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Public and Private in the Blogosphere

A Dissertation Presented

By

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DEDICATION

To Matthew and Shoshanna

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ABSTRACT

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE IN THE BLOGOSPHERE

MAY 2019

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The public/private distinction is one of the most influential concepts of the modern era, both in terms of social theory and everyday life. For many, public and private have been treated as completely separate. The assumption that public and private are a dichotomous pair has influenced numerous aspects of social life, ranging from the gendered division of labor to the development of the suburb. However, the division between the public and private realms has proven to be permeable; the public and private realms have bled over into one another, and can no longer be treated as dichotomous. Information and communication technologies have been pivotal in these shifting conceptions of publicity and privacy.

Based on a study of personal bloggers — individuals who write about their everyday lives on the Internet — this study finds that public and private are best understood in terms of the relationship among information, audience, and control over access to information. Bloggers conceptualize publicity and privacy relative to the information they make available online, and actively work to balance the benefits of writing online with the risks of granting readers access to that content. They manage this tension through a variety of techniques ranging from use of software controls (commonly used on some blogging platforms) to maintaining multiple blog documents. Through this process, bloggers continuously create

and destroy both content and audiences. The end result is a vision of public and private that consists of "public" as synonymous with "widely accessible" and "private" as synonymous with "limited access".

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CHAPTER 1

THEORY AND BACKGROUND

We live in a time when it seems that the barrier between public and private is breaking down. We see this in the tabloid headlines, in political sex scandals, and in the ways that information and communication technologies (ICTs) are being used in everyday life. While the number of politicians and celebrities whose sexual and other indiscretions have been exposed online grows almost daily, these changes in the public/private distinction do not affect only those who live their lives in the public eye. This intermingling of the personal and the public plays out in the lives of everyday people as well. Parts of life that had long been kept out of view are now widely accessible and may even become part of the public discourse. This change has been facilitated by the ubiquity of ICTs, which facilitate "pervasive surveillance, massive databases, and lightning-speed distribution of information across the globe" (Nissenbaum, 2009, location #172). This has, in turn, called into question the seemingly ironclad differentiation between the public and the private/personal. In light of these changes, the public/private divide, long treated as dichotomous, must now be re-theorized, for these two spheres are no longer clearly separated. At this sociohistorical juncture, it is perhaps more appropriate to treat public and private as anchors at either end of a continuum, with multiple and fluid interstitial categories.

A Short History of the Public/Private Distinction

Social theorists have long addressed the public/private distinction. Scholars ranging from Weber to Parsons to Goffman have touched on issues related to public and private, along with philosophers such as Locke, Adam Smith, Hobbes, Bentham, and de Tocqueville (see Turkel, 1992; Weintraub, 1997; Wolfe, 1997). The terms "public" and "private" have described social phenomena ranging from the political and economic to the spatial and personal. In the political realm, "public" refers to the world of government, while "private"

refers to extra-governmental activities. A government employee, for example, is a "public servant"; when that individual leaves government service, they are said to be working in the "private sector". In the economic realm, "private" refers to money or property related to an individual, while "public" refers to that which is communally held, or at least communally accessible. This project, however, focuses on the two other dimensions: spatial and personal publicity and privacy. *Spatial publicity and privacy* concerns access to physical spaces and the ways in which those spaces are used. Public spaces are open to all, while access to private spaces is restricted. The town square is public; a home is private. The distinction, then, hinges on *control over access* to the space. A private office or a rented apartment is generally under the control of its occupant regardless of ownership of the building. Similarly, a bathroom in a home is considered to be private whether the occupant is the homeowner or a houseguest. *Personal publicity and privacy*, on the other hand, relates to information and interaction; who knows what about an individual, and who has the power to disseminate that information? It "is the claim of individuals, groups, or institutions to determine for themselves when, how, and to what extent information about them is communicated to others" (Westin, 1967, p. 7); "[p]rivacy enables us to curtail others' power over us by controlling their access to knowledge about us and the distribution of that knowledge so that it cannot be used to manipulate or hurt us" (Katz, 1999, p. 150). Furthermore, personal privacy "represents control over the amount of interaction we choose to maintain with others" (Derlaga & Chaikin, 1977, p. 102). Personal privacy is *contingent upon* spatial privacy; in order to maintain personal privacy, we need *private spaces* in which to keep our *private information*. When your brother breaks into your room and reads your diary, he has violated both your spatial and your personal privacy. When the person sitting next to you on an airplane looks over your shoulder at your laptop screen, you *feel* that they

have violated your personal privacy even though, in that context, there is very little spatial

privacy. In each of those cases, personal privacy depends on private space.

These concepts of publicity and privacy, whether political, economic, personal, or

spatial, are a relatively new social phenomenon. Public and private as we now

conceptualize them developed in the West during the 19th century. Before this development,

"public" and "private" simply coexisted. At all levels of society, family and business, intimate

and impersonal mixed and mingled with little differentiation. The "big houses" of the

European aristocracy

> fulfilled a public function ... To the servants, clerics, and clerks who lived there
> permanently, one must add the constant flow of visitors... There were no professional
> premises… Everything was done in the same rooms where [the landowner] lived with
> his family (Aries, 1962, p. 393).

For the nascent petit bourgeoisie, "[w]ork was fully integrated into the private realm,

although it would be more accurate to say that… work and domestic life coexisted in the

same space…" (Prost, 1991, p. 11). When business was over or the shop closed, "public"

affairs still intruded on "private" life. A similar pattern held true among poor city-dwellers. "An

apartment building was a public theater. Some held forth, others squabbled, but no one had

any privacy. Marital disputes, illicit love affairs, noisy tenants, restless children -- nothing

could be concealed and everything could be heard" (Farge, 1989, pp. 575-576). At all levels

of society and across geopolitical boundaries, there was virtually no separation of the public

and private spheres.

During the 18th and 19th centuries, changes in law, economy, and the spatial

organization of everyday life began to separate the public and the private. These changes

played out in both the public and private realms; the new boundaries affected every aspect

of the social world. Production and business activities moved away from the home, and

> the household ceased to be subject to rules pertaining to the work formerly
> performed in the domestic setting, while at the same time work, no longer subject to

norms of a private order, came to be governed by collective contracts (Prost, 1991, p. 9).

This shift facilitated the development of the defining aspect of the contemporary public/ private distinction: private home versus public work. Home was a safe space to retreat to in the face of the social and political upheaval of the public sphere (Guerrand, 1990; Perrot, 1990; Prost, 1991). With private and public life so cleanly separated, "[t]he home has a privileged place as the domain of the private. It is where we feel we can be most ourselves, most intimate and protected in our relation both to ourselves and to others" (Kumar & Makarova, 2008, p. 330).

By the mid-19th century, public versus private was one of the fundamental distinctions of modern life.

> Modern society brought us the separations that mark our everyday life, that is the separation of production and reproduction, of working and dwelling, of working time and leisure, *of the private and the public*. These separations have been central in everyday life, and still are (Salmi, 1997, p. 133; emphasis added)

Concurrent with the separation of public and private came a shift from the family to the individual as the most salient social unit.

> Today … the family is nothing more than a temporary meeting place for its individual members. Each individual lives his or her own life and in doing so expects support from a now informal family... Private life used to coincide with family life; now the family is judged by the contribution it makes to the individual private lives of its members (Prost, 1991, p. 84).

Because the individual had become paramount, spatial and personal privacy were seen as vital. "The right of privacy, under new pressures in the brashly inquisitive metropolis and subject to the development of new technologies of intrusion and publicity, was elevated to sacred status, which everyone was bound to respect" (Kasson, 1990, p. 116). The private realm is the world of the personal, the emotional; the public realm is the world of cold rationality.

> [O]ne of the most salient forms...of the public/private distinction in modern culture...is that which demonstrates the "private" realm of "personal life" from the "public" realm of gesellschaft… The contrast between the "personal," emotionally intense, and

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intimate domain of family, friendship, and the primary group and the impersonal, severely instrumental domain of the market and formal institutions is in fact widely experienced … as one of the great divides of modern life (Weintraub, 1997, pp. 20-21).

This model of public/private as a "great divide" is the one currently being called into question.

For most of the twentieth century, the separation between public and private remained clear. The public/private distinction affected social life on all levels, from personal contacts to the spatial organization of the city.

The contrast between private life and work life is nowadays embedded in the very structure of modern cities and schedules. People no longer work where they live or live where they work. This principle applies not just to apartments and workshops but to whole neighborhoods. Every day huge populations migrate between home and workplace by automobile and mass transportation (Prost, 1991, p. 27).

More recently, however, the separation between public and private has blurred in key respects. The breakdown between public and private is apparent on a number of levels. While work is still "public" and home and leisure are still "private", the physical, temporal, and spatial distance between them has shrunk. "The clear-cut division of space and time between work and private life is attenuated on the margins by a complex series of transitions. More than that, it is partially overcome by the interactions between the two" (Prost, 1991, p. 116). The cars that take workers from their (private) suburban homes to their (public) jobs in the city represent the beginnings of an overlap between public and private spaces, for the car is a pocket of private space moving through the public realm.

With a well-equipped car, you have a traveling home. Sealed off from the public space, moving among a sea of other private selves, you and your family can literally carry the material and emotional substance of your domestic lives over the face of the country. You can sing, quarrel, eat, sleep, even make love—all in the privacy of the car (Kumar & Makarova, 2008, p. 334).

Broadcast media, and the ways in which they are consumed, also contribute to the blurring of these boundaries. The advent of the portable radio interacted with the primacy of the individual and spatial/personal privacy to make media consumption an individual, rather than

a group, activity (Prost 1991). At the same time, the pervasive use of television went hand-in-hand with a growing level of comfort with the idea of surveillance (Meyrowitz, 2009). The separation between the public and the private as it was established during the 19th and 20th centuries is no longer absolute.

> One might not be sure where to put the stress—on the private overwhelming the public, or the public saturating the private—but the general perception, here as elsewhere, is of a fundamental shifting of boundaries or, even more significantly, of the increasing difficulty of recognizing any boundary at all (Kumar & Makarova, 2008, p. 326).

Even where people have become aware of this shift, the change, once begun, has proven impossible to reverse.

<u>The New Shape of the Public/Private Distinction</u>

The mass media and information and communication technologies (ICTs) play a substantial role in the new form that the public/private distinction is taking (Barnes, 2006; Christofides, Muise, & Desmarais, 2009; Kumar & Makarova, 2008; Nippert-Eng, 2010; Nissenbaum, 2009; Palen & Dourish, 2003; Salaff, 2002; Sheller & Urry, 2003; Solove, 2008; Viseu, Clement, Aspinall, & Kennedy, 2006; Wellman, 2001). As Joshua Meyrowitz puts it,

> The live, ongoing nature of most electronic communications makes it much more difficult … to separate the public thread of experience from the private one... Not only does the nature of electronic media make it simple to forget that one's behaviors are mediated, but it also leaves one few options even if one remembers (Meyrowitz, 1985, p. 14).

Electronic media have facilitated the development of a "middle region" between the frontstage and backstage (à la Goffman (Goffman, 1959)); they integrate "formerly private situations into formerly public ones" (Meyrowitz, 1985, p. 93). Thus, the line between the "public" frontstage and the "private" backstage has been substantially blurred (Meyrowitz, 1985, p. 47). These impacts of the media and ICTs on the public/private distinction are apparent in a number of areas, most notably in surveillance, the work/home division, and the

social web. This list of examples is, of course, far from exhaustive, but it represents a cross-section of the areas of social life related to ICTs and changing ideas of public and private.

Surveillance

As ICTs have become ubiquitous, they have been leveraged into a wide variety of surveillance systems. Surveillance of all types has become increasingly common in the 21st century, ranging from CCTV to store loyalty cards, cookies left by websites, radio frequency ID (RFID) tags embedded in everyday objects, and pervasive GPS tracking. Some of this surveillance is involuntary: the traffic camera that catches motorists running red lights, the cookies left behind after browsing the World Wide Web, the email and phone metadata collected by the federal government. In many other examples, however, individuals are aware of the surveillance and choose to proceed regardless of the risks. Responses to this trend vary; some view the technology as a threat to a sacred privacy (Nissenbaum, 2009), worrying about issues such as identity theft, credit card fraud, and myriad other potential violations of personal privacy. Others embrace the technology, choosing to let e-commerce sites store their credit card information or using RF transponders to speed travel times; they celebrate "the capacity of modern technology to 'make our streets … safer'" (Mason & Raab, 2005, p. 81, see also Nissenbaum, 2009). These individuals have become comfortable with, even embraced the convenience of, the increasing availability of personal information. In the era of ICTs and pervasive surveillance, "privacy has been effectively reconceptualized in the popular imagination as a commodity of ever-declining value" (Campbell & Carlson, 2002, p. 592); protecting all tidbits of personal information is simply not as important to some as it used to be.

ICTs, Work, and Public/Private

ICTs have also been used to re-integrate the home and the workplace, in much the same way that they were joined before the development of the modern public/private

distinction. The development and ubiquity of high-speed home internet as well as pervasive

mobile communications mean that white-collar workers can be, and in many cases are,

expected to be available to the office outside of "normal" working hours. On the other side of

the coin, however, these same technologies allow workers to keep tabs on their personal

lives while they are physically at work. The phenomenon of telework "combines many areas

of people's lives... work & home, working life and family life, production and reproduction,

the public and the private" (Salmi, 1997, pp. 132, emphasis added). Telework merges the

public and private in a way that strongly resembles the social organization of work and home

life prior to the development of the modern public/private divide. Many workers undertake

this practice precisely because they believe that "[t]he physical merging of work and family

spheres promises to ease the 'time bind" (Salaff, 2002, p. 467). Moving paid labor into the

home is an extreme example of the breakdown of the public/private divide. These work

arrangements "dismantle temporal and geographical barriers that separate home and work

roles" (Ellison, 1999, p. 347). Even if the employer requires a separate work space within

the home, those boundaries are often not respected (Salaff, 2002). These arrangements

also blur the lines between public and private time. "[Workers] do family work during office

time, and then will make up by doing office work during family time" (Salaff, 2002, p. 467). In

most of these cases, the tradeoffs work out to the employer's advantage and the public

sphere of work succeeds in invading the private sphere of the home and family.

<div align="center">Social Media</div>

As the Internet and the World Wide Web matured and became increasingly

interactive, sites developed which came to be called "social media". This umbrella term

covers nearly all of the social web including, but not limited to, social networking sites, social

sharing sites, and personal blogs (see, for example, boyd, 2004; boyd, 2007a; boyd, 2007b;

boyd, 2008a; boyd, 2008b; boyd & Ellison, 2008; boyd & Marwick, 2009; boyd & Hargittai,

2010; Child & Agyeman-Budu, 2010; Dwyer, Hiltz, & Passerini, 2007; Ford, 2004; Ford, 2010b; Ford, 2011; Gumbrecht, 2004; Nardi, Shiano, & Gumbrecht, 2004; Kozlov, 2004; Lenhart & Madden, 2007; Marwick, 2008; Mortensen, 2004; Nowson & Oberlander, 2006; Raynes-Goldie, 2010; Reed, 2005; Serfaty, 2004a; Serfaty, 2004b; Sorapure, 2003; Stefanone & Jang, 2008; Stutzman & Hartzog, 2009; Viégas, 2005; Wauters, 2010). As they have grown in popularity, social media have received intense scrutiny because on these sites, Internet users have been perceived to be airing much of their "private" lives in the "public" realm of the Internet. From bloggers' narratives of sexual conquests and workplace woes to Facebook and Twitter users' posts of embarrassing or even incriminating photos, the social web is a space in which the new shape of the public/private distinction is being negotiated. For all that these sites make it possible to post such "personal" information publicly, their users actively manage the relative publicity and privacy of their online content.

Social media can be broken down into categories including personal publishing, social networking, and social sharing. Personal publishing consists of personal blogs as well as microblogs (like Twitter); these sites and services allow their users to publish free-form content on any topic they desire. Social networking sites, on the other hand, focus on the connections between individuals rather than on the content that they produce. Facebook is the best example of this type of social media. Social sharing sites blend personal publishing and, to varying degrees depending on the site, social networking. These include photo sharing sites like Flickr (owned by Yahoo) and Instagram (owned by Facebook) as well as video sharing sites like YouTube (owned by Google) and hybrid photo/video services like Snapchat.

<center>Issues of Public and Private in Social Media and Blogs</center>

As has already been mentioned, social media have often been seen as a "threat" to privacy. Popular media coverage of social media is rife with arguments about sites like

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Facebook pushing "users to share more information about themselves" (Helft & Wortham, 2010) and "outrag[ing] civil liberties campaigners after introducing new … settings that could dramatically increase the amount of personal information people expose online" (Johnson, 2009). These critiques have not been limited to Facebook; Google's first foray into the social media sphere, Google Buzz, was met with criticism from the outset "for failing to ask permission before sharing a person's Buzz contacts with a broad audience" (Helft, 2010). Similarly, MySpace was frequently in the news in the early 2000s, often because sexual predators allegedly used the site to locate and lure their prey (see, for example, Gordon, 2006). These same popular media then advised social media users that "if you don't take the initiative to lock down your online privacy, nobody will" (Acohido, 2013; Sengupta, 2013; 2007). In fact, these moral panics about oversharing online do not reflect the reality of the ways that social media users negotiate the social sphere of the Internet. Rather, the social web is a new social space with new norms of interaction. "Views of privacy that equate disclosure with accessibility fail to appreciate [the] necessary balance [that social media users strike] between privacy and publicity" (Palen & Dourish, 2003 § "Privacy in a Networked World"). Papacharissi and Gibson (Papacharissi & Gibson, 2011) think of this new social sphere in terms of *sociality*, a space that lies between public and private, and point out that "sociality has always required some (voluntary) abandonment of privacy" (Papacharissi & Gibson, 2011, p. 78). The specifics of what aspects of an individual's private life are revealed and to whom are decided through a process of privacy management, or "the continual management of boundaries between different spheres of action and degrees of disclosure within those spheres" (Palen & Dourish, 2003, § "Privacy in a Networked World"); social media make this process more complicated due to their tendency to "disrupt or destabilize the regulation of boundaries" (ibid). Raynes-Goldie identifies the type of privacy that is sought by social media users as "social privacy", writing

that social media users "were more concerned about controlling access to personal information rather than how the company behind Facebook … and its partners might use that information" (Raynes-Goldie, 2010, § "Understanding new privacy concerns"). The process through which social media users manage this new sociality affects "decisions about technology use on an everyday basis" (Palen & Dourish, 2003, § "Introduction") and is something that many (if not most) users engage in. As they navigate this new social sphere, social media users do not conceptualize public and private dichotomously, nor do they think of it as falling into any number of discrete categories. Instead, "individuals who utilize CMC develop appropriate ways to manage the inherent tensions with the public/private dialectic" (Child & Petronio, 2010, p. 29). Even teenagers and young adults, often portrayed in the media as completely unconcerned about the risks of publishing their personal information online, "are engaged with managing their privacy" (boyd & Hargittai, 2010, § "Discussion & Conclusion"); in fact, "[e]vidence exists for the idea that young adults are *most concerned* about controlling their personal information such that specific others cannot see it" (Christofides et al., 2009, pp. 343, emphasis added). The tensions around public and private within the social media sphere have already been studied quite extensively; previous analyses of the issue have looked at the broad areas of temporality, security through obscurity and anonymity, access control using software settings, and relationships to the audience.

