work without having to perform any of the same order of domestic duties. Facebook was a space in which both Maria and Joan often discussed their families, but it also offered them a means through which they could construct performatively an altogether separate and individual subjectivity.

The typology of diarising in the form of Status Updates offered in this chapter allows for categorising the posts of Facebook users that is attentive to the richness of content as well as the motivation for posting. The content-lean 'phatic' posts serve as markers of the user's presence on the site and allow users, with minimum input, to both visibly announce their presence while allowing others to engage with the user and to socialise in the comments field. While the motivation for posting is significant in that a small textual utterance allows for visibility and marked presence, the content itself is of little significance. OIS posts allow Facebook users to share the goings-on of their everyday lives and are typified by their quotidian, mundane form of content. This is not meant pejoratively but rather to indicate that this sort of content is most similar to the 'chit chat' that typifies everyday interpersonal communication. While generally unremarkable in content, this is the sort of communication that allows for a maintaining of relationships by serving as a marker of presence as well as an ongoing performative reiteration of the self. What is remarkable about this sort of post is that it takes place within the surveillance enclosure of Facebook, and thus rendered a mediated and surveillance-enabled everydayness. The third category of Status Updates, those marked by 'status enhancement/display', are posts that generally serve to 'show off' to the Facebook
user's Friends in ways that signify try to enhance status. Unlike OIS posts which are characterised by their ordinariness, status enhancing posts tend to announce ruptures from the banal or mundane. They do so by announcing or displaying the exceptional and spectacular moments of the Facebook user's life. These posts can be used by Facebook users to carefully curate a Profile that is a sort of 'highlight reel'. The final category of Status Updates are those that are 'resolutions of the self'. These sorts of posts are significant in that they are imbued with the imperative to action and the judgement of one's own behaviours. They are often typified by confession, especially in relation to one's own efforts at disciplining the body or time-management, or as an announcement of one's own future resolve in relation to self-discipline. These types of Status Updates are a particular form of self-writing that can be seen as a particularly potent form of a technology of the self, and through which the role of power is visible in efforts to enact regimes of self-control and discipline that are manifestations of various discourses. Overall, this typology contributes a means for future researchers to theorise and categorise the Status Updates that Facebook users post, and as a means for further investigating the link between self-writing and the subjectification through the use of Facebook.

**Conclusion**

It is clear that for many people Facebook has become an important part their everyday lives. It should also be clear that while Facebook's architecture and design are standardised and uniform the agency of users is present in their multiple ways of engaging with the site. The majority of Facebook users do engage with the site on a daily basis and many of these do so multiple times a day and in multiple locations across multiple devices. Within the space of half a decade Facebook has come to occupy both a privileged place in many people's lives as much as it is also an unspectacular place. It is paradoxical when considering the revolutionary
way in which Facebook has augmented friendship and social connections on a global scale whilst simultaneously being experienced by users as entirely unremarkable. In line with 'domestication of technology' perspectives (Baym 2010: 45) Facebook is used in ordinary, everyday capacities such as grandparents using the site to keep in contact with grandchildren or parents using the site to gossip with other parents. That Facebook seems at times to be so utterly unremarkable may go some way to revealing why it is not often conceived as a technology of power.

This chapter has shown how Facebook is a technology that facilitates power operations. The sorts of power relationships present within Facebook are part of the everyday, a sphere highlighted by a number of thinkers and activists including Shulamith Firestone (1972), Robin Morgan (1970), and Joreen (aka Jo Freeman) (1970), as well as in the work of Michel de Certeau (1984), as often being overlooked in analyses of power. These relationships of power are often subtle and not easily identified without an appropriate attention to the practices afforded by Facebook as a technology of the self. Facebook, of course, is not disconnected from wider suites of power relationships. It is through the ensembles of behaviours and activities as pursued by individuals in their engagement with the site and through the site's being entwined with users' offline lives that power operates. Central to this, and especially important in regards to the core argument of this thesis, is the role that individuals themselves play. It is through the condition of freedom that individuals are called upon to enact the role of productive, self-governing citizens. That users choose to engage with such a technology in multiple fashions is testament to the role of user agency in their practices of self while being entwined with technologies of power and domination in the shape of surveillance architectures. Users adopt a variety of postures and dispositions toward
their use of Facebook while power operates in multifarious and subtle ways in the various uses of the site as exhibited by its users.