<u>Temporality</u>

One of the biggest changes that has been brought about by the development of social media as it relates to issues of public and private involves temporality. Temporality breaks down in two ways: persistence (how long content stays available) and immediacy (how quickly content becomes visible to audiences).

Concerns about persistence center around the ability of information to be found long after it was created. Unlike other arenas of interaction, "[s]ocial networking sites create a central repository of information. These archives are persistent and cumulative" (Barnes, 2006, § "A Privacy Paradox"). This "affects the … nature of disclosure" (Palen & Dourish, 2003, § "Privacy in a Networked World"), removing it from both temporal and other contexts. Blog entries remain online until their author deletes them or the blog hosting service goes out of business. Even then, they may remain accessible through Internet archive sites like The Wayback Machine.[1] The same is true for postings on social media sites - they are far more persistent than face to face interactions and even than other forms of online communication. In recent years, new social media services have arisen that attempt to address the issue of persistence by enabling ephemeral communications. The most well-known of these is Snapchat[2], a mobile app that lets users send photos and short videos to a specified set of recipients and limit the amount of time that the posting will be visible. While communications carried out using these apps may not be perfectly ephemeral, the existence and popularity of such software (in 2015, Snapchat boasted near 200 million active users, according to *Business Insider* (Shontell, 2015)) indicates a resistance to the persistence of online communications (see Ladner, 2013; Shein, 2013).

The temporal concerns that center around immediacy relate to the rapidity with which information is presented to social media audiences as well as to the volume of information that social media make available. This is exemplified by the reactions to Facebook's implementation of the "News Feed" feature in 2006. The News Feed changed the way that Facebook users were presented with information by aggregating their Facebook friends'

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[1] https://archive.org/web/

[2] http://www.snapchat.com; other products include Confide (https://getconfide.com/), Apptimate (https://apptimate.io/), Armortext (http://armortext.co/), Wickr (https://www.wickr.com/), and Silent Circle (https://silentcircle.com/).

content in one automatically-updating central location. While all of the information contained

within the News Feed had previously been accessible, by pushing it to a "central" page,

Facebook ensured that many more people saw it, and saw it as soon as it was posted (see

boyd, 2008a). This meant that content that might have previously gone unnoticed came to

readers' attention as soon as it was posted, thus effectively increasing the visibility, and thus

the perceived publicity, of those postings.

Hiding Plain Sight: Security Through Obscurity and Anonymity

As social media users think about how to manage publicity and privacy on line, one

strategy that many turn to is "security through obscurity." These types of privacy are

reflected in social media users concerns "with the control of information flow about how and

when their personal information is shared with other people — which is a reason some

users engage in behaviours that repurpose or circumvent the site's design" (Raynes-Goldie,

2010). In a wide-ranging study of social media users, Madden and Smith (Madden & Smith,

2010) found that many people engage in these practices. Some of the security is taken for

granted - people trust that, like a needle in a haystack, their personal information will not be

found because there is simply so much information on the Internet. A related strategy

employed by social media users is to remove their names from photos in which they have

been tagged (41% of users 18-29 had done so, as had 24% of 30-49 year olds and 18% of

50-64 year olds) (Madden & Smith, 2010, p. 3). While this does not remove their personal

information from the social web, it de-identifies it, thus increasing their level of obscurity.

Similarly, some bloggers use "ambiguous language or references" to "protect themselves

and to deliver their message well enough to satisfy themselves and their selected

audience" (Gumbrecht, 2004). They may also publish their online content pseudonymously,

and users of social media sites like Facebook (and, before its demise, MySpace), can create

accounts using modified versions of their legal names or utterly fictional ones[3] (see Raynes-Goldie, 2010). This tactic was particularly common among the teens boyd studied; they did so "to protect themselves from the watchful eye of parents" (boyd, 2007b, p. 131).

The ultimate way of protecting one's privacy online (besides not participating in social media at all) is to not disclose one's identity - to participate in social media anonymously. Anonymity, Marx argues, "is one polar value of a dimension of identifiability versus nonidentifiability" (Marx, 1999, p. 100). Qian and Scott (Qian & Scott, 2007) identify two types of anonymity: visual and discursive anonymity. Visual anonymity, they explain, "refers to the condition where the physical presence of a message source cannot be detected" (Qian & Scott, 2007, p. 1430). Discursive anonymity, on the other hand, "refers to the condition where verbal communication cannot be attributed to a particular source" (ibid). Qian and Scott found that visual anonymity was not associated with increased self-disclosure, while discursive anonymity did appear to be linked to social media users sharing more about themselves online. Similarly, research has found that "anonymity of the self to others" has a positive effect on self-disclosure (Joinson, 2001). Anonymous social media participation protects users' privacy but at the same time may limit the connections made through the technology and thus the social rewards of using it.

Restricting Access Through Software Settings

Where possible, social media users employ software tools to manage access to their content. This sort of "control is of major importance to bloggers, even if [they] do not have tools available to manage access in the way they would like to" (Viégas, 2005; § "Identity Management / Control Features"). boyd found that teenage MySpace users would set their profiles as "private" (thus limiting access to their MySpace friends) in order to prevent

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[3] It should be noted that this practice does violate Facebook's Terms of Service (https://www.facebook.com/legal/terms), though enforcement of this policy is inconsistent at best.

parents and other adults from seeing their content; at the same time, in order to effectively use the site to stay connected to their offline social circles, "teens [were] often promiscuous with who they [were] willing to add as friends on the site" (boyd, 2007b, p. 132). Facebook members also use the software to actively manage their identities in order to protect their privacy. Some do this by maintaining multiple Facebook accounts, while others frequently "clean" their walls of posts and photo tags (Raynes-Goldie, 2010; Stutzman & Hartzog, 2009). Heavy Facebook (and other social media) users are more likely than less-frequent users to adjust their privacy settings (boyd & Hargittai, 2010; Madden & Smith, 2010), especially if they have previously experienced an invasion of privacy on the site (Debatin et al., 2009). Madden and Smith found that "two thirds [of social media users] say that they have changed privacy settings…to restrict what they share with others online" (Madden & Smith, 2010, pp. 3). The use of the social media software itself to control access to content lets participants strike a balance between sharing online and keeping the whole world from seeing what they've shared.)

Relationships to Audiences

Above all, the audience is a vital part of the social media experience. Blogs, while they may resemble the "traditional" diary, are "a form of social communication in which blogger and audience are intimately related through the writing and reading of blogs" (Nardi et al., 2004, p. 224). Bloggers (and other social media users) are "acutely aware of [these categories of] audience…calibrating what they will and will not reveal depending on the makeup of the audience (Nardi, Schiano, Gumbrecht, & Swartz, n.d. p. 5; see also Hodkinson, 2007; Lenhart, 2005).

The relationship of the social media user to the audience can be conceptualized in a number of ways. Schmidt breaks blog audiences into four categories: the intended audience, the addressed audience (which could be the same as the intended audience but

may be a subset of it), the empirical audience (those audience members who actually notice/read a particular blog entry), and the potential audience (consisting of anyone who could possibly read a particular posting, determined primarily by software settings/ limitations) (Schmidt, 2011, pp. 168-169). Lenhart, on the other hand, divides the blog audience along two axes: known / unknown and wanted / unwanted. "Known and wanted readers are people to whom the blogger has promoted the blog… The wanted and unknown audience may be people who the blogger does not know in their offline lives, but who are interested in the blog and become repeat visitors and contributors" (Lenhart, 2005, p. 84). Known and unwanted readers may include "some family members…whose readership makes the blogger uncomfortable because of expectations and family roles… This category may also include co-workers and supervisors" (Lenhart, 2005, p. 85). The ways that social media users think about their audiences impact their social media use.

Social media users actively manage their content, particularly in relation to the audience that Lenhart refers to as "known and unwanted". According to Christofides, et al., "[e]vidence exists for the idea that young adults are most concerned about controlling their personal information such that *specific others* cannot see it" (Christofides et al., 2009, p. 343, emphasis added). When members of this audience "discover" a blog, for example, the blogger often feels compelled to censor the blog content. "Even those who deliberately advertise their weblog discover that having visitors they know … [causes] them to stop and reflect on language for fear of being misunderstood" (Reed, 2005, p. 233). Madden and Smith found that "[m]ost [social media users] have…chosen to prune certain friends from their networks" (Madden & Smith, 2010, p. 3), while Vivienne Serfaty found that bloggers make some effort to camouflage their identities and to hide their blogs from family and offline friends, even as they write for an external audience (Serfaty, 2004b, p. 144). Brake harkens back to the idea of security through obscurity, writing that bloggers "chose to believe that

only those they would wish to read [their blog] would come across it" (Brake, 2007, p. 22).

Qian and Scott found that when a blog is targeted at an audience its author does not know offline, the level of discursive anonymity (in which the source of communication cannot be identified) tends to be stronger (Qian & Scott, 2007, pp. 1440-1441). The known audience, then, has a strong impact on social media content.

Social media users also achieve "privacy" within the social media system by encoding their "real" meaning within seemingly innocuous postings. This strategy is exemplified by the teenagers studied by danah boyd and Alice Marwick (boyd, 2010; Boyd & Marwick, 2011). Their research subjects engage in "social stenography" by encoding meaning in seemingly innocuous postings. Some of them, for example, use pop culture references in Facebook status updates; readers who understand the references will "get" what the poster is trying to say, while other readers will be led to draw erroneous conclusions. This allows teens to convey information to their friends without causing undue alarm among the adults in their lives. Gumbrecht's informants also used this technique in order to "protect themselves and to deliver their message well enough to satisfy themselves and their selected audience" (Gumbrecht, 2004, § 3.1: Controlling Content), and Papacharissi & Gibson observe that social media users can "*redact* performances of the self...so as to navigate public and private boundaries fluently" (Papacharissi & Gibson, 2011, p. 76). Other social media users go so far as to delete content, addressing both the issues of persistence and of accessibility to unwanted audience members. Some participants in boyd's research routinely scrubbed and even deactivated their social media profiles as a means of maintaining control over their content and access thereto. Raynes-Goldie also found that Facebook users regularly "cleaned" their walls in order to reduce the amount of personal information available online (Raynes-Goldie, 2010). These strategies let social

media users gain the benefits of using the technology while protecting them from the prying eyes of unwanted audience members.

<p style="text-align:center"><u>Reconceptualizing Public and Private</u></p>

At one time, a dichotomous conceptualization of public and private made sense, particularly along the spatial and personal dimensions. Home, the intimate, and the personal were equated with "private," while work, politics, and the impersonal were equated with "public." Based on the social changes described above, however, it becomes clear that the boundaries between public and private are no longer distinct, although it is not at all clear which is bleeding into the other. Whether the public is taking over the private or the private is taking over the public, treating the public/private distinction as dichotomous is no longer realistic; public and private must be reconceptualized. And, in fact, they have been; numerous theorists have proposed non-dichotomous versions of the public/private distinction. Arendt and Wolfe each conceptualize the distinction as a trichotomy; Weintraub suggests that there exists a range of publics and privates and that these vary by social situation. Gal takes this situational conceptualization one step further when she defines the public/private distinction as fractal, Nippert-Eng focuses on the ever-shifting boundaries between public and private, and Nissenbaum thinks of privacy in relation to "contextual integrity".

Hannah Arendt finds the dichotomous conception of the public/private distinction to be inaccurate. She proposes instead a three-fold conception that adds a category of "social" to the system of public and private (Arendt, 1958) and goes on to argue that public/political and private are not opposites; instead, "modern privacy in its most relevant function, to shelter the intimate, was discovered as the opposite not of the political [public] sphere but of the social, to which it is therefore more closely and authentically related" (Arendt, 1958, p. 28). This social realm is a product of the modern age and is exemplified by the modern

nation-state. Under conditions of modernity, Arendt argues, the social dominates both public and private. All three are necessary for a complete life, for

> to live an entirely private life means ... to be deprived of the reality that comes from being seen and heard by others... to be deprived of the possibility of achieving something more permanent than life itself (Arendt, 1958, p. 58).

In contrast, "[a] life spent entirely in public... becomes... shallow" (Arendt, 1958, p. 71). While we need both public and private, the primary mode of the modern era is the social. "[T]he contradiction between private and public... has been a temporary phenomenon which introduced the utter extinction of the very difference between the private and public realms, the submission of both in the sphere of the social" (Arendt, 1958, p. 69).

Alan Wolfe also proposes a trichotomy, naming the three elements "public", "private" and "publics". Publics exist in the liminal space *between* public and private and "can resemble either in particular instances, but ... also can be equated with neither" (Wolfe, 1997, p. 182). These publics, he argues, "are on the one hand collective… [b]ut … such publics are not authoritative for the entire society; there are too many of them (Wolfe, 1997, p. 197). In Wolfe's conception, publics are communities of interest, subcultures. They are not as private as a nuclear family, yet they are far less public than the neighborhood pub or Facebook.

Jeff Weintraub challenges the dichotomy by identifying two basic types of public/private distinction, namely "visibility" and "collectivity". Visibility refers to "[w]hat is hidden or withdrawn versus what is open, revealed, or accessible" (Weintraub, 1997, p. 5); collectivity describes "what is individual versus what is collective" (*ibid*). Based upon these two distinctions, he discusses several types of public and private ranging from liberal-economistic to personal relationships and concludes that "it is clear that (at least) two different forms of public/private distinction are involved, raising different sets of issues, which cannot usefully be amalgamated into a single grand dichotomy" (Weintraub, 1997, p. 37).

Furthermore, he rejects the possibility of a range of publicness and privateness because "the ... defining criteria of "public" and "private" differ between the two cases" (Weintraub, 1997, p. 37). For Weintraub, then, the conventional conceptualizations of public and private are fundamentally inadequate.

Mimi Sheller and John Urry (Sheller & Urry, 2003), too, advocate for a non-dichotomous version of the public/private distinction. They critique

> the characteristic ways in which the public/private distinction has been drawn, and the overwhelming concern with the problem of "erosion" of the public sphere or "blurring of boundaries" between the public and the private, fail to capture the multiple mobile relationships between them (Sheller & Urry, 2003, p. 108)

and argue for "a more complex de-territorialization of publics and privates, each constantly shifting and being performed in rapid flashes within less anchored spaces" (Sheller & Urry, 2003, p. 108). They go on to show that there exist, not only multiple "publics", but also multiple "privates". Focusing first on the market, the state, and the public sphere as an arena for rational debate before extending their analysis to the mass media, they point out that "the very notion of a 'separate' private realm is an illusion in the first place, and the apparent boundary only exists so that state power can be exercised over bodies" (Sheller & Urry, 2003, p. 112). All of the above conceptions, though, share one fundamental assumption: a focus on the erosion of the line between public and private. Sheller and Urry prefer to use the notion of *hybridization* to address the public/private distinction. Using the examples of automobility and information technology, they "suggest that public and private life have always been mobile, situational, flickering and fragmented" (Sheller & Urry, 2003, p. 114). Because of these relatively recent technological developments,

> [m]uch of what was once "private" already exists outside of the physical body; the body can in some instances function as a hyperlink for gaining access to fragmented selves, or making connections with various nodes in the personal networks that no longer occur only within private spaces (Sheller & Urry, 2003, p. 117).

These changes combine with globalization, particularly of the media, to (at the risk of appropriating feminist slogans) make the personal political.

Arendt, Wolfe, Weintraub, and Sheller and Urry primarily address the political and economic dimensions of publicity and privacy, but the dichotomous conception is also inadequate when thinking about publicity and privacy along the spatial and personal dimensions. Susan Gal begins to fill this gap when she approaches the public/private distinction as "a communicative phenomenon" (Gal, 2002, p. 77). Acknowledging the common treatment of public and private as dichotomous, she points out that "most social practices, relations, and transactions are not limited to the principles associated with one or another spheres" (Gal, 2002, p. 78). In fact, "public and private coexist in complex combinations in the ordinary routines of everyday life" (Gal, 2002, p. 78). Gal complicates the idea of the public/private divide, suggesting that what had previously been treated as two wholly different aspects of social life are not so separate after all. Rather, "the public/private dichotomy is ... a fractal distinction" (Gal, 2002, p. 81). Public and private are nested and enmeshed; they are continually renegotiated and redefined, always in relation to one another. They are not truly dichotomous, although "participants can often collapse them in to a single dichotomy, simplifying what is, in practice, complexly recursive" (Gal, 2002, p. 84). Public and private, and the differences between them, are, above all, contextual and relational.

Petronio, too, treats publicity and privacy as social phenomena in her theory of "communications privacy management" (CPM). By virtue of being social, public and private are also *relational*; "CPM assumes that others are … central to discerning the tension between public and private" (Petronio, 2002, p. 2). Petronio conceptualizes privacy as "the feeling that one has the right to own private information, either personally or collectively; consequently, boundaries mark ownership lines for individuals" (Petronio, 2002, p. 6). These

rules are created based on a number of criteria ranging from cultural criteria to contextual

criteria, and the rules can become "so well ingrained…that they function as a type of privacy

value" (Petronio, 2002, p. 27). This conceptualization of publicity and privacy as relational

has obvious implications when considering ICTs.

Christena Nippert-Eng approaches the question of the public/private distinction from

a symbolic interactionist viewpoint. Like Gal and Petronio, she conceptualizes public and

private as situational (Nippert-Eng, 2010). The public/private distinction is a continuum and

"true" private and "true" public are more or less ideal types (Nippert-Eng, 2010, locations

#99 & #102). Those of us living under this new version of the public/private distinction want

to be able to "carefully choose exactly what is disclosed and concealed, to whom, and

how" (Nippert-Eng, 2010, location #140). Nothing is ever truly public or truly private; we

strive instead to give more or less access to information about ourselves based on what we

feel to be situationally appropriate.

Over a wide range of works, Helen Nissenbaum examines informational privacy and

shows that public and private can only be understood in terms of "contextual integrity", a "far

more complex domain of social spheres … than the one that typically grounds privacy

theories, namely, the dichotomous spheres of public and private" (Nissenbaum, 2004, p.

124). While Nissenbaum's work grows primarily out of legal scholarship, the implications for

a sociological understanding of the reshaping of the public/private distinction are clear.

Nissenbaum argues that, in everyday life, people are "not only crossing dichotomies, but

moving about, into, and out of a plurality of distinct [social] realms" (Nissenbaum, 2004, p.

137). Each of those settings is governed by its own set of norms, including those governing

publicity and privacy.

Based on the above critiques of the dichotomous interpretation of the public/private

distinction and on the social changes that have taken place in relation to mass media and

ICTs, I propose that the spatial and personal the public/private distinction is best thought of

as a continuum (see Figure 1.1). This continuum is anchored on one end by the "private"

and on the other by the "public". To this point, my schema does not differ appreciably from

Arendt or Wolfe, both of whom suggest theories that incorporate fairly traditional

Continuum of Publicity/Privacy

Access to information or space is highly restricted and controlled by the individual to whom it pertains.	Access to information or space is partially open and controlled by the individual to whom it pertains.	Access to information or space is completely open and not controlled by the individual to whom it pertains.
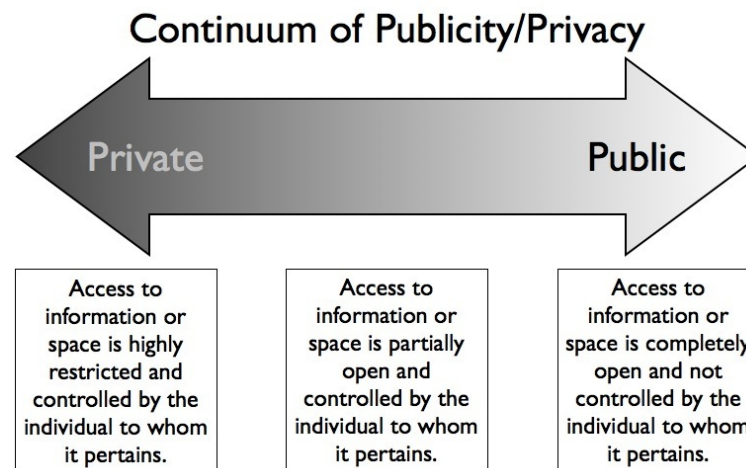
Figure 1.1: Reconceptualizing Public & Private as a
Continuum

conceptualizations of public and private with some categories in between the two. The

interstitial categories that they propose, however, are just that: tidy categories of semi-public

or semi-private. Gal pushes this a bit further in her description of the public/private

distinction as fractal. In her view, the divide is no longer treated as categorical but fluid and

negotiated. Nippert-Eng's conceptualization of the public/private continuum is closest to my

own. I propose combining the categorical and fractal views of the public/private distinction;

between the purely private and the purely public there exist an infinite and an infinitely

variable number of configurations that fall somewhere between the traditional category of

"private", namely things that happen or are said behind physical or virtual closed doors, and

the traditional category of "public", namely those interactions and events that take place

within full view of an unknown and unknowable audience.

This conceptualization of the public/private as a continuum is facilitated by social media software itself. Two social media sites exemplify this: LiveJournal[4] and Facebook[5]. Each of these sites give their users fine-grained control over access to their personal content online. Both LiveJournal and Facebook primarily manage content access by means of the "Friends List". On LiveJournal, any blog post can be public, private, "friends-locked" (visible to the user's "friends"), or "filtered" (visible to any predefined subset of the user's "friends"). Similarly, Facebook users may make their content public, private, or they may restrict access based on membership in a user- or system-defined "list". Facebook also allows users to specify individuals or lists to be *prevented from* viewing any piece of content. Both systems allow users to be added to or removed from the master Friends List or any filter or sub-list at any time, generally without the subject's knowledge. LiveJournal and Facebook members use these tools to actively manage privacy and to tailor their personal content to specific audiences (boyd, 2010; Christofides et al., 2009; Ford, 2010a). The net effect of these software tools and the ways that LiveJournal and Facebook users leverage them is that social media participants experience the public/private distinction as a continuum. Some content may be entirely private while other content may be entirely public, but in between there exist an infinite number of dynamic and interlocking non-private, non-public interstitial spaces (see Figure 1.2). Public and private on the social web are, at best, negotiated and, more realistically, completely un-fixed.

This malleability of public and private extends beyond the social web, however. Imagine the video confessional in the *Big Brother* house. Here, the reality show participant enters a space that is physically separate from the other contestants; one might even call it private. But they "confess" to a television camera with the full knowledge that their words will

[4] http://www.livejournal.com

[5] http://www.facebook.com

24
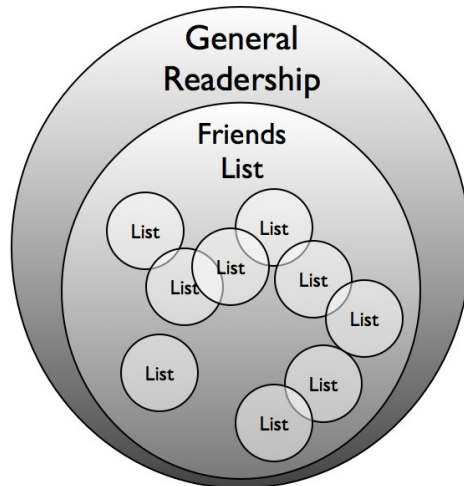
Figure 1.2: The Interstitial Spaces of
Social Media

likely be edited and broadcast to a television audience of millions. Imagine the academic

who works from home when their child is sick, engaging simultaneously in (private) carework

and in (public) academic discourse. Now imagine the employee who, even while on

vacation, uses their smartphone or tablet to read and respond to work-related e-mails. Each

of these individuals inhabits a space that is neither purely public nor purely private. Instead,

they shift constantly and more or less seamlessly between the two realms. This process of

rapid movement back and forth is the hallmark of the new public/private distinction; as

individuals move through their day-to-day lives, both online and offline, they continuously

create and destroy pockets of interstitial spaces that cannot be classified as either public or

private.

<u>Discussion</u>

The public/private distinction is one of the most influential concepts of the modern

era, both in terms of social theory and in terms of everyday life. The assumption that public

and private are a dichotomous pair has influenced numerous aspects of social life, ranging

from the gendered division of labor to the development of the suburb. For many, public and

private have been treated as completely separate. However, the division between the public

and private realms was not impermeable. The public and private realms have bled over into one another, and can no longer be treated as a dichotomous pair. Based on patterns of social change and examples from mass media and information and communications technologies, I have shown that a more fruitful conception of the public/private realms is one that treats them as anchors on either end of a continuum, with liminal categories being created and destroyed as needed. The line between public and private has become blurry; these concepts are no longer polar opposites, and the social world is attempting to sort out how to deal with the loss of one of its fundamental categories.

The remainder of this project explores these new conceptions of public and private using personal bloggers and their online writing as a case study. Examining this population allows the development of an understanding of the process by which social media users make decisions about the publicity and privacy of their online content. This includes how they conceptualize publicity and privacy in relation to the social media sphere, how they use those conceptions to make decisions about their online writing as it interacts with the features of social media services (particularly software-based access controls), and how they think about the relationship between their online writing and its various audiences. These patterns lead to the conclusion that the public/private distinction is far more complicated and nuanced than it appears on the surface.

CHAPTER 2

THE STUDY

One way to understand how contemporary conceptions of public and private are

changing in relation to social media is to consider how social media users themselves make

sense of distinctions between public and private. This project is a multi-method study of

personal bloggers. Personal bloggers provide a unique lens through which to study these

changing conceptions of public and private because they are active participants in ICTs,

which in turn are central to contemporary conversations around issues of public and private.

As ICT users who have chosen to publish personal content online, bloggers have

deliberately placed themselves in the liminal space between public and private (though they

may not conceptualize their blogging activity in this way). The study consists of a web-based

survey, six months of observation of a strategically selected group of blogs and their

authors, and 15 in-depth interviews; it serves as a case study of social media participants as

they actively engage with the public/private distinction.

<u>What is a Blog? Who Blogs?</u>

The term "blog" is a contraction of "weblog". When these documents first appeared

online in the second half of the 1990s, the term referred to a sort of Internet travelogue – a

list of links that the blog author had visited along with commentary on those links (Blood,

2002). At that time, maintaining a weblog was time-consuming and required a good working

understanding of HTML coding, which limited the activity to technological sophisticates. In

July of 1999, the first free weblog authoring tool launched, and by the end of that year, there

were five such services (Blood, 2000), leading to a democratization of the phenomenon.

"Blogging" software has been, and continues to be, used to publish a wide variety of

documents, including news sites, thought records, project coordination documents, and

personal journals. The last of these incarnations has naturally invited comparisons to the

personal diary, since both share a chronological, dated format (see Blood, 2000; Herring, Scheidt, Bonus, & Wright, 2004). Personal blogs and diaries are also both primarily written documents, although each may include other forms of media. Diaries can include keepsakes such as ticket stubs and photographs; blogs may include digital media such as photographs as well as audio and video clips. While diaries are often thought of as intended only for the author's viewing, Rosenwald (Rosenwald, 1988) suggests that there may, in fact, be an external audience even for "private" diaries, a suggestion supported by the number of diaries that are later revised and published by their authors. Just as a "diary" may be written with an external audience in mind, a blog may be written solely for the author's private use, or it may be intended for any number of distinct audiences. This tension makes personal blogs and their authors a good case study for contemporary conceptions about the public/ private distinction.

<div align="center">Survey</div>

The first phase of data collection was a web-based survey targeted at personal bloggers.[6] I recruited a snowball "sample" of bloggers, starting by posting the survey link to my own social media profiles on LiveJournal, Facebook, and MySpace, which at the time were commonly used social media sites, and the ones on which I was most active. My contacts on those three sites spanned a very large and diverse network including friends from high school, college, and graduate school. This group was fairly homogeneously white but diverse in terms place of residence and educational attainment. Additionally, I publicized the survey in two research-related LiveJournal communities[7] as well as the LiveJournal community for my undergraduate alma mater. Finally, I directly recruited a few bloggers with

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[6] The survey was hosted at SurveyMonkey (http://www.surveymonkey.com), a commercial survey-hosting site.

[7] lj_research (now defunct) and blog_sociology (http://blog-sociology.livejournal.com/; last updated in 2010)

whose online writing I was familiar. In all cases, I asked those who saw the invitation to pass it on to others, either by email or by sharing the link with their own networks, even if they chose not to complete the survey. The survey went live in June of 2008 and remained open for six months.

The survey appears in its entirety in Appendix B. It included basic demographic information and questions about general internet use, followed by a series of questions addressing the concepts of public and private as well as the intersections of the two. That was followed by a section of general questions about blogging covering length of the respondent's blogging career, the number of blogs they maintained, and the amount of time spent on blogging activities (both writing and reading/commenting). Respondents were then instructed to consider their *primary* blog as they responded to a series of questions about that document, including its purpose and intended and known audiences, as well as the blogger's privacy practices and the type of content that they published. At the end of that section, respondents indicated which of 7 popular blogging services they used to maintain that primary blog, with an additional "other" option.[8] Participants answered a set of questions customized to the selected service. In the closing section, every respondent indicated how they had received the link to the survey, whether they planned to pass it on, and whether or not they would be willing to be contacted for followup. Individuals in the latter group then supplied their name, blog URL, and email address.

960 respondents completed the survey. Based on the content of the responses from MySpace users, I concluded that users of that site did not view it primarily as a blogging service; I dropped those responses, leaving a final group of 937 survey respondents. This group skewed heavily towards LiveJournal users, as Table 2.1 indicates. Survey

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[8] These services were LiveJournal, Blogger/Blogspot, Wordpress.com, Wordpress, MovableType/ Typepad, Xanga, Vox (now defunct), and MySpace.

Service	Number of Respondents	Percent of Respondents
Blogger	84	8.96%
LiveJournal	701	74.81%
Movable Type	21	2.24%
Other	29	3.09%
Vox	7	0.75%
WordPress	56	5.98%
WordPress.com	24	2.56%
Xanga	15	1.6%
Total	937	100%

Table 2.1: Survey Respondents by Blogging Service

respondents were also overwhelmingly female (81.5%), young (61.5% were 30 or under),

and well-educated (20.7% had a high school diploma or equivalent; 37.8% had an

Associate's or Bachelor's degree, and 40.4% had at least some postgraduate education).

Survey respondents were also relatively experienced and heavy internet users; 59.1% had

been online for more than 10 years, and 30.1% reported using the internet 40 or more hours

per week. More detailed demographics can be found in Appendix D.

Survey Analysis

The survey generated a wide variety of types of data. Analysis began with simple

summary statistics of the demographic variables as well as the data on general Internet use,

ratings of the relative publicity/privacy of various personal details and communications

media, and bloggers' categorization of the internet, the blogosphere, and the individual blog

document along the dimensions of publicity and privacy (public / private / both / neither).

Summary statistics were also generated for blogging activities such as frequency of posting,

time spent reading and/or commenting on other's blogs, the purpose of the individual's blog,

and the composition of the imagined and actual blog audience.

The open-ended questions yielded much richer data. It was in response to these questions that participants defined key terms such as "public", "private" and "blog", elaborated on their blogging practices, and discussed how their blogging practices interacted with their ideas about public and private and audience engagement. These data were coded using the web-based Coding Analysis Toolkit.[9] For each question or set of questions, I developed a set of codes based both on patterns that I observed within the responses and on issues that related directly to the research question, such as references to content and control of content, or audience size in definition of public and private, or references to journals/diaries and audiences in bloggers' definitions of the term "blog".

The Observational Phase

The second phase of data collection took the general overview of blogging practices provided by the survey data and dug deeper, delving into how bloggers managed issues of public and private in their everyday blogging practices. This phase consisted of six months of observations of a number of personal blogs, plus a single follow-up phone interview with a subset of the observed bloggers. This type of participant observation of online activities has a long history in the study of social media (Boelstorff, 2008; Kendall, 2007; Serfaty, 2004a & 2004b).

Recruiting the Observational Group

One of the primary goals of the survey, in addition to generating data about personal bloggers and how they were, as a group, thinking about issues of public and private, was to have a population from which to recruit participants for the observational phase of the project. Because the population is dynamic, a truly random sample of personal bloggers would be impossible to obtain. I instead used the survey respondents as the "population" from which I strategically sampled participants for observation. The selection of these

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[9] https://cat.texifter.com/

participants was based on two factors: their blog's audience size and the ways in which they controlled access to blog content. Audience size and content access relate directly to the ways in which bloggers engage with the public/private distinction; they were also issues that arose frequently in open-ended survey responses to questions about publicity and privacy, both on- and offline. In order to understand the relationships between blogging software, audience size, and individual bloggers' opinions and choices around issues of public and private, I recruited bloggers from three groups ("big public", "small public", and "protected") based on the type of access they allowed to their blogs and the size of their blog's audience.

"Big public" blogs were accessible to the Internet at large and had large readerships. There was no hard criterion for inclusion in this group; blogs were selected based on their Technorati authority[10] and/or Google Pagerank, or based on how popular the blog was on LiveJournal. "Technorati authority", calculated and published by Technorati, Inc., measured the "importance" of a blog; it was "calculated based on a site's linking behavior, categorization and other associated data over a short, finite period of time" (technorati.com, 2011). Google Pagerank is one of the metrics by which Google calculates which results show up at the top of a search; it determines "the 'importance' of a webpage by looking at what other pages link to it, as well as other data" (google.com, 2011). The popularity of a LiveJournal blog was determined by the number of other users who had listed that blog as a "friend"; this information appears on a LiveJournal user's profile page. "Small public" blogs were also publicly accessible but had smaller audiences than the "big public" blogs. As with the "big public" group, there was no hard cutoff for inclusion; these blogs had lower Google Pageranks and/or Technorati authorities or were "friended" by smaller numbers of LiveJournal users.

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[10] http://www.technorati.com; the blog ranking system went offline in May 2014.

"Protected" blog documents were ones that consisted primarily of access-restricted content. These included LiveJournal blogs that were friends-locked, Xanga blogs that were only accessible to the author's contacts, or any other blog using *software controls* to limit access to the blog document. It is important to note that access-restriction did not necessarily have any relationship to the size of the blog's audience; an access controlled blog may, in fact, have a very large readership. The salient difference between these and the public blogs (large or small) was that their authors had *chosen to exert control* over the size and composition of the audience. Restricting access changes the blog author's relationship to the audience because the audience then becomes a known, rather than an unknown, quantity. The implications of this difference are explored in detail in Chapter 5.

648 survey respondents (69%) indicated that they were willing to be contacted for followup questions. These respondents' blogs were categorized as "big public," "small public" or "protected"; public blogs were checked for frequency of posting, and I eliminated documents that had not been updated at least once a week over the previous several months. It was not possible to verify frequency of posting for the protected blogs; this information was solicited from those bloggers via email. The goal was to recruit ten bloggers in each category. 48 bloggers were invited to participate; 34 were interested enough to read and complete the informed consent form. Of those, 24 agreed to participate: seven "big public" bloggers, nine "small public" bloggers, and eight bloggers who used access controls on most or all of their posts.

<div align="center">The Observation Process</div>

I observed the 24 selected blogs from mid-September 2008 until mid-March 2009. I checked each blog on a daily basis and saved a local copy of any new entries. I read comments that had been posted at the time of observation but did not archive those because commenters had not consented to participate in the study. I did not take daily

observational notes taken but did make general notes and observations about each blog and blogger throughout the observation period. Over the six months of observations, the 24 observed bloggers posted 2544 unique blog entries. Nearly half of those (48.5%) were posted by bloggers in the protected group; 18.9% were posted by bloggers in the small public group, and 32.5% came from the big public group.