Here we see an echo of the sorts of issues inherent in the entrepreneurial self and strategies of responsibilisation. These are often coupled with a compulsion towards normalisation. In this sense an individual's efforts to perform labour upon the self is informed by external motivations that are largely within the realm of discourse and expert knowledges. Governmentality finds its application through the use of Facebook as a technology of the self. As such, Facebook gains salience through the persistence and visibility of information posted to it. Against this persistent, visible, verifiable information the individual is easily able to measure and evaluate the attainment (or not) of the desired form of self. Visibility, afforded by the surveillance architecture of Facebook, assures the maximum audience for one's confessions as the individual is laid bare as a subject for improvement.

These acts are performative. This orientation to understanding the self as unstable, decentred, and contingent means understanding the self as being performatively constituted. Understood as such means paying attention to the ways in which the 'fiction' of the stable self is maintained. This is done through an ongoing reiteration of the aspects of identity that are seen to be, and often experienced as, stable through performances. There is also a hint of radical freedom and the limits of the possible in this conception of the self. Any given moment offers an almost limitless degree of freedom for who one might be. Hence, the maintaining of an appearance of unity through ongoing performative acts can be understood as practices that are inherently imbued with power both in the shape of enacting a semblance of continuity as well as the interpellation of discourses in the construction of the performative self.
That no person is socially isolated means that the performative construction and maintenance of the self is also a social assemblage. Myriad obligations and roles are present in the making up of the self as well as the boundaries and settings of social encounters. Within Facebook the individual contends with the architecture of the site as a digital surveillance enclosure as well as being enmeshed within social network connections. These connections too act as limiting or constitutive elements in the construction of the self. Performances of self are never arbitrary but neither are they wholly determined. Individuals are engaged in processes of their own self-monitoring and self-maintenance. Freedom and choice are present in any given engagement with the site and therefore each act is imbued with politics and power as the horizon of 'otherwise' is negated.

While Facebook inserts itself within the routines and rhythms of the everyday for many users it also commands a regular call for attention. Web 2.0 technologies, and in particular SNSs, are sites in which the individual is valorised insofar as they are mostly experienced from the vantage point of the egocentric network and allow the user to control and customise their presence and experiences. While this is often derided by news reports lamenting the explosion of narcissism, SNSs exist as a popular means through which to (re)present and maintain an interface of self/other interaction. The maintenance of this interface, particularly as seen in the Facebook Profile, can be properly understood as a contemporary technology of the self through which to exercise practices of self-care.

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33 Foucault (1987: 4-5) identifies a point in Christianity in which a concern for the self became a source of immorality or narcissism.
Chapter 7:

Concluding Remarks: Facebook and the Art of Governing the Self Through (un)Freedom

Facebook is one of many informational communication technologies that contemporary individuals use in their daily lives. Indeed, as was discussed early in Chapter 1, contemporary selves are bombarded by media stimuli, most of which is typified by its interactional and communicative qualities. Selves are networked in a way that was unthinkable a decade ago. Furthermore, selfhood and the very processes of self-construction are also networked and it is this quality that is found so prominently in the use of Facebook. Contemporary communication technologies are marked by their fluidity and ubiquity as they are increasingly domesticated and integrated into everyday activities. This proliferation of ubiquitous communication technologies provides both infinite risks and rewards, as well as imperatives to regulate the self in ways according with the dominant values of the era.

The overarching logic of ubiquitous communication in a media life also gives rise to an increase of monitoring in the form of surveillance. This means that at infinite points of every individual's daily lives there are actions conducted that are potentially accountable to someone. This accountability can take perverse forms when the nature of information within networked publics means that individuals conducting themselves in ways suitable to their immediate audience might be made accountable to another, less-accepting audience. This disjunction can be readily seen in the difference between 'identity' and the 'self'. Individuals have historically had many identities that relate to their various roles whereas they are always anchored to their single, corporeal self. While cyber-enthusiasts of the early internet
celebrated the decoupling of the self from identity the present age is marked by an increasingly commercial internet colonised by corporations attempting to set the rules of conduct in ways that will maximise their profit. Mark Zuckerberg's quip about having one identity\textsuperscript{34} (Kirkpatrick 2010: 199) conveniently overlooks the fact that we all perform multiple identities in our various relationships both personal and professional. The coupling of identity and the self is the dream outcome for online corporations and the modern securitised state. Those that traverse the internet with verifiable identities are able to be better monitored and tracked. This occurs both on the world wide web and outside of its confines through the broader internet-connected surveillance technologies both commercial, such as through electronic transactions, or related to state functions such as border control. For better or worse, Facebook is a part of this ensemble of surveillance technologies.