<div align="center">Interviews</div>

The initial goal was to secure interviews with all participants in the ethnographic phase of the project. In the end, this turned out not to be possible for a variety of reasons. Several respondents simply did not respond to emails asking them to schedule an interview. Another scheduled the interview but then stopped responding to emails and phone calls. One respondent preferred not to participate in a live interview; they did agree to answer the interview questions by email but then never returned the initial set of questions, nor did they respond to followup emails. In the end, I interviewed fifteen participants. Interviewees included six members of the "big public" group, four members of the "small public" group, and five members of the "protected" group. I used two interview methods. For the first interview, the respondent answered a preliminary list of questions via email, with a follow-up conversation via instant messenger. This interview method proved to be too disjointed. Thereafter, I conducted interviews using Skype with a software plugin that allowed me to record the conversations.[11]

The interviews themselves were semi-structured and tailored to each respondent; the broad interview schedule appears in Appendix C. Each interview began with giving the participant an overview of the project. It then covered the participant's blogging history, how and why they chose the particular blogging system that they used and whether or not that had ever changed. Respondents were asked about their general blogging practices as well

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[11] http://www.skype.com; http://www.ecamm.com/mac/callrecorder/

as practices specifically related to issues of public and private. Within this framework, interview questions were guided both by their responses to the general questions and by the blog observations and specific events that took place in their lives / on their blogs during the observation period. I took notes during each interview and transcribed the recordings for later reference.

<u>Maintaining Respondent Confidentiality</u>

Because many bloggers are very revelatory in their personal writing online, it was important to maintain respondents' confidentiality. Respondent confidentiality was maintained in a variety of different ways.

The survey, as mentioned above, was hosted by SurveyMonkey, a commercial service that provides robust data security and secure downloads of survey responses.[12] The only personally identifying information that participants provided in the survey itself came from those participants who were willing to be contacted for participation in the second phase of the project. When the survey data were downloaded from SurveyMonkey, that contact information was moved to a separate file so that there was no connection between the contact information and the survey responses. A few interviewees referenced their survey responses during interviews and in those cases I did go back and map the interviewee to the survey response. Data from the observational phase of the project, including participants' blog posts, observational notes, and interview notes and transcripts, were stored locally on a password-protected computer.

Confidentiality also matters in the reporting of the research. In all publications based on this research, I have disguised the identities of the respondents. When quoting from survey respondents who did not participate in the observational phase of the project, respondent identification is not a concern, since I have no means of identifying those

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[12] See https://www.surveymonkey.com/mp/policy/security/

individuals. Where I quote directly from these respondents, I identify them by gender, age, blog service, and type of blog (public or protected).

Confidentiality is a greater concern when it comes to participants in the observational phase of the project. I have assigned each of these participants a pseudonym based either on the title of their blog or on their given name; those pseudonyms are used to identify respondents throughout the analysis. Where I quote directly from their interviews or describe the content of their blogs, I obfuscate potentially identifying details. Where possible, I avoid quoting from blog content altogether; when this cannot be avoided, I make sure that the quotes will not lead a reader back to the respondent's blog.

CHAPTER 3

BLOGGERS DEFINE KEY TERMS

This chapter examines the ways in which bloggers think about the key concepts of publicity and privacy as well as the nature of the blog document itself. It then considers the ways that bloggers apply these definitions to the social web and the blog document in particular. In general, participants in this study conceptualize publicity and privacy *informationally*, as a relationship between content and audience. They apply these definitions to social media, categorizing the Internet as a whole and the blogosphere as "both public and private". Their conceptions of the blog document are more complex, and that complexity extends to the ways that the publicity of the blog document affects the blogging practice. The interaction between blog content, access, and audience means that bloggers ultimately think of public as a discrete category that exists in opposition to a range of different "privates".

Bloggers' Definition / Conception of the Term "Blog"

Survey respondents were prompted with an open-ended question to define the term "blog". Their definitions were coded based on whether or not they included any of a number of possible themes, most notably the blog as a "traditional" journal, the blog as a site for commentary, the blog's relationship to time, the audience, and the presence of comments (more detail can be found in Appendix F). Most respondents — 65% — referenced journals and/or diaries in their definition of the term "blog". All other elements were used much less frequently (see Figure 3.1), with the catchall "other" garnering the second-highest number of mentions at 40%. Most bloggers did not define the term "blog" as only one thing, however. On average, their definitions of the term included 1.6 elements, indicating a complex conception of the medium; some respondents referenced as many as five definitional elements. Elements of the definitions clustered around an inward focus or an outward one.
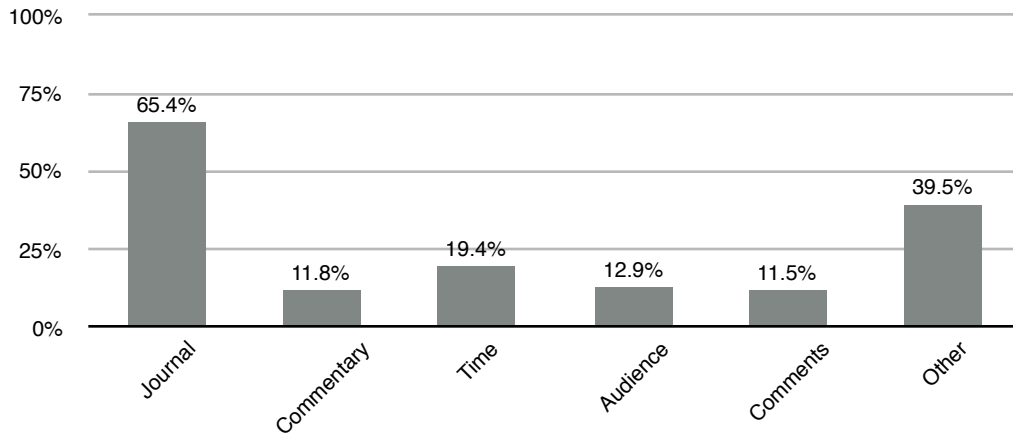
Figure 3.1: Elements of Definitions of "Blog"

Respondents who defined "blog" in terms of its similarity to a journal or diary were *unlikely* to also reference the possibility of readers leaving comments on their entries (r = -.110, p ≤ .01). These bloggers were even *less* likely to reference time in their definition of the term (r = -.309, p ≤ .001). The combination of the definition of "blog" in terms of a diary or journal and a de-emphasis on audience interaction (in the form of reader comments) indicates that these bloggers are *inwardly* focused. Bloggers who defined the term in relation to the audience, on the other hand, were *likely* to reference comments (r = .157, p ≤ .001); these bloggers can be said to be more outwardly-focused. The implications of these orientations will be explored in Chapter 4.
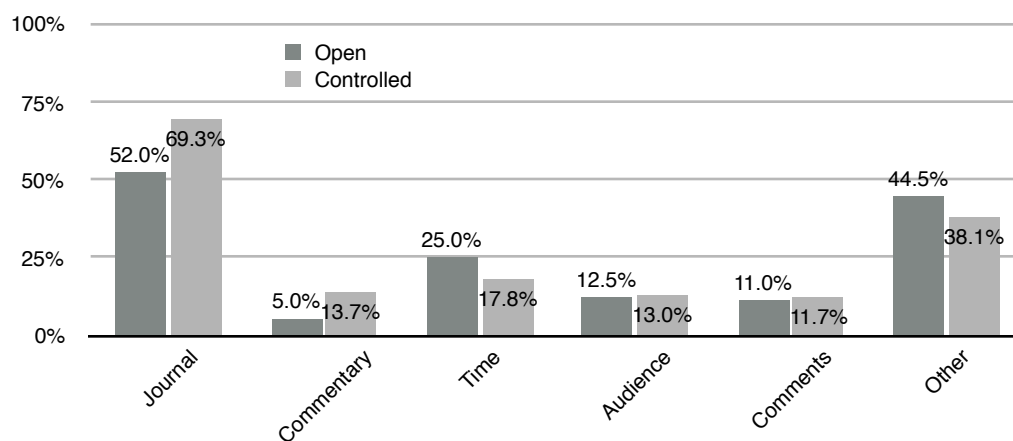
Figure 3.2: Elements of Definitions of "Blog" by Service Type

Whether a respondent used a blog service that featured commonly-used access controls or an open system also related to their definitions of the term (see Figure 3.2). Notably, users of access-controlled systems were more likely to reference journals or diaries in their definition of blog ($r = .153$, $p \leq .001$), while open-system bloggers more commonly referenced the temporal aspects of the blog — its reverse-chronological nature, the frequency of updates ($r = -.760$, $p \leq .05$ for access-controlled software and reference to time). The opposite pattern held true for defining the blog as a site for publishing commentary; users of access-controlled systems were more likely to do this ($r = .113$, $p \leq .001$). The clusters of definitional terms also related to type of blogging service. The disconnect between the term "journal" and temporal aspects of the blog was stronger for users of open blogging systems ($r = -.439$, $p \leq .001$) than it was for users of access-controlled systems ($r = -.253$, $p \leq .001$). Similarly, the positive relationship between "audience" and "comments" in the definition of blog was stronger for users of access-controlled blogging systems ($r = .184$, $p \leq .001$; no statistically significant relationship for users of open blogging systems).

<u>Defining Public and Private</u>

The first step in understanding bloggers' thinking about public and private is to examine is the ways in which they define each of these terms. Survey participants responded to two separate prompts asking them to define public and private (see Appendix B). Their definitions were informed by, but did not strictly align with, the academic definitions laid out in Chapter 1. In particular, participants in this study were most concerned about publicity and privacy of *information*. They thought about public and private in terms of the information available about them, particularly online, and defined public and private in terms of content or control over content and audience size (See Figure 3.3). In fact, the *interaction* between content and audience was central to the definitions of public and private for a large

number of survey respondents. 69% referenced both terms in their definitions of public (r = .

345, p ≤ .001) and 49% referenced both in their definitions of private (r = .165; p ≤ .001; see

Appendix E, Tables E.1 and E.2 for full correlations).

*Audience size is a combination of the codes One Person, Small Group, and Large Group.
** Personal was only included in definitions of private.
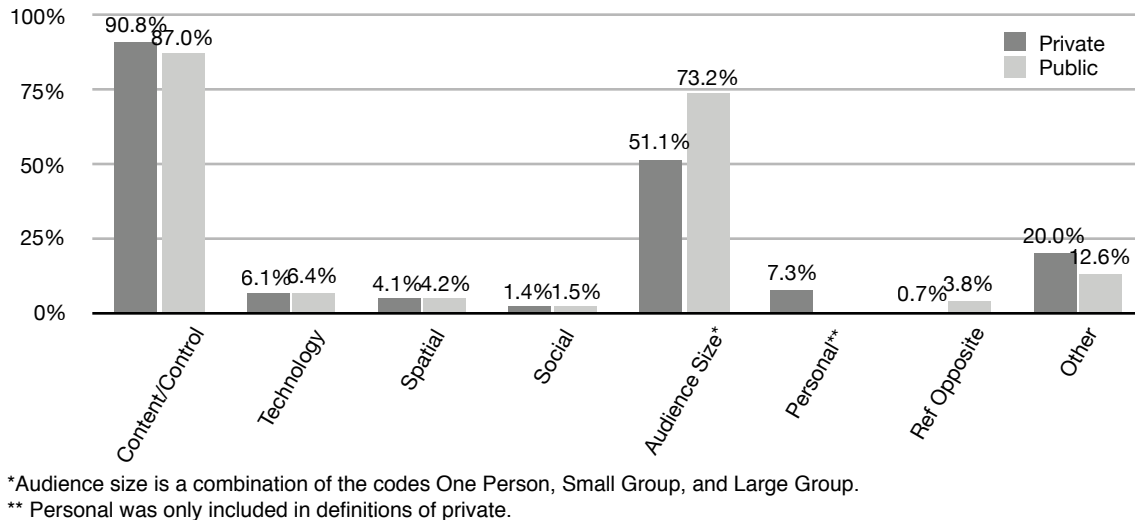
Figure 3.3: Bloggers Define Private and Public

The interactions between content and audience are more clearly illustrated in the

details of bloggers' definitions of pubic and private. "Private" in particular was contingent

upon how much information is shared and with whom, with an emphasis on availability to a

limited (though not necessarily small) number of people and on control of what happens to

the information, as the following definitions illustrate.

> In relation to information, private only refers to those things which are not shared.
> Something private can be given to another person, but once it is passed along
> beyond the giver to the receiver, it is no longer private (Female Blogger user, 31-35).

> Restricted to a specific group of people, e.g. just me, just me and my partner, just my
> family, just my circle of friends etc. Can be a large group but definitely finite, and
> usually fairly small (Female LiveJournal user, 18-25).

> Information/access that I control entirely - I know who is viewing/accessing it, when,
> and why (Female Blogger user, 31-35).

Definitions of "public," on the other hand, hinged on a *lack* of control and accessibility of

content to larger, undefined groups of people, as exemplified by the following definitions.

Something, generally information, that is open to anyone to access if they know how to do so. This may or may not be by the choice of the individual involved in/affected by the sharing of this information (Female LiveJournal user, 36-40).

Information that I feel comfortable sharing with others publicly, that I feel people would be able to ascertain as easily as they could if they were to pass me on a sidewalk (Male LiveJournal user, 26-30).

Information which is sharable with people in general, without regard to your relationship to that person, and which you generally would not care if anyone, anywhere, at anytime, found out (Female LiveJournal user, 31-35).

In these definitions, public differs from private in the *lack of limitations* on access to the content and, more importantly, in whether or not those with access are *known* to the author in some way. Public and private are treated as separate but related concepts. If there is control over the content and a known audience, a thing is private. If there is no control and the (potential) audience is undefined, a thing is public. This is, of course, an oversimplification. Public and private do relate to content and audience, but they are also conceptualized in relation to one another, as will be explored in greater detail below.

"Audience size," as previously used, indicated *any* reference to the size of the audience. Because this definitional element was so commonly referenced, the specifics of this category warrant further examination. As Figure 3.4 illustrates, a significant majority of
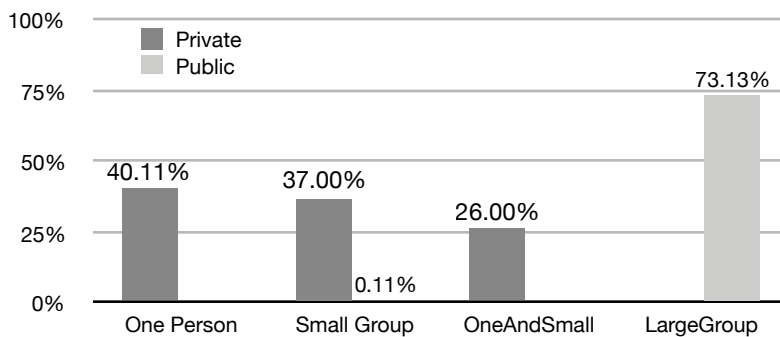
Figure 3.4: Breakdown of "Audience Size"

bloggers included a *large group* of readers in their definition of "public". Respondents were much more divided, however, about the size of audience that they associated with "private"; nearly equal numbers of respondents defined private *either* as one person *or* as a small

group of people (and, interestingly, "small group" was referenced in one definition of "public" as well). Many more bloggers, though, referenced *both* "one person" and "small group" in their definition of the concept of "private" (r = .472; p ≤ .001). This suggests that bloggers' definitions of "private" are more nuanced than their definitions of "public".

Bloggers generally agreed that "public" content might be viewed by a large number of people, without any kind of access controls. "Public" is "information that is *accessible for anyone* to find and consume… 'open' is [a] term close to 'public'" (Female LiveJournal user, 26-30, emphasis added). Some bloggers volunteered much more complex definitions of the term. WL wrote that "[p]ublic describes information...that is widely available for the use or knowledge of almost anyone… [it] refers to the open end of a continuum from entirely secret to ubiquitously available…" Public, then, is most often synonymous with "anybody".

If "public" means "anybody", a dichotomous conception of public and private would suggest that "private" means "just me." As indicated above, however, bloggers expressly did *not* conceptualize public and private as opposites. Instead, bloggers defined "private" in a wide variety of ways. WL continued to use the image of a continuum in her definition of private. "[T]here are degrees of privacy, including availability to those known to [the author], to a small culture of people plus professionals with a right to know. Private refers to the closed end of a continuum from entirely secret to ubiquitously available." WL's conceptualization of public and private as anchors on either end of a continuum was not uncommon, but in the details of her definitions lie the complexities of these concepts. Information that is public is "widely available for the use...of almost anyone"; private, on the other hand, has "degrees". It has shades, it has subtleties.

The trend that WL's discussion of the "degrees" of privacy suggests becomes even more apparent as we examine other bloggers' definitions of "private". Some respondents defined "private" in relation to their family. One wrote, "[m]any of my blog posts are limited to

friends and family -- private, in other words" (Female LiveJournal user, 36-40) while another

explained that private content is "anything I *wouldn't* want my family to know about" (Female

LiveJournal user, 18-25). Both of these bloggers conceptualize "private" content as being

accessible to a small, defined group of individuals, but the *categories of individuals* that

belong to that group are very different. The thinking behind and implications of this

difference will be examined in Chapter 5; in the current context, the most important element

is the association of "privacy" not with only oneself but with a defined group of others.

Other bloggers focused more on control of information in their definitions of private.

SZ, whose blog was pseudonymously public, defined "private" in terms of whether people

who knew her in her offline life had access to the online information, writing that "even

though a blog is public...it's private but it's *really meant for people who don't know*

me" [empahsis added]. Unlike those who thought of "private" as one or more discrete groups

of people, SZ's conception allows for private to include availability to a large and amorphous

group of readers. For yet another blogger, the key element was having *any* control over

access to online content. She wrote that "[p]rivacy … essentially describes content whose

readership I can control. There can be varying degrees of private depending on who has

access, but *as long as I have control over who sees it, it's private*" [emphasis added]

(Female LiveJournal user, 18-25). Rather than considering public and private dichotomously,

respondents in this study define "public" as widely accessible to a potentially very large

audience, and "private" as existing on a spectrum related to both audience size and degree

of accessibility.

<u>The Publicity and Privacy of the Social Web</u>

The blog document does not exist in a vacuum — it is published online and falls

under the umbrella of "social media" or the "social web". As such, bloggers' views on

publicity and privacy in relation to their blogging activities cannot be understood without also

examining the context of their views about the publicity and privacy of the Internet as a whole and about the broader world of blogs (often called the "blogosphere"). This section examines bloggers' understandings of the relative publicity of the Internet, the blogosphere, and the blog document itself.

Figure 3.5 gives an overview of the ways that bloggers classified the Internet and the blogosphere in terms of publicity and privacy. Regardless of whether they used an open or an access-controlled blogging system, survey respondents most often said that the Internet on the whole is "both public and private", although slightly more than a third of respondents categorized it as purely public. Bloggers who used access-controlled blogging software were

Is the Internet Public, Private, Both, or Neither?
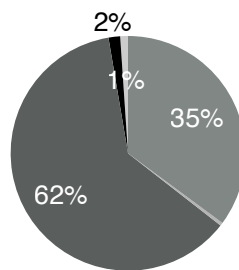
Is the Blogosphere Public, Private, Both, or Neither?
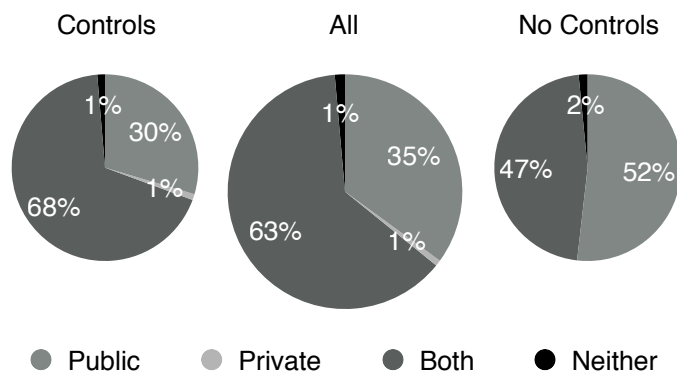
Figure 3.5: Characterizations of the Relative Publicity of the Internet and the Blogosphere

slightly less likely than users of open systems to categorize the Internet as public (r = -.084; p ≤ .05; see Appendix E, Table E.3 for full correlations). Variations begin to emerge in the classification of the blogosphere. Overall, roughly 2/3 of respondents said that the

blogosphere is "both public and private", but bloggers who used open systems defined the

blogosphere as simply "public" much more often than did bloggers who use access-

controlled systems. "Both public and private" was more commonly selected by respondents

who used blogging services with access controls. These relationships were relatively strong

and statistically significant (r = -.192, p ≤ .001 for access control and blogosphere as "public"

and r = .192, p ≤ .001 for access control and blogosphere as "both public and private"; see

Appendix E, Table E.4 for full correlations).

Bloggers explained the reasons for their categorization of the blogosphere, which

shed light on how they thought about the relationship between blogging practice and public/

private. These explanations indicate two things: first, that their conceptions of the social web

align with their definitions of public and private, and second, that there exists a relationship

between attitudes towards publicity and privacy online and blogging practices (as

represented by the type of blogging software they use), though whether this is a causal

relationship remains unclear. By far the most common elements of these explanations were

"access" (considering who has access to the content) and "technology" (the technological

affordances of the system, particularly as it relates to protecting or granting access to

content — see Figure 3.6). In these explanations, bloggers echo the patterns that emerged

in their definitions of public and private — they continue to think about these issues in

relation to their content and access thereto. There is little difference in the frequency of

references to "access" between bloggers using open systems and those using access-

controlled systems. Much more notable differences appeared in the references to

"technology". Bloggers who use systems that give them the ability to limit access to their

content via software controls were far more likely to reference technology in their

explanations of their characterizations of the blogosphere as public or private (r = .140,
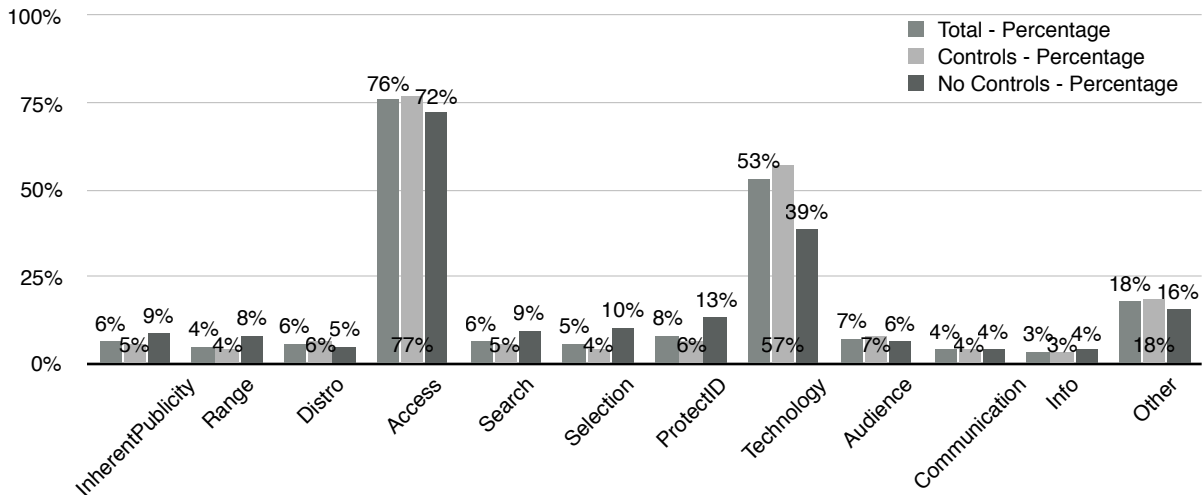
Figure 3.6: Reasons for Categorizing the Blogosphere as Public, Private, Both, or Neither
See Appendix F, Table 2 for complete explanations of codes

$p \leq .01$; see Appendix E, Table E.4 for full correlations), which is unsurprising given that software technology is directly related to the way that they manage access to the blog document.

Those respondents who thought of the blogosphere as inherently public were also likely *not* to refer to technological affordances ($r = -.113$; $p \leq .001$) in their reasons for the characterization. (See Appendix E, Table E.5 for complete correlations.) These relationships were strongest among bloggers who used access-controlled systems. Within that subset of respondents, those who classified the blogosphere as public were unlikely to also refer to access ($r = -.204$; $p \leq .001$) or to technological affordances ($r = -.135$; $p \leq .001$; see Appendix E, Table E.6 for full correlations). (It is worth noting that a blogger using a software system that includes access controls may not necessarily *use* those controls; these choices will be examined in detail in Chapter 5.) For users of open systems, on the other hand, there was no statistically significant relationship between categorization of the blogosphere and access or technology.

The variations that appear in definitions of the blogosphere become even more apparent in respondents' classification of the blog document itself, as is illustrated in Figure 3.7. In many ways this makes sense, because the blogger has direct control over the blog document. Most respondents who used blogging systems with no access controls defined their personal blog document as public. This aligns with their definitions of publicity and privacy in terms of control over access. A few labeled the blog document as "private"; these were *exclusively* bloggers who used software systems that offered them access control. In fact, there was a strong relationship between the use of a blogging system with software-based access controls and the classification of the relative privacy of the blog document.
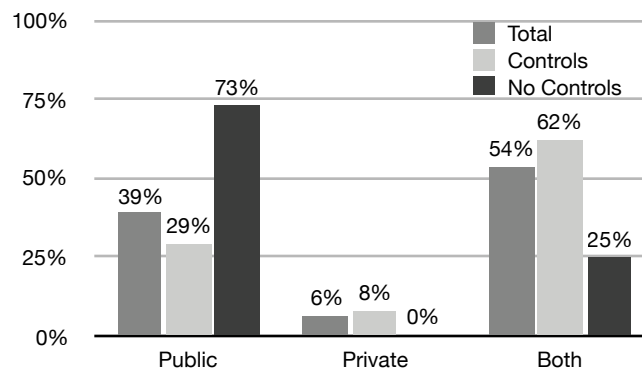
Figure 3.7: Categorizing the Blog Document as Public, Private, Both, or Neither

Users of those systems were very unlikely to say that their blog was public (r = -.378, p ≤ .001) and quite likely to say that it was both public and private (r = .316, p ≤ .001; see Appendix E, Table E.7 for full correlations). This further suggests an interaction between bloggers' perspectives on issues of publicity and privacy online and their blogging practices. They explicitly think about access to their content at the same time that they are careful about topic selection. In particular, they are concerned about these two areas in relation to potential offline consequences of their online writing - most notably in relation to personal safety and employment.

Bloggers' definitions of the term "blog" also align with their conceptualization of the blog document as public, private, both, or neither. Those who classified their blog as public were *unlikely* to define the term in reference to a journal or diary (r = -.131, p ≤ .001), while those who classified the blog document as "both public and private" *did* define it in terms of a journal (r = .133, p ≤ .001), a collection of links (r = .07, p ≤ .05), and a site for commentary (r = .068, p ≤ .05). These respondents also more often referred to the blog's audience (r = .055, p ≤ .05) and reader comments (r = .062, p ≤ .05) in their definitions of the term (See Appendix E, Table E.8 for full correlation). By the same token, bloggers who described their document as "public" had less complex definitions of the term (average complexity 1.49, r = -.116, p ≤ .001) and those who described it as "both public and private" had more complex definitions (average complexity 1.6, r = .144, p ≤ .001; See Appendix E, Table E.9 for full correlations).

Discussion

Bloggers' descriptions of the blog document and public and private show a variety of definitions of these concepts, but at their core, they think about blogging and the publicity and privacy thereof in terms of an *interaction* of content or control over content, and the size and composition of the audience that has access to that content (see Figure 3.8). A blogger may consider control over their online content, which then flows to both the type of content
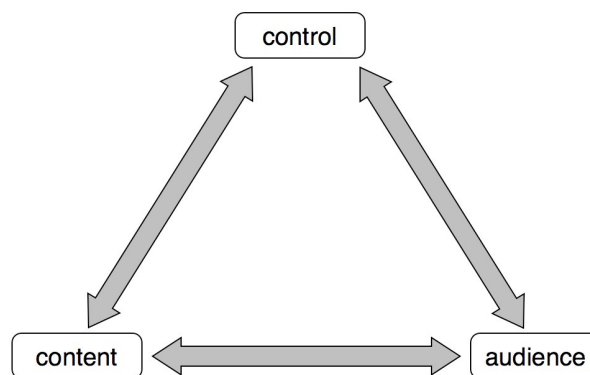
Figure 3.8: Interplay between Content, Control, and Audience

that they publish and to the audiences that they want to have access to that content (or who

they want to deny access to that content). On the other hand, a blogger who has knowledge

about the makeup of the document's readership may choose the content that they write

about and/or the amount of control they exert over access to that content with the audience

in mind. The ways that they view these elements in turn relate to their conceptualization of

publicity and privacy and to their own blogging practices. A blogger who is concerned about

access to their content is likely to view their own blog as a (relatively) private document, and

to work to control the audience, often by choosing to use blog software that includes access

controls. A blogger on the opposite end of the spectrum, on the other hand, will probably

view their blog as a public document and, in turn, not worry about who has access to their

content or even work to drive more traffic to their blog. In reality, though, most bloggers fall

somewhere in between these two poles, and are engaged in a process of negotiation

among content, access, and audience. The specifics of that process are examined in detail

in Chapter 5.

  Examining the ways in which bloggers apply their definitions of public and private to

their online practices makes it apparent that they do not view publicity and privacy as

dichotomous. They do treat "public" as a discrete category; it means accessible to all.

Private, on the other hand, is more complex. Some bloggers may conceptualize it as a

continuum and others as discrete or overlapping categories; the key element in all of these
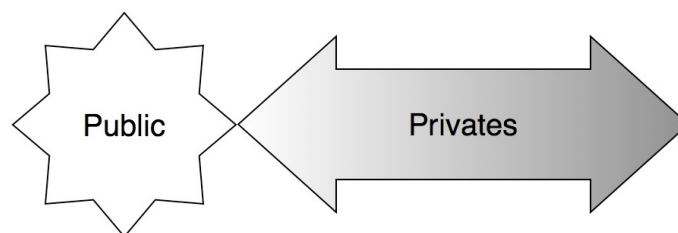
Figure 3.9: Public and a Range of Privates

is the blogger's decision to limit access to the content. As soon as access to something is limited, that thing becomes private, even if the number of people who are granted access is relatively large. The simple act of exerting control over access makes it private. The result of this, as is illustrated in Figure 3.9, is a conceptualization of a wide range of possible "privates", from something to which access must be granted but is freely given, to something that is kept only for the individual. These conceptualizations allow for a much more nuanced view of the social world than does the view that public and private are two sides of one coin.

CHAPTER 4

THE PURPOSE AND CONTENT OF THE BLOG

This chapter examines bloggers' stated purposes for their blog documents as well as the specific things that they wrote about online in order to further understand how bloggers navigate the new public/private divide. As with the definition of the term "blog", both the purpose of the blog and its content may be inward- or outward-looking. Internally-focused purposes turn toward the blogger despite their availability to a readership beyond the author. Externally-focused blog purposes and blog content, on the other hand, point out towards the world. Any given blogger or blog document may primarily focus in one direction or the other, but most are a mix, pointing once again to bloggers' malleable and shifting conceptualizations of publicity and privacy.

<u>Purpose of the Blog</u>

Understanding what bloggers hope to accomplish with their online writing gives a deeper understanding of how blogging as a practice relates to the complex and negotiated nature of publicity and privacy. Survey respondents selected from six predetermined options to describe the purpose of their blog:

- to keep in touch with friends and family

- to document experiences for myself / preserve memories

- as a creative outlet

- to share my knowledge with others

- to meet new people

- other

Respondents who selected "other" were prompted to elaborate on that selection. Those open-ended responses were coded into seven additional categories:

- Instrumental: the blog is used to accomplish tasks

- Affective: the blog is used for emotional / affective purposes

- Social: the blog is used to connect with other people

- Artistic: the blog is used for artistic purposes

- Activism: the blog is used in activist activities

- Fandom: the blog is used to comment on media or share fan-created media

- Discourse: the blog is used to engage in public debate

- IDK: the blogger indicated that they did not know the purpose of their blog

Some of these "other" purposes do duplicate those in the original six categories —

particularly "creative outlet" and "artistic" as well as "social" and both "to meet new people"

and "to keep in touch" — but the fact that survey respondents opted to include those

purposes under the "other" heading indicates that they are worth considering independently

from one another. These various blog purposes can be thought of as being either internally

focused — towards the blogger themselves — or externally focused — towards the

audience, whether that audience is real or imagined. Internal purposes include "to document

experiences / preserve memories", "as a creative outlet", affective, and artistic; external

purposes include "to keep in touch", "to share knowledge", "to meet new people",
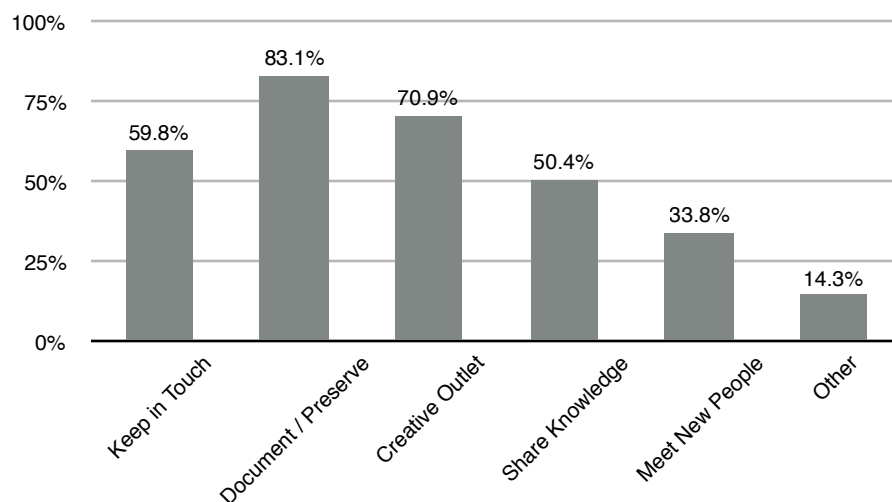
Figure 4.1: Purpose of the Blog

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instrumental, social, activism, fandom, and discourse. Internally- and externally-focused

purposes in turn are closely related to conceptions of publicity and privacy, a relationship

that will be explored in greater detail later in this chapter.

According to survey respondents, the most common purpose of the blog was to

document experiences / preserve memories, followed closely by the blog as a creative outlet

and the blog as a way to keep in touch with friends and/or family (see Figure 4.1). Among

those respondents who elaborated on their selection of "other" purposes, instrumental,

affective, and social purposes were by far the most common (see Figure 4.2). Instrumental
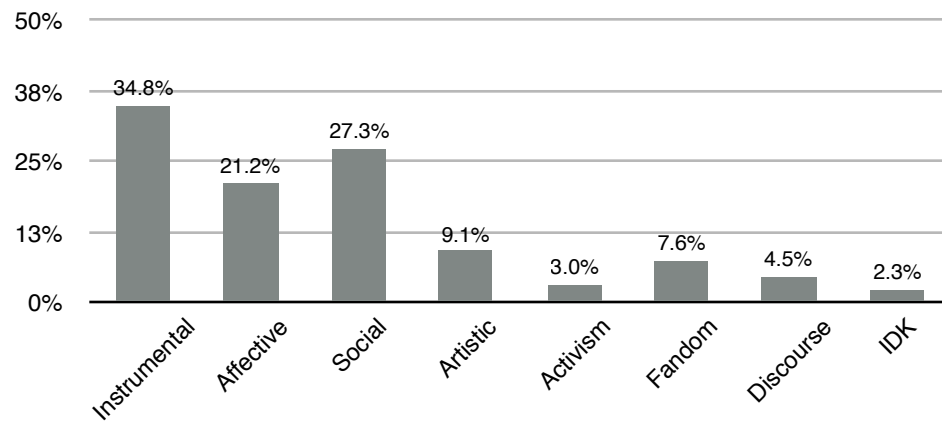
Figure 4.2: "Other" Blog Purposes (all respondents)

purposes, as indicated above, were ones that described using the blog to accomplish tasks.

The bloggers who referenced this purpose mentioned blogging to coordinate academic

work, practicing writing in a foreign language, and engaging with others on specific topics.