But Facebook is also experienced in ways that are removed from this surveillance assemblage. It is a contemporary phenomenon that has become a subtly integral part of hundreds of millions of people's lives. While generally not experienced as disruptive Facebook has crept into the lives of its users in various ways. For some it is of little importance but for many users their lives are lived through and with the technology as they broadcast the minutiae of their everyday activities as well as use the site as an everyday activity. In a sense it is both a diary and a social space, a record of events and a space in which events take place.

The research participants confirmed that Facebook is important to them in personal and professional capacities. For some users, such as Mary and Alison in Chapter 5, Facebook becomes a social space that exists as an outlet both to the world as a means to let off some

\textsuperscript{34} Zuckerberg in full: 'You have one identity. The days of you having a different image for your work friends or co-workers and for the other people you know are probably coming to an end pretty quickly.... Having two identities for yourself is an example of a lack of integrity' (Marc Zuckerberg quoted in Kirkpatrick 2010: 199).
steam after work. Mary and Alison live alone and use the site as a means to socialise in an otherwise atomised lifestyle. In many senses Facebook helps to sustain the lifestyles of Mary and Alison by serving as a social outlet and as a social activity that allows them to regenerate their energies between work hours. Understood in this way Facebook is part of the assemblage of technologies that facilitates neoliberal capitalism as Mary and Alison support their individualised lifestyles and living arrangements through the social outlet of Facebook.

More explicit intersections of neoliberalism and the construction of the self were documented in Chapter 4 in relation to the personal and professional branded selves. Inez and Rhiannon both used Facebook as a means to further their professional careers, while Julia used Facebook as a means to manage her many hundreds of personal network connections in the hope of later leveraging them to her advantage. Inez used Facebook to promote her own business and found that leveraging her own Facebook Friends was a light and informal way to promote herself and her business in an attempt to gain new clients. Rhiannon consciously constructed a personal and professional brand as a budding sociologist and used Facebook to make new professional connections as well as to maintain a carefully curated presentation of the self. The reach that Facebook allowed Rhiannon as a contemporary version of a professional Rolodex meant that big names in the field of sociology were aware of her work, while the co-construction of her image that she and her peers consciously monitored meant that her online persona emerged as a desirable academic commodity. Rhiannon suggested that it was through this careful curating of the self that she was offered a book contract and a lucrative position upon completing her own PhD. These professional strategies were also part of how Julia conducted her presentation of the personal self and the cultivation of a large number of personal network connections. Julia too consciously constructed and maintained a Facebook self that was desirable as a friendship brand. She offered examples of having
friends with glamorous lifestyle opportunities such as a house to stay at in France or the Swiss Alps and the need to make sure that her behaviour on Facebook did not jeopardise her desirability as a Friend. The precariousness of neoliberal friendship was reiterated in Julia's approach to managing her 900 Facebook Friends when she suggested that if any of them became too annoying she had no problem in simply deleting them.

While the logics of neoliberalism were demonstrated in the behaviours of Inez, Rhiannon, and Julia, other factors were also shown as having an effect upon the behaviours of Facebook users. The very architecture of Facebook exhibited an influence on the behaviours of its users. Expanding on other academic analyses of Facebook as a site possessing architectural properties that hold 'affordances' with which users negotiate their engagements with the site, this thesis considered these architectural properties within an explicitly Foucauldian framework by comparing the site to a 'panoptic' form of surveillance architecture. Presence on Facebook is predicated on visibility afforded by lateral, social surveillance technology. While this is a given, the various effects that digitisation has upon information within Facebook's architecture means that users contend with the possibility of unwanted and unintended audiences viewing their online behaviours, as well as the management of behaviours suitable for the wide range of already-known audiences. Chapter 5 discussed these issues and the strategies users employed in regulating their own behaviours as they internalised the lateral surveillance gaze. Furthermore, the circulation of discourses of Facebook in various media was also shown to exhibit an influence on the ways in which users conceptualised the morality of use on the site such as through news reports in which employees had lost their jobs because of 'incorrect' uses of Facebook. These reports served as discursive resources that reminded users of the 'correct' ways in which to use the site as well as having an effect upon their own regulation of their behaviours when using the site.
Facebook is thus a panoptic surveillance assemblage in which both the architecture of the site and the various discourses pertaining to the site, as articulated by 'experts', all intersect with the user's own comportment of the self as a manifestation of the power/knowledge nexus.