Bloggers whose responses were categorized as affective frequently indicated that they used

the blog as an emotional outlet or a place to vent (34% of those respondents whose "other"

purpose was classified as affective). Others mentioned stress management and getting

feedback from readers. Respondents who described the purpose of the blog as "social"

mentioned forming friendships online and creating communities around shared interests.

As with definitions of the term "blog" (as laid out in Chapter 3), bloggers' ideas about the purpose of the document were multifaceted. On average, survey respondents indicated that the blog document had 6.3 distinct purposes (out of twelve possible options, including coded "other" responses), and, like their definitions of the term itself, their explanations of the blog's purpose clustered around common themes. Survey respondents who said that they used the blog "to document experiences / preserve memories" were, as we have already seen, the most common; these respondents were *less* likely than others to have indicated that they used their blog for "other" purposes (r = -.128, p ≤ .001), but more likely to use their blog "to keep in touch" (r = .184, p ≤ .001), "to share knowledge" (r = .129, p ≤ .001), and "to meet new people" (r = .137, p ≤ .001). This melding of a more traditional "diary" (documenting and preserving memories) with communicating with others (keeping in touch and sharing knowledge) suggests that, for these respondents at least, the blog can be more than one thing at a time - it can be both internally and externally focused; it can be both public and private. Those who used the blog as a creative outlet were more outwardly-focused in their other blog purposes. They were more likely to use the blog document to share knowledge (r = .187, p ≤ .001) and "to meet new people" (r = .211, p ≤ .001). They did not, however, use their blog "to keep in touch" (r = -.123, p ≤ .001), suggesting that they are attempting to separate their creative pursuits from their offline lives. (See Table E.10 for full correlations.)

When considering bloggers' "other" purposes (looking *only* at those respondents who specified "other" purposes), there emerges a strong disconnect across categories. Bloggers who described using the blog for affective purposes were less likely to also reference instrumental (r = -.359, p ≤ .001) or social (r = -.284, p ≤ .001) purposes. This relationship also held between instrumental and social purposes (r = -.364, p ≤ .001; see Table E.11 for

full correlations). This indicates that these bloggers are thinking of their blog's purpose in a relatively consistent — either outwardly or inwardly focused — way.

As with definitions of the term "blog", the type of blogging software used related to how the blogger described the purpose of their document (see Figure 4.3). Bloggers who used access-controlled software systems were more likely than users of open systems to say that they used the blog to keep in touch with friends and family ($r = .135$, $p \leq .001$) and slightly more likely to say that they used the blog to document experiences ($r = .079$, $p \leq .05$; see Table E.12 for full correlations). It is interesting to note that, of the the three most
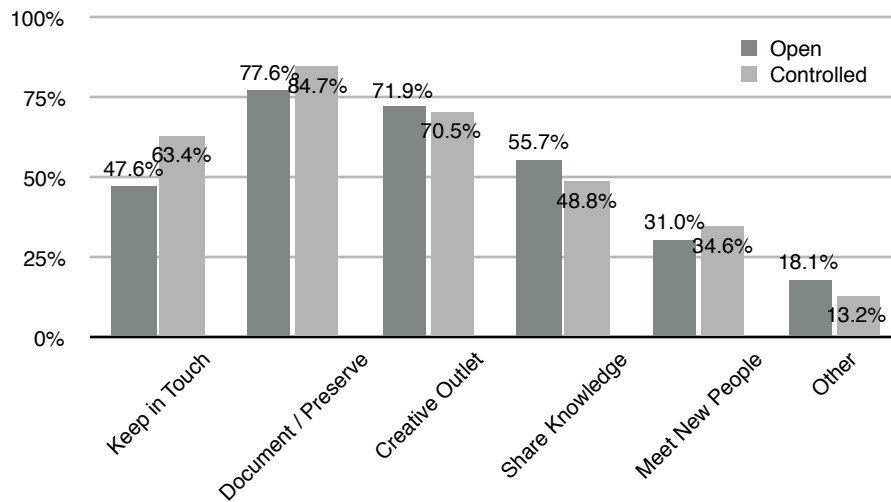
Figure 4.3: Purpose of the Blog by Service Type
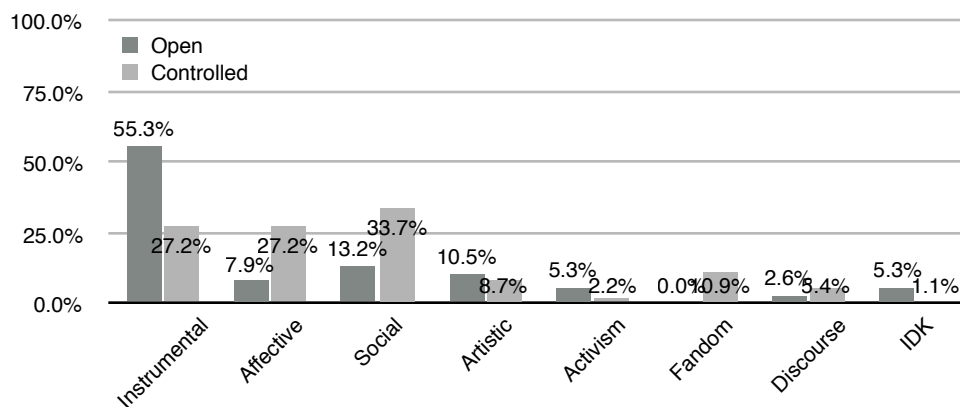
Figure 4.4: "Other" Blog Purposes by Service Type

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common "other" purposes (instrumental, affective, and social), there were large differences in how users of open and access-controlled blogging systems described the purposes of the blog document (see Figure 4.3 and Figure 4.4). Open blogging system users were much more likely to use their blog for instrumental purposes (r = -.123, p ≤ .001 for access control and instrumental purposes; see Table E.12 for full correlations), while users of access-controlled systems more often used their blogs for affective and social purposes, though that relationship was not statistically significant. The emphasis that open-system bloggers placed on instrumental purposes suggests that they may, in general, take a different approach to blogging than do users of access-controlled systems.

"Internal" and "External" Focus as Private and Public

As discussed in Chapter 3, a majority of survey respondents thought of their blog document as "both public and private" and that the relative publicity of the blog document did affect their blogging practices. This relationship carries through to the purposes of their blogs, and it is here that the relationship between publicity/privacy and the internal/external focus of the blog begins to become clear. Bloggers who referenced external purposes like "to keep in touch", "to meet new people" were more common among those who described the blog document as "both public and private" (r = .102, p ≤ .01 for "to keep in touch" and r = .092, p ≤ .01), though the latter group also was less likely to have described it as public (r = -.117, p ≤ .001) and also unlikely to be counted among those who classified the blog as purely private (r = -.091, p ≤ .01). Bloggers who described the document as wholly public were also more likely to say that their blog had an instrumental purpose (r = .209, p ≤ .05) and unlikely to indicate affective (r = -.258, p ≤ 01) or "document/preserve" (r = -.148, p ≤ .001) purposes. Those who said their blog document was private seemed to be very internally-focused — they were more likely to use the blog for affective purposes (r = .243, p ≤ .01) and to "document/preserve" (r = .069, p ≤ .05) and unlikely to use it to share

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knowledge (r = -.082, p ≤ .05) or to meet people (r = -.091, p ≤ .01; see Table E.13 for full correlations). Those who said their blog document was both public and private also described more complex blog purposes (r = .133, p ≤ .001) and were also likely to use it to keep in touch (see above) as well as to "document/preserve" (r = .119, p ≤ .001) and to met new people (r = .092, p ≤ .01; see Table E.14 for full correlations).

The connection between conceptions of publicity and privacy and the blog's purpose is worth exploring further. As the previous section showed, very few bloggers use the document in exclusively internal or external ways, so the reality is that most of them exist somewhere in between the two. In order to determine whether any individual blogger was more internally or externally focused, the proportion of internal and external purposes were calculated. Subtracting the external proportion from the internal one gave a score that indicated how strongly internally- or externally-focused any individual blogger was, with negative scores indicating an external focus. Regardless of service type, bloggers in this study were internally focused; users of access controlled systems were slightly more so but this difference was not statistically significant (see Table 4.1).

	Internal	External	Both	Average Score
All	92.32%	7.15%	0.53%	0.34
Open	87.38%	11.68%	0.93%	0.32
Access Controlled	79.67%	6.09%	14.25%	0.21

Table 4.1: Internal / External Frequencies & Scores by Blogging Service Type

The difference between an internal focus and an external one is better illustrated by examining the content of the blogs themselves. HA and URT illustrate the difference between the two perfectly. Even though they wrote about fairly similar topics - their children, their spouses, and work (or, in URT's case, her experiences as a stay-at-home parent), the

tone and focus of their blogs were very different. HA used hers primarily for affective purposes, saying in her interview, "[I] just really wanted a space that I could kind of dump all of my thoughts and emotions, and ... and see if I could you know write it out and figure out what it was that I was thinking and feeling, which I have always kind of done through writing anyway"; she later added that "my site is what I use to honestly work out what I'm thinking and feeling." URT, on the other hand, used her blog to record her experiences as the at-home parent to two young children. She explained that, once her daughter, who has cognitive disabilities, was born, her blog "sort of transformed into not just writing about my life but sort of a support network for myself and other people who had kids with [condition] because my daughter has [condition]" (an instrumental purpose) and that "a lot [of] people that I know … read it … I know my dad reads it. And in a lot of ways it's kind of become... let's update the grandparents who live far away about what's going on in our lives and also sort of like a memory book of things from my children's life…" (keeping in touch / a social purpose but also document / preserve). In this way, URT's blog served almost as a hybrid of the traditional "baby book" and the sorts of day-to-day updates that might have previously been shared with family via other means of communication.

In each of these two cases, the authors' *stated* purposes of their blogs lined up with the actual content. HA reflected on her relationship with her partner, the challenges of raising twin toddlers, her experiences as an American living abroad, and her own internal life; even when she did so by telling stories of day-to-day events, the tone of her entries differed from the tone of URT's entries. HA's blog purpose would fall somewhere on the spectrum of privates as laid out in Chapter 3, probably towards the *more* private end of things despite the document being freely available and having a relatively large audience. URT's, on the other hand, with its outward view and open access, would best be labeled simply as public.

<u>What Bloggers Write About</u>

Bloggers' ideas about the new shape of the public/private divide and the blog's purpose are put into practice in their actual blog documents. Because participants were primarily "personal" bloggers, the content of their blog documents was frequently quite personal and/or mundane, but even within that sphere, bloggers wrote with an internal or an external focus, in ways that may be public, private, or somewhere in between. During the six months of blog observations, three participants in the observational phase of this study had babies, along with several making job changes, taking vacations, and contending with health challenges, to name just a few of the topics that they wrote about. The observation period also included the 2008 election of Barack Obama as U.S. President.

The Election of Barack Obama

One of the most significant events that took place during the observational period was the election of Barack Obama to the U.S. Presidency, and the election was a frequent topic of blog entries. Most American participants were Obama supporters, and two, DAB and CI, were active volunteers with the Obama campaign; a third blogger volunteered at the polls on election day. While the election itself was clearly a public event, many bloggers' reflections on it were intensely personal. The participants who were Obama campaign volunteers posted about the election frequently, writing about their experiences working for the campaign as well as using their personal blog documents to try to convince their readers to vote for Barack Obama. DAB frequently posted information such as voter registration deadlines, not only for his state but for many others (perhaps because he knew he had readers from across the United States) as well as links to news articles relating to the election, both pro-Obama and anti-McCain. Following the vote, nearly every U.S.-based blogger (and a few who were not) commented on the outcome. Most of these posts were celebratory, and those from campaign volunteers CI and DAB were quite long and detailed.

The other participant who wrote at length about the election was SpD, who was the only

vocal McCain supporter among the observational group. She was openly critical of the

rhetoric of the Democratic Party as well as of what she perceived as double standards in

relation to the candidates' responses to poor behavior by their supporters. She also

wondered why Obama's supporters were acting like the election was a landslide, writing on

November 5, 2008, "yes, Obama won. But his victory is equal to Bush's, number-wise. To

me, they are both legitmate [sp] and decisive wins. But will Democrats concede that if

Obama's win is such a stomping, that Bush's was as well? Or that both were solid but not

stunning victories?" Within one blog post, she is focused both outward - attempting to sway

readers' opinions - and inward - reflecting on her own emotional response to the election

results. DAB did much the same - sharing information related to the mechanics of voting (an

external purpose) as well as reflecting on his own emotions when the candidate he had

campaigned for won (an internal purpose.) In this way, these two bloggers illustrate the

complexity of the blogger's relationship to publicity and privacy.

<center>Romantic Relationships</center>

Another topic that bloggers commonly wrote about was their romantic relationships.

Many of the participants in the ethnographic phase of this study were in stable long-term

relationships, and the day-to-day ups and downs of those relationships were chronicled in

their blogs.This included, but was not limited to, HA's partner's work stress as well as his

laughing at her when she slathered yogurt all over her face to counteract the effects of

chopping a hot pepper and then touching her face, RRW and her spouse grappling with

whether or not the timing was right to start a family, and numerous bloggers writing about

various trips they and their partners went on. These blog posts were most often internally-

focused, as bloggers wrote in order to remember events or to reflect on their daily lives with

their partners.

B0D was a unique case in that she had actually met her spouse via the LiveJournal

blogging service. She explained,

> he … randomly added me [as a LiveJournal friend] from a common couple of
> interests and we happened to live in the same state … I was a little paranoid that
> maybe he was [a] stalker … after I read back a ways in his journal and realized he
> was actually a real person, and a really cool person and had a good head on his
> shoulders and a stable life, and I was like, wow he's actually a nice guy. So I added
> him back and we met a few months later and have been inseparable ever since.

B0D chronicled much of their daily life in her LiveJournal - writing about work and school,

about her chronic illness, about their decision to relocate. In that process, she also

frequently wrote about her spouse; they were recently married and she did a fair bit of

gushing about him and about their relationship. The content was not always upbeat, though

- she also wrote about stresses in their relationship, including her husband being laid off

from his job and the effect that her health had on their sex life. As she wrote so frankly and

in so much detail, she used LiveJournal's filters to limit access to the posts; this practice will

be examined in much greater detail in Chapter 5.

In contrast to B0D, NN indicated that her romantic relationship was just about the

only topic that was off limits for her blog. She explained, "I just feel like …that sort of thing

always leads to this kind of … every time I've seen it on anybody else's blog leads to this

kind of high school mentality. And I don't want to go there… So I'll mention him as "we did X"

… but I don't talk about the relationship itself." By choosing *not* to write about the details of

her relationship, she sought to strike a balance between documenting/sharing her day-to-

day experiences while at the same time avoiding "drama" that she feared might result if she

wrote about her romantic life in more detail.

NN's fears of the negative consequences that might arise from writing about her

romantic life were not unfounded. One of the most dramatic examples of the chronicling of

romantic relationships via the blog document came when HA and her partner, AA, had a

major fight. In the midst of that event, she posted about it on her blog, and the post strongly

implied that the argument had escalated to physical violence of which she was the victim. Comments and emails flooded in, and she eventually updated the post asking readers to stop trying to reach her. The following day, AA authored a post on HA's blog in which he laid out the ignition point of the disagreement and reiterated her request to be left alone by blog readers. HA returned two days later to explain her perspective and the consequences that the altercation had had for their relationship and for her (not always stable) mental health. In an interview about a year later, she reflected on the events around the time of the argument. With a year's perspective, she focused not on the content of the argument itself but on the fact that she had allowed AA to make his own post on her blog.

> [H]e felt he wanted to have his say. And that was a first for us and not a very good first, that was a last for us as well. And ... that was a true melting point for me of … the personal and the public. This ... site is quite personal for me; it is also very public. And in allowing someone else to post like that it kind of took away the personal feeling for me. And I think honestly I've been struggling with the site a little bit since then.

The fact that allowing him to post his own perspective on her blog had a major impact on how she viewed the document is telling. As described above, her blog was very much inwardly-focused, a tool for processing her own emotions. Something about letting AA "have his say" broke that for her. The blog was no longer hers and hers alone; even though nothing about the publicity of the site had changed, the way she *felt* about it had.

Bloggers' writing about their romantic relationships was primarily inwardly-focused. B0D was reflecting on the relationship itself as well as documenting / preserving memories (like two trips that the couple took during the observation period). HA's discomfort with her decision to let AA share his side of their disagreement on her blog stemmed from what amounted to a breakdown in its internal purpose — allowing AA to post pushed the blog's purpose more towards the external (in that he directly addressed the blog's audience, and simply that having another author meant that it was no longer effectively HA's internal

monologue) and, as it turned out, that breach had a long-term effect on how HA conceptualized and used the document.

Work

In the course of chronicling their daily lives, many bloggers wrote about work. The ways that they did so, however, varied. Some individuals were quite open about where they worked, what they did at work, and so on, while others chose to be vague either about their place of employment or the specifics of their jobs. The ways that they made decisions about how to write about work related to their ideas about publicity and privacy.

NKOH was in an interesting position as far as "work" went. After a few years as a college professor, she made the decision to leave academia in favor of going to law school. She had started blogging about work while still a faculty member, and continued to do so in her new role as a law student. Her academic blog had focused on community building, clearly an external purpose, and she told me that she had kept the focus on herself rather than her students. She applied the same standards to her law school blog — just as she refrained from writing about students when she was a professor, she opted not to write about her classmates in her position as a law student. She also found herself unsure of how to position herself in relation to the legal profession, because she felt that she didn't yet have any authority to address professional issues. The result was a blog that she saw as a professional document, one that can clearly be categorized as having a primarily external purpose, but with an informal tone.

As NKOH had been when she was a professor, teachers tended to be circumspect about the relationship between their personal blog and their professional lives. BK taught elementary school and, upon reflection after a couple of years of writing online, chose to use software settings to limit access to some of her blog material. She explained, "I had been questioning whether or not some of the things that I was making public were suitable for

potential future students… and I was worried about students or parents reading some of this and questioning my teaching…" DAB, who taught English composition at the college level, had made a similar decision. In public posts, he never discussed specifics of his work; he would mention, for example, that he had a class to teach or papers to grade, but never revealed the name of the institutions where he taught (though he was open about where he lived) or anything even remotely detailed about his classes or students. He did write about his work in more detail in access-protected posts, though, telling me that

> [a] lot of [the students] are just out of high school, or at community college where I'm
> teaching there are a lot of older students who are trying to get their lives back on
> track, you know they might have been, some of them have been in prison, some of
> them have been alcoholics and have been drug addicts, and you know they have just
> really, really poignant stories and sometimes I'll share some of that with my LJ friends
> through the filter.

The use of software-based access controls served to protect both himself and his students. All three of these bloggers had to balance multiple factors in their blogging practice. The internal/external purpose of any particular blog or post had to also be weighed in terms of the potential impacts — social or professional — of discovery.

CI and SZ were recent college graduates, and both wrote extensively about their experiences at work. SZ was a writer and editor of corporate publications who sometimes struggled with managing relationships with her clients. In December of 2008, she wrote at length about one client in particular.

> Among my clients, I have one I absolutely despise working for… [I]t was hate at first
> sight for me when I met this client… [I]t doesn't help matters that he's friends with the
> editor I replaced. He is incredibly fussy and does not give instructions clearly … and
> expects me to remember things that he forgets. He is always critical and I have never
> heard him say anything remotely positive about any of the work I've done. He makes
> my small mistakes seem like humongous ones, and has no respect for me or my
> boss…So, this week I had a particularly trying time with this odious client because I
> made some mistakes (nothing catastrophic since we're still in the early days of
> production) and naturally he made it seem as though I should be plain fired from my
> job. He e-mailed a complaint to my boss about my performance but deliberately did it
> through the general e-mail where I can see what he said, instead of e-mailing directly
> to my boss's private e-mail.

While that particular situation resolved well for her — her boss pulled her aside and

reassured her that he was happy with her work — she remained dissatisfied with the job,

and continued to consider leaving, writing two months later, "I know I can leave if I choose

to. I know if I do choose to leave, it doesn't necessarily mean whatever I get to do next will

be more "enjoyable" than this. But it's a chance I'm willing to take." CI worked at several

part-time jobs and, like SZ, struggled with managing professional relationships; as an

employee in several related college offices, she found herself balancing the sometimes

contradictory whims of her superiors. She wrote about one such situation in early December

of 2008.

> M has a lot of facilities requests, and he wanted to meet with me separately about
> them rather than just putting them into [request system] like he's supposed to. I
> mentioned this meeting to T when we checked in. Now, T is frequently hyper-
> professional and organized and likes to be in charge, just like M. But after I
> mentioned the meeting, T told me to run all of M's requests by him first, because
> "between you and me, M is a whiner." And he said it with a total bitch!voice too. It
> was great; it took everything I had not to start laughing on the spot. Probably not half
> as funny if you don't know these two people, but holy shit it was wonderful.

In these cases, bloggers wrote both about the day-to-day work that they did (which could be

either internally or externally focused, depending on if the goal was to document events for

themselves or to keep friends and family updated on their daily lives) as well as the more

clearly internal purpose of using their blogs to cope with the frustrations they encountered at

work; CI additionally made use of LiveJournal's security features to write more openly about

her work in a college health center (though she never went into any detail that could

potentially impact patient confidentiality).

Two participants in the study — NN and HA — changed jobs during the observational

period. Of the two, HA wrote much more on the job search process than did NN, perhaps

because NN maintained a separate work-related blog. During the fall of 2008, HA, who

worked in the telecommunications industry, wrote occasionally about her frustrations with

clients who felt they could demand her time even when she was not on the clock, and concluded that

> [i]t's time to move on, I think. I may enjoy working from home but I'm beginning to sell my soul in doing so, and I don't know if I can do that much longer. Additionally, although we've gotten fabulous bonuses, in general our pay rises in Dream Job [her blog pseudonym for that job] have not been in keeping with inflation, so now that bread costs 140,000 pounds we're all finding our paychecks don't go as far.

She went on to write about her various job interviews; within a couple of weeks she had several offers in hand. She chose one and, over the next several months, documented the process of changing jobs. Some of the entries about her new job were simply anecdotes about her new office and new coworkers, while others, like most of her writing, were more clearly internally-focused, including her feelings as she went on her first business trip since her children were born.

As they wrote about work, bloggers had to carefully balance internal and external blog purposes — writing to update friends and family on their daily life, or to document what had been happening, or to reflect on events — with the realities of writing in a relatively accessible forum, where their writing could have consequences not only for themselves but for students, parents, classmates, and coworkers. This tension, which was most apparent among the students and teachers in this study, runs through all other blogging about work and is reflected in bloggers' complex conceptions of public and private. No matter what type of work they wrote about, bloggers did so with the interaction of content, access, and audience in mind.

<div align="center">Family</div>

As the participants in this study wrote primarily about their personal lives, family was a topic that came up often. Bloggers' writing about family ranged from documenting day-to-day events to more exciting ones like births, deaths, illnesses, and conflicts. Participants used

<div align="center">66</div>

their blogs to reflect on family life, and worried about the impact the blogging might have on their families, particularly their children.

The most common family-related topic was simply documenting and reflecting on day-to-day life. As detailed above, URT used her blog both to document her experiences as the at-home parent to her toddler and newborn and to reflect on parenting and life in general. She wrote about things like birthday parties, home visits with therapists for her older child, and the growth and reaching of milestones for both her children. While BK did not mention her partner's children (most of whom lived with the couple) often, when she did, it was in the context of daily activities - going outside to play on the first warm day of spring, visiting family for holidays, etc. Three participants in the study gave birth during the observational period. These bloggers all wrote about their pregnancies and birth experiences. The ways that they approached the topic varied — ZE and -R- both addressed the physical stresses of late pregnancy, while URT tended to be more introspective. Regardless of the specific pregnancy and birth related topics they wrote about, their blogs served as public records of this personal event. All three also chronicled the trials and tribulations of life with their newborns. These topics align with the common use of the blog to document experiences and preserve memories.

Two bloggers — HA and BK — used their blogs to document and reflect on more difficult family issues. HA's immediate family included herself, her husband AA, their twin toddlers, and AA's children from a previous relationship, whom she called M and J. M and J primarily lived with their mother in another country and relations among the three parents were tense, as M and J's mother frequently made parenting decisions with which AA and HA disagreed. Most notable of these was when she decided to sell her house and move to a rural area. AA and HA were very concerned about what this meant for the kids.

> M will be commuting 5 hours a day via train for school and J has a 2 hour commute
> via bus per day…

AA had suggested M get a one-room flat in [city]. This caused arguments all over the place - I was stressed to fuck as not only am I unsure if [she] is mature enough to handle this (something A isn't sure of either) but I didn't know where we were going to get the money to handle this. We're already broke, paying for a flat…would be like bleeding a stone…

We worry that M will drop out of school, but at least another school closer to home has been located. It's no where near the education that she would have had, but hey - [AA's ex-wife is] happy. That's all that matters.

J will be starting a new school and that's one area where it may be a good thing - he's being badly bullied at school for being half English. He's been attacked a few times now, and is counting down the days until he's done with this school. I feel bad for him - he's so sensitive, things are so hard for him. But he doesn't do change well at all, and a new school is sure to send him into orbit. At least next Fall he'll start going to an English school there… where he'll fit in better (December 2, 2008).

While the topic at hand is family relations and parenting decisions, we again see HA using her blog to work out her feelings about the situation, almost thinking out loud at the keyboard, which she very clearly said was the way she approached her blog in the first place. She often went through the same process when it came to her twin toddlers, as well. She acknowledged that writing online about raising her children opened herself up for criticism, and added that she was not really looking for parenting advice.

I don't like people who come in and tell me I'm doing things wrong. Maybe I am, but they don't, they don't live in this house with me and my children and they don't have the right to tell me I'm doing something wrong…I regularly still get comments about things like you should quit your job and stay at home and things like that and I think, you have no idea of my financial situation, and I didn't ask you for your input on it.

The fact that readers offered that advice. According to HA,

I often want to talk about my children but know that I'll be in for it if I mention some things. And it's hard because this is my blog, this is my space for dumping my thoughts. Lemme' just say that again for my own benefit - this is *my* blog, this is *my space*. But the Motherhood Club is strong, the views fierce. I have to think about what I write and feel like I have to defend myself vigorously in doing so (March 16, 2009)

These comments indicate a disconnect between the way that HA viewed the blog document (as a way of processing her own thoughts and feelings) and the way the readers did (assuming that their opinions and feedback were welcome). At its core, this was a conflict between HA's understanding of her blog as internally focused and its public accessibility, which led readers to assume that HA as addressing her writing to them.

BK wrote extensively about the challenges of trying to help care for her ailing father at the same time that she was experiencing conflict with other family members around the issue of his care. She struggled with guilt about not being as involved as she wanted to be, writing that "I feel like such a horrible daughter for deciding to live 45 minutes away and then not [making] enough money to be able to afford to visit on a more frequent basis" (October 19, 2008). Matters didn't improve when her aunt got involved a few months later.

> [S]he put me on the phone with my dad, and I asked him what he wanted, and as usual he wouldn't talk or make decisions. In the background my aunt was repeating our conversation for her children and everyone was laughing, like this is some kind of joke. I told him to call me back after my aunt had left. That was several hours ago and supposedly she was loading the car to go then. I've no idea what I am supposed to do (December 27, 2008).

A few days after that conversation, BK's family disappeared. As she told the story,

> Monday night, I called my dad, made the offer to come live with him so my 90-year-old grandmother could go to FL with peace of mind. I talked to both of them. They both told me they'd have to talk about it, and would call me back. I emailed my aunt to let her know. No one mentioned when they were leaving for FL.
>
> No one called Tuesday. Wednesday morning I called. Wednesday night I called. Thursday, Friday... Several times each day.
>
> No. Dad's cell phone was long since shut off. Nan's not a hip enough grandma to have even an answering machine. (Come on people, she still has a rotary phone in the kitchen.) I thought, well maybe they've gone to FL. So I call and leave a message - not that my grandmother knows how to operate it, but if my dad is there, maybe he'll be able to help.
>
> Tonight my dad called. Just now. Like nothing has happened. Like I knew they were leaving. They had been there since 10pm New Year's Day. I have been worrying since Monday night. Perhaps I shouldn't have. My father is a grown man. But I was. I made this huge decision to sacrifice everything I've worked for to get established in this [school] district, leave the property we've been hoping to buy for 2+ years - that we thought we'd finally be able to do this spring, and give up the privacy we value so much to live with him.... And he didn't bother to call back. And left me not even knowing where he was for 5 days (January 3, 2009)!

Note in the above passage that BK implies that she and her family had made the decision to move to be closer to her father — she mentions giving up experience in her school district and the place where they had been living. The narrative as laid out on the blog is incomplete, though — the post in late December was the first one she had written on this

subject since first documenting her worries in early October. Similarly, the story seems to end there — BK did not mention her father or his sudden relocation again during the observational period (which continued for another three months). This indicates that, at least where the issues with her father were concerned, BK was using her blog in an internal, affective way — writing as a way to process her thoughts and emotions when doing so seemed necessary or helpful.

The participants in this study who were parents frequently reflected on the impact that their blogging might have on their children as they grew older. This concern came up in interviews with all three participants who gave birth during the observational period. ZE commented that she did not think of her newborn as a "real person" with privacy concerns, and -R- said that she had thought about how her son would react to her blog when he was older. URT had a unique perspective. As noted above, her older child has a cognitive disability and — rightly or wrongly — she had written about her parenting experience with the assumption that her daughter was unlikely to ever be able to read it. When her typically-developing son was born, though, she found herself, like the other parents, wondering how he might feel about having his baby-hood chronicled online. All of these bloggers grappled with questions of privacy and agency as they related to their minor children and the internal or external focus of their online writing.

Publicity of the Blog Document and Its Effect on Blogging Practice

It would stand to reason that the perceived publicity of the blog document would be related to the ways in which personal bloggers use the document. Chapter Three showed a relationship between how bloggers thought of the relative publicity and privacy of the blogosphere and how they thought about publicity and privacy more generally. Survey respondents also elaborated on the relationship between the relative publicity of their blog

document and their blogging practice (see Appendix B for the specific questions). Their

responses were coded based on a number of themes (detailed in Appendix F).

Bloggers' concerns about blog content and control over access carried through to

their ideas about the document's purpose and its content. Survey respondents reflected on

the ways that access controls impacted their blogging practice in an open-ended question

tailored to each blogging service and its software tools (see Appendix B for the full survey

instrument and Appendix F, Table 3 for details on the codes). The most common ways that

the relative publicity of the blog document affected blogging practice were in the areas of

blog access and *selection of topics* to write about. 39.9% of survey respondents indicated

that the privacy of their blog document was related to on access control - whether they

achieved that control through the use of software settings, by maintaining multiple blog

documents, or through rhetorical means. 47.9% of all survey respondents indicated that the

degree of publicity of their blog document directly affected the topics about which they chose

to write. Selectivity about blog topics was much more common among users of open

blogging systems; 59.1% of those respondents referred to topic selection, while only 44.7%

of access-controlled system bloggers did. It is likely that access-controlled bloggers' lack of

selectivity ($r = -110$; $p \leq .01$) is influenced by the ready availability of software-based access

controls ($r = .316$; $p \leq .001$ for use of a controlled system and reference to access in

considering how publicity affects practice; see Table E.15 for full correlations); the details of

how bloggers use these software features to manage the relative publicity and privacy of the

blog document will be explored in Chapter 5.

At the heart of bloggers' concerns about the relative publicity of their blog document

and the impact it had on their blogging practices was the issue of potential offline

consequences for their online activities. As one blogger put it,

> [a]s a soldier who started blogging in Iraq, I always write with the eye that someone
> could read this with whom I might not want to be totally honest. I always keep military

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op sec in mind, and it has caused me to be even more circumspect. I don't blog too much about movement, or if I'm about to go on a trip, and if something pisses me off at work and I *need* to write about it, I make sure that I make that particular post "friends only" (Female LiveJournal user, 26-30).

Obviously blogging from a war zone has greater potential ramifications than those experienced by most of the participants in this study, but the core issue remains the same: concern that what a blogger wrote online would impact their life beyond the blog. In some cases, the concern was familial embarrassment, as one respondent explained. "I only blog those things I wouldn't mind my grandmother reading. And while my grandmother is a tolerant and loving woman, I never want her to be remotely embarrassed by anything I do or say, online or offline" (Female WordPress user, 36-40). Other individuals were concerned about their online writing having an impact on their employment. In the early years of blogging, a number of highly visible blog authors were disciplined or fired for their online activities, and that concern was echoed by at least two participants in this study.

> For public entries, I make sure nothing can be used against me in any way by offline people or employers. I was fired once for saying the name of the company I worked for in a public entry. I am now much more cautious (Female LiveJournal user, 41-45).

> I have enough friends who have lost their jobs through blogging unfavourably about work (and coworkers) that I have adopted a policy of never blogging about work. (In practice, I have a policy of never blogging publically [sic] about work and blog Friends-only about it instead. As it turns out, the things I have to say about work are generally favourable. I am not sure what I would do if the things I had to say were unfavourable) (Male LiveJournal user, 31-35).

The bloggers who are concerned about the activity's impact on their employment - current or future - work to keep their online writing *private* in terms of access and audience, especially if they write about that employment on their blog. Many other bloggers were concerned about protecting information about their places of residence, as this respondent illustrates.

> I try not to make blaringly obvious the location of our family home, the hours it is occupied, and what-all is inside it. I realize this info can be found (I am in the phone book and it is very legal for you to peek through my windows), but I endeavor not to make it so easy (Female MovableType user, 31-35).

Here again, the concern is that making information public (read: accessible) online might impact their offline lives, and those of their friends and family, particularly if that information fell into the hand of individuals who might use it for their own advantage. (In the example above, the blogger seems to be particularly concerned about burglary.) Bloggers' concerns about offline consequences of their online activities inform their blogging practices and align with their broader conceptions of publicity and privacy. They worry that making information - whether if be military, work-related, or their residence - public (accessible) will have potentially dramatic offline consequences, and they adjust their practices accordingly.

Impacts of Publicity and Privacy are Complicated

In the above examples, the relationship between the publicity of the blog document and blogging practices is relatively clear; the bloggers consider the publicity of the content, weigh the potential impacts of sharing, and decide if and/or how to post it. Part of the calculus that goes into this is whether the blogger views the purpose of their blog document as a whole and the content of any given post as internally- or externally-focused. These thought processes are not always cut-and-dried, though, and bloggers were not even necessarily internally consistent in their opinions about the effects of the relative publicity of the blog document. BK, for example, mixed internal and external purposes in her blog, writing about family conflicts with an eye to sorting out her own feelings about them as well as posting what amounted to advertisements for her Etsy shop. The former posts were clearly more internally focused and she posted them behind software access controls; the latter were clearly externally focused and were *not* hidden from public view. She also maintained an active public twitter stream, and cross posted the tweets to her LiveJournal. She said that she had chosen to keep the Twitter account publicly accessible because "I tend not to twitter very often. Or very personal. It tends to be random things like, OMG this is the best cake ever!" Despite this, the tweets that were cross-posted to LiveJournal were not

publicly visible. When asked about this inconsistency, BK said that she though it was just a function of software defaults. I would argue that it also indicates the flexible and negotiated relationship between publicity/privacy and online content.

Other bloggers' opinions about the effects of the act of blogging and the impact of the publicity of the document changed over time. -R- explained that when she first started her blog, she spent time trying to promote it and grow its audience. She felt conflicted about this, though, because at the same time that she was attempting to gain readers, she was actively trying to prevent her coworkers from finding the blog. Ultimately, she concluded, "I guess one of the reasons why I never pushed really hard to get a ton of readers was because of [that conflict]". CI, too, adjusted her expectations about how to manage the publicity of her blog, changing it from being publicly-accessible to access-controlled about a year after starting it. This change coincided with the end of her high school career.

> [I]t was pretty personal and I think I tend to be more of a private person so the more I thought about it I was like, well, if I go off to college or something like that and somebody kind of stumbles across it, you know, they would learn way more about me initially than I would probably want them to learn, so … by limiting the access like that I could … decide who was reading it.

In much the same way as SZ (discussed in Chapter 3), CI conceptualized the privacy of her blog document in terms of readers' *proximity*. She was not particularly choosy about who she let read her blog, as long as the readers were not people that she knew offline.

> I think of it as … private in the sense that *nobody that … I encounter in my day to day life* … knows about what I'm writing about or even necessarily knows that … I have this as an activity… And … this is public in the sense that … there's all these people who do have access to it that … I probably don't even know that well. But just the fact that I don't have to be around them every day … it doesn't bother me; it still feels private [emphasis added].