Facebook was also shown in Chapter 6 to be a 'technology of the self' through which users engaged in a form of self-writing that documented their everyday behaviours as well as projected 'hoped-for' selves against which their own future behaviours might be compared and reconciled. Many users used the site to maintain their everyday sociality through managing their visibility in the form of Status Updates that signified their presence on the site and informed their Friends of their everyday goings-on. This was framed as a sort of quotidian and ordinary interpersonal form of surveillance. Others documented their activities in ways that projected or raised their status. Another sort of Status Update was conceptualised as being a form of self 'resolution' in which their behaviours, largely as related to the body, were documented or discussed. Intersecting with these posts were related discourses of class, gender, and health that were reproduced performatively through the maintenance of the 'stable fictions' that constitute the self. Users posted diligent Status Updates that demonstrated to their Friends and themselves that they were taking due care of the self in relation to work, the family, and the body. Users that were engaged in dietary regimens documented their food intake or exercise for the day, as well as details of their weight loss and strategies to regulate their behaviour in according ways. The practice of doing so in such a public environment can be seen as a form of confession as well as a resolution against which their future behaviours may be judged. By making such resolutions public these individuals are henceforth accountable to their audiences, but most importantly to themselves as the audience's gaze is further internalised and leveraged as a means to action upon the self.
The sheer size and number of influences upon the construction of the self, a phenomenon referred to by Gergen (1991) as the 'saturated self', means that it is a folly to make any claims relating to any one particular technology's role in relation to the self. The best one can hope for, perhaps, is to cast a critical gaze upon a particular piece of technology and aim for some modest claims while being sensitive to the fact that contemporary selves are swimming within a sea of media stimuli. This thesis does not suggest that Facebook is responsible for any radical shifts or spectacular alterations in styles of living, or that an altogether new historical epoch is being ushered in. Rather, the aims of this thesis have been much more modest and sought to introduce a sensitivity toward understanding the ways in which Facebook sits so easily within broader technologies of power and suites of technologies of the self.

**Facebook and Neoliberal Governmentality**

In many ways Facebook can be considered to be a symptomatic technology of neoliberal governmentality. While it is an example of a social network technology it is also by its very design largely individualising and atomising. Most of the physical interaction with Facebook is conducted through individual technologies such as personal computers and smartphones and is often decried in tabloid accounts as being 'anti-social' media. What Facebook offers its users is in many ways an empty container within which to pour the fragments of the self to be stitched together in particular ways as the needs of the moment might demand. Facebook users have the opportunity to construct an ideal form in which blemishes can be hidden and attractive features emphasised. This edited self can also be a branded self in which the neoliberal tendency toward conceptualising the self as a commodity can be taken to its apotheosis. The phenomenon of networked individualism exemplifies this with particular salience. Individuals are charged with the responsibility to assume the risks and rewards
provided through an engagement with social network sites. Investment made in this self-as-commodity in the form of labour performed in the cultivation of the branded self and the fostering of network connections may see a return in which social and professional opportunities are greatly expanded with the promise of large reward. In this manner Facebook can be seen as a technology of neoliberal governmentality without peer.

While Facebook can be, and is often interpreted as, a technology of neoliberal governmentality, in practice it is used in multiple and often contradictory fashions. This thesis has discussed the ways in which discourses of Facebook are often portrayed in various institutional media by drawing on experts found from fields of business, employment, and the cottage SMEG industry. The power/knowledge nexus is clearly visible in relation to discourses of Facebook in which issues of employment and individual responsibility are framed as central concerns by 'experts' whose commitments to particular ideological positions—for all intents and purposes neoliberal capitalism—are clearly present. In this fashion the hegemonic status of neoliberalism as a discourse is filtered through the emerging discourses of Facebook use by experts giving opinion in those most traditional arbiters of truth, the various news media. These contribute to the closing of the 'universe of discourse' (Marcuse 1964) and a diminished range of acceptable behaviours.

Interviewees related their own impressions of Facebook and its use in relation to stories that they had heard disseminated via traditional news media. Their opinions largely reflected the positions articulated by both experts and more general news reporting of stories pertaining to Facebook. In this power/knowledge schema issues of personal responsibility, self-surveillance and self-governance, and the morality of conducting oneself in a capacity that does not jeopardise one's employability were all discussed by interviewees in similar terms to
those circulated by new media. These discourses also work in relation to the overarching, hegemonic logics of neoliberal capitalism.

While this thesis has eschewed normative claims in an attempt to demonstrate objectively the power relations that are a part of Facebook, there are very good reasons to engage in more critical analyses of Facebook. The research reported in this thesis has made visible the operation of power in relation to the ways in which users engage with the site, and in particular the ways in which users actively self-govern themselves as a result of using it. More critical analyses of Facebook that concentrate on issues of structural power, such as found in the work of Christian Fuchs and Mark Andrejevic, are important in highlighting the structural forms of exploitation that impact on users as their social lives are increasingly lived within the digital enclosures of capitalism. While the participants in this research project were largely unfazed by the possibilities of their information being used to benefit Facebook and other corporations, the research nevertheless suggests that, consistent with the arguments of Fuchs and Andrejevic, users should be concerned about the commodification of their personal information. Here my concluding remarks go further and stress that users should be very interested in what is happening to their personal data. This is not to suggest that users should conduct themselves any differently while using the site, or to leave the site altogether, but rather to argue that Facebook should be held accountable for actions that impinge upon the privacy of users and that any use of user data should be done so in a transparent fashion. This may necessitate more active lobbying of relevant governments to legislate appropriate measures that allow users to control their information, such as in the very recent California example of the teen 'reset button' (Miles 2013). That said, this may be a far from straightforward issue as governments themselves have been demonstrably interested in the scope for surveillance and monitoring that Facebook, among other sites, gives them. The
recent revelations regarding the National Security Agency (NSA) operating a program named PRISM that gives them full and open access to a number of internet platforms including Facebook (Greenwald and MacAskill 2013) should greatly concern Facebook users. Many Facebook users would have been previously unaware of the extent to which their information is being shared for both governmental surveillance and commercial benefit. The tacit approval given by users to companies such as Facebook is one made in a good faith that is not being reciprocated. If Facebook is predicated on a belief in radical transparency then it should be operating in the same fashion.

Let me reiterate. This project demonstrated the subtle ways in which the reach of government and capital is extended into the microspaces of the everyday through Facebook's structuring of power relations and the concomitant effects upon users' subjectivities. Through its analyses of Facebook use this thesis demonstrated the ways in which unfreedom is manifested and explored the ways in which each and every individual user played a part in actively governing their own self and behaviours, and hence subjecting themselves to their own conditions of unfreedom. I am in no way a new media enthusiast of the type so heralded by the Silicon Valley libertarian mindset but rather a believer in what Deuze, tagging Foucault, calls for in regards to making one's own life a work of art with the manifesto that '[i]t is the privilege of our times to use media to make art with life' (Deuze 2012b: 264). Indeed, in my own lifetime I have seen radical changes engendered by technology and feel privileged to be a part of the last generation to know how it feels to live without the internet, and prior to the explosion of ICTs that make up our everyday media lives. For the most part these technologies are extraordinary and have improved my life immensely.
My concern has been to conduct my inquiries in such a fashion that I might demonstrate to others the ways in which a media life may be lived ethically, but more importantly to highlight the ways in which we make ourselves unfree. We can live a media life that allows us to be more free but we also need to be aware of the conditions of this freedom. This thesis explained how Facebook conditions of our unfreedoms and in so doing might enable others to decide how they might want to respond to them, and hence come to view themselves as being infinitely more free than they might otherwise have thought. In this way my research has aimed to confer a sense of liberation and responsibility, but most of all a sense of hopefulness that follows from such a realisation.
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