In both of these cases, geographic nearness serves as a proxy for access, not to the blog document, but to the blogger's offline self.

Still other bloggers viewed anything that they wrote on the blog as essentially having been said in an entirely public setting. ZE laid this out as follows: "I'm not going to stand on

my porch and … complain about my mother in law and I'm not going to do it on my blog, either. Even though … it would be so safe, there's no way this woman is ever going to read something printed on the internet, much less find my blog." NKOH operated on basically the same premise, explaining that she "took to heart the idea that [you] shouldn't write anything on the blog that [you] wouldn't say to someone's face." This *assumed* publicity of the blog document meant that these bloggers were judicious in the choices that they made about what to publish on their blogs and when to publish it. This aligns in many ways with the concerns expressed by the bloggers who considered the offline consequences of their online activities. Numerous respondents, for example, would only write about trips out of town after the fact. There was an assumption, not necessarily of *danger*, but of the potential for abuse of the information.

<div align="center">Discussion</div>

Bloggers' stated purposes for their online writing practice and the content of their blog documents reveal a complex set of negotiations centered around ideas of publicity and privacy, characterized by the internal and/or external focus of both of the above. The interactions of purpose and content reinforce the ideas about one public / many varied privates laid out in Chapter 3. Externally focused blog purposes and content *relied on* the presence of an audience, as in the cases where bloggers wrote to keep geographically distant family up to date on their kids or when DAB and CI used their blog documents to campaign for Barack Obama during the 2008 Presidential election. This does not mean that internally-focused blog purposes and content lack an audience, however. Rather, internally-focused bloggers were often more circumspect about the relationship between their audience and their content. In particular, bloggers who identified an affective purpose for their online writing were careful in considering the blog's audience. BK and CI mitigated this by using software controls; SZ managed the impacts of open access to her content by

working to make sure family and offline friends did not have access to the blog document, and maintaining some degree of plausible deniability by using password-protected posts to publish content that would identify her. These examples only scratch the surface of the relationship between the blogger and their audience; this relationship is explored in detail in Chapter 5.

The relationship of the blog's purpose and content to publicity and privacy is more clearly illuminated when there is a disconnect between the *accessibility* of the blog and the blogger's *intentions* for the document. Of the participants in this study, HA felt this conflict the most keenly. It is apparent both in her dispute with her spouse — when readers' attempts to check on her were unwelcome — and in her reactions to the parenting advice she would receive when she posted about her children. Audience members assume that, because they have access to the content, their input is welcome; at its core this is a disagreement about the purpose of the blog and thus about its relationship to the broader categories of public and private. It is through these interactions and negotiations that bloggers continue to define and redefine publicity and privacy.

CHAPTER 5

BLOGGERS AND THEIR AUDIENCES

The relationship between personal bloggers and their audiences is central to the blog document and to the ways in which bloggers view public and private. Bloggers are aware, often acutely so, of the implications of the audience's access to their personal content, and the ways in which bloggers conceptualize the audience affect their blogging practices (Lenhart, 2005; Brake, 2007), as do the technological affordances of particular blogging systems. This chapter examines bloggers' relationships to their audiences and the ways in which those relationships reflect and impact both their blogging practices and their conceptions of public and private and how bloggers management of audiences reflects shifting definitions of the concepts of public and private.

Bloggers evaluate the relationship between their readership and their blog document in terms of *content* and *audiences*, making strategic decisions about *which audiences* ought to have access to *which content*. Some audiences/types of content fall squarely in the discrete "public" category identified in Chapter 3, while many others are better labeled as one of the many possible "privates". The interaction of content and audience creates a variety of categories that particular groups of readers can be sorted into. As bloggers consider the relationship between audience and content, they decide to either *include* or *exclude* certain audiences relative to certain content, based on members' *interest in the content* and on the *propriety of the content* for that particular audience. Inclusion is an invitation for the reader to enter the blogger's personal online space; the blogger grants selected readers access to some or all of their blog content. For example, a blogger who writes extensively about their sex life may create an *included* public of readers who have expressed an interest in reading that material. In other cases, bloggers want to *exclude* particular audiences from some or all of their content. The same blogger might think about

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access to their explicit content *exclusively* and in terms of *propriety*; they create an *excluded audience* for whom they do not feel the content is appropriate (parents, for example, or children, or professional contacts). These two management techniques are not mutually exclusive; some audience members may be invited to view a particular piece of content at the same time that others are excluded from the same content. Inclusion and exclusion are based on and reinforce the relationship between the blogger and the audience and, based on those relationships, the blogger creates a variety of "privates", granting or denying access to the blog content. Bloggers achieved this inclusion and exclusion through two primary means: rhetorical strategies such as obfuscation and anonymity / pseudonymity and the use of software settings to invite audiences in or to hide content from excluded audiences. As they make these decisions, bloggers place audiences along the continuum of publicity and privacy that was laid out in Chapter 1 and elaborated in Chapter 3.

General Composition of the Blog Audience

Most participants in this study wrote with their audience in mind. Only 6% of survey respondents indicated that they "never" considered their audience when writing, while 68% "sometimes" wrote with their audience in mind, and fully one quarter "always" considered their audience. Respondents were asked in two survey questions to indicate which categories of people were included in their blog's intended and known audiences. In each case, the options were

- Offline friends

- Offline acquaintances

- Coworkers

- Family

- People I've met online but never offline (abbreviated here as "met online, not offline")

- People I've met online and offline (abbreviated here as "met online & offline")

- People I've never met but who have similar interests (abbreviated here as "never met, similar interests")

These categories can be grouped into "offline" and "online" contacts, with offline friends, offline acquaintances, coworkers, and family being "offline" and all others being "online". Respondents also had the option to select "other" and were prompted to describe the audience members who fell into that category; the audience members described here ranged from "anyone" and "no one" to the blog author themselves. While bloggers know the composition of their *intended* audience (or, as Litt names it, the "imagined" audience (Litt, 2012)), they may not have a perfect idea of who makes up their *actual* audience at any given time. Even in access-controlled systems, bloggers know which individuals *have access* to their content, but not necessarily *how often those individuals actually read their blog*. Despite this, survey respondents' reports of their intended and known audiences were consistent and highly correlated, indicating that bloggers have a fairly good idea of the composition of their actual audience (see Figure 5.1).
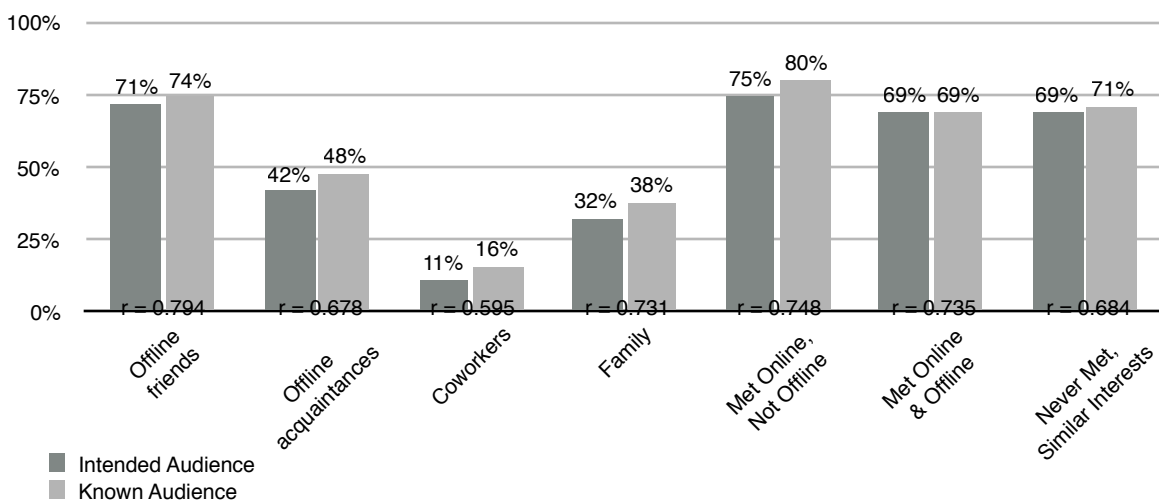
Figure 5.1: Intended and Known Audiences with Correlations
($p \leq .001$ for all correlations; see Appendix E, Table E.16 for full correlation table)

Bloggers most often listed offline friends and individuals they met online as their blog audience (both intended and known). What the aggregate survey data do not illustrate, however, is that individual bloggers tended to write for *one or the other of these groups*; they rarely indicated that both online and offline contacts were part of the blog audience. For the survey population as a whole, for example, there exist strong correlations *within* the offline and online audience categories, but few that cross the offline/online divide (see Appendix E, Table E.17). In particular, there are no statistically significant relationships between family as intended audience and any online contacts as intended audience. This trend is most pronounced among users of access-controlled blogging systems. In this subset of survey respondents, there are significant positive correlations among all of the offline intended audience categories as well as among all of the online intended audience categories. Bloggers who wrote for coworkers and offline acquaintances tended to write for people they had met both online & offline but when they did write for offline friends and family, they were explicitly NOT writing for online contacts (see Appendix E, Table E.18). Users of open blogging systems, on the other hand, had a much broader conception of their intended audience, with strong positive correlations among most audience types (see Appendix E, Table E.19). This suggests a difference in the ways that these two groups of bloggers conceptualize their audiences; this difference will be drawn out in the remainder of this chapter.

<div align="center">Audience Inclusion and Exclusion</div>

When a blogger makes decisions about audience membership, they choose to either *include* or *exclude* particular blog readers. Excluded audience members range from the oft-mentioned mother-in-law to offline acquaintances; these audiences are denied access to online content for reasons ranging from familial harmony and personal security to

presentation of a professional online identity. Included audiences are most often granted

access on the basis of personal relationships and audience interest.

<center>Exclusion/Inclusion Based on Personal Relationships</center>

Because blogs tend to contain potentially controversial or highly personal material,

bloggers frequently exclude and include potential audience members on the basis of

personal relationships. Family is an especially important audience that bloggers considered

when making decisions about content access. When the audience needs to be protected

from "inappropriate" content or the blogger needs a safe space away from the pressures of

familial norms, access to content is restricted, as explained by a LiveJournal user who

employed software access controls to achieve this. "There are certain aspects of my online

life that my family would be uncomfortable reading, so I keep [the blog] locked to spare

them" (Female LiveJournal user, 18-25). Maintenance of familial harmony sometimes

required the exclusion of some or all family members from the blog, as this Xanga user

illustrated: "I never write about anything *publicly* that I wouldn't want my parents to

see" [emphasis added] (Female Xanga user, 18-25). While the respondent did not elaborate

on what type of content this included, two things are clear. First, that she worried about the

consequences of her parents finding out about certain aspects of her life, and second, that

she wrote about those things on her blog.

In some cases, bloggers need a safe space to discuss their families. BK, for

example, used access-controlled LiveJournal posts to describe a difficult situation with her

ailing father — one that will be familiar from Chapter 4. She wrote,

> [M]y aunt called back and berated me for what felt like forever, calling me selfish and
> irresponsible for not leaving the kids who aren't even my own and moving in with my
> dad. Then she put me on the phone with my dad, and I asked him what he wanted,
> and as usual he wouldn't talk or make decisions. In the background my aunt was
> repeating our conversation for her children and everyone was laughing, like this is
> some kind of joke (December 27, 2008).

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A short time later, the family went incommunicado for several days, which BK also documented in her LiveJournal.

> Tonight my dad called. Just now. Like nothing has happened. Like I knew they were leaving. They had been there since 10pm New Year's Day. I have been worrying since Monday night. Perhaps I shouldn't have. My father is a grown man. But I was (January 1, 2009).

AL, too, wrote about family conflict. "I can't be the gopher between my mother and my sister. It eats my soul for breakfast" (November 25, 2008). In these cases, the blog served as a safe space to let off steam about family conflicts without risking the causes of the frustration finding out about it - and these bloggers could do so because their families, or at least the ones about whom they were writing, were *excluded* from access to the content.

In other cases, family members were excluded in order to conceal aspects of the blogger's life that family might find problematic. One LiveJournal user indicated that her "family members and many … offline friends are web savvy enough to find my journal, and [I] feel freer to write about certain aspects of my life/certain interests without their reading it" (Female LiveJournal user, 18-25). This blogger felt that she would not be able to write freely unless their family and offline friends did not have access to the blog document. JB and CB both indicated that their grandparents were their metric for deciding which content to post and what level of software security settings to employ. CB explained, "I am always aware that my Fundamentalist Christian grandfather might stumble across my LJ … I write gay male pornography. I do not want my Real Life Identity in any association with my fanfiction writing." In other cases, bloggers needed to strike a balance between making some content available while still excluding family members from more sensitive content. URT, whose blog focused primarily on her life as a stay-at-home mother to two young children, one of whom had special needs, felt that she could not exclude family members from the blog; instead, her "open" blog became a space where she posted things that she deemed acceptable for consumption by the familial audience. When she wanted to exclude

family members, she posted on an access-controlled group blog that she shared with a number of other parents.

Sometimes specific individuals were excluded from reading a blog due to interpersonal conflict. B0K explained that she used LiveJournal's software filters to exclude a former friend with whom she and her spouse had been in conflict. As she wrote on her LiveJournal, "i've filtered [individual] out of almost every lj entry for quite some time now. ever since he started some wank about something that isn't really worth repeating. i don't trust him not to tell everything to [another friend], and i don't really trust him in general" (March 6, 2008). Other bloggers indicated that they occasionally wrote about friends or family with whom they had disagreements and that, even if they were normally included in the blog's audience, these individuals would be prevented from reading the relevant posts, usually by means of software-based access controls. Individuals who had been the victims of online harassment by known audience members also took measures to keep those people from having access to their content, as will be discussed in greater detail below.

In what is probably the most extreme example of exclusion, several LiveJournal users made posts that were visible only to themselves and their romantic partners. B0D explained that she had done this because she "liked the idea of archiving [their] relationship" in a format where she would be able to look back on it in the future. She felt that it made sense to do so on LiveJournal because the couple had met via the blog site. BK, too, had a filter whose membership included only her spouse, though she reported that she did not use it very often. In both of these cases, the authors viewed the communications that they shared with their partners to be "private". They used online tools to create a communicative environment that was private in much the same way that a home is private.

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Exclusion to Keep Online & Offline Lives Separate

While the bloggers described above seem to treat their online lives as a mediated extension of their offline ones, other bloggers prefer to draw a bright line between the two. This may be because of the type of content they post on the blog or simply because they view the blog as a "safe" space away from other parts of their lives. One LiveJournal user explained that "sometimes I need to post to a bunch of strangers without any judgment or fear that the intimate details of my life will spread within my close-knit community or group of friends" (Female LiveJournal user, 26-30). Another wanted to be able to write openly about the challenges she faced in her career; "I post a lot about my own personal experiences with sexism in academia in the work place, and over the past few years, I've had men try to pick arguments with me in the comments section. For me, my blog is not a place to debate philosophy. It is an outlet to express my own personal frustration and cartharsis [sic]" (Female LiveJournal user, 26-30). Other bloggers concurred that separating the parts of their lives allowed them to write more freely. "I write about personal things that happen in my real life and I don't want people I write about to read what I have to say about them. I write mostly to communicate with the people on my friends list and to gain their input about problems I face or to get discussions going" (Male LiveJournal user, 18-25). When content was consumed by online contacts only, bloggers felt that there would be fewer negative consequences of what they wrote.

SZ used a blogging system (wordpress.com) that allowed the creation of password-protected posts. She deployed these posts occasionally, giving the password only to selected trusted readers (most of her blog audience was online contacts, not offline friends/ family). She used these protected posts primarily to maintain her anonymity, explaining that

> [w]hat goes in a protected post are things which are very personal to me and I would
> not allow to be viewed publicly. This is not because I do not want random strangers to
> read my innermost secrets, but rather I'm afraid I might reveal my identity by doing

so! So if someone [who] I'm pretty sure does not know me in real life were to ask to view these protected posts, chances are I'd probably allow him or her to do so.

For these reasons, she also used the protected posts for pictures of herself, and for other content that might have revealed her offline identity. Her goal was not necessarily to prevent the information from being widely accessible, but to keep offline contacts from connecting the blog to her identity. She explained, "I don't feel comfortable sharing things I consider private with people I know in real life... if they didn't know that of me to begin with it's simply because I didn't want to share that with them." By excluding all but a few readers from content that might have compromised her pseudonymity, she was able to write openly about virtually any topic.

If we think about these bloggers' conceptions of content access alongside their conceptions of publicity and privacy, we see that they are implementing the version of public/ private that consists of a single "public" and a variety of overlapping "privates". These "privates" are created by considering the interaction of content, control, and audience as described in Chapter 3. For a variety of reasons, many bloggers in this study have chosen to craft audiences — privates — in which they share their most personal content with individuals they primarily interact with in online spaces, an inversion of the historical association of "private" and "intimate" with family and offline friends. This is a characteristic of both the new form of public and private and the ways that social media are changing social life more broadly.

Exclusion for Personal Security

While bloggers' focus on keeping online and offline lives separate might sometimes seem to border on paranoid, in certain cases, failure to do so could have significant negative consequences. Numerous survey respondents indicated that they excluded "unknown" readers for reasons of personal security. Often this exclusion meant camouflaging offline identities and identifying details such as names and locations within the blog content. As one

survey respondent put it, "I don't reveal direct home addresses, where my child goes to daycare, phone numbers, and the like" (Male LiveJournal user, 31-35); omitting geographic locations and contact information was a very common practice, as was refraining from mentioning travel until after it had happened. When -R- wrote about a trip her husband was taking before it happened, she included the following disclaimer: "I should point out to all my stalkers that my dad is going to be staying with me while H is out of town, so don't think I'm all alone and vulnerable" (January 7, 2009). Her tone was lighthearted, but it addressed a common sentiment among bloggers: that they needed to camouflage or omit identifying details for reasons of safety for themselves and their families.

Many bloggers also noted that they excluded certain audiences as a result of previous negative interactions online, either in blog comments or on other social media. Sometimes the problematic interactions were with anonymous readers, as in the following case described by a female LiveJournal user. "A few years ago someone sent me some very disturbing, very graphic images in a comment to a post. This was an anonymous comment on a rather innocent posting about a night at the movies with a friend" (Female LiveJournal user, 36-40). Other times, the threat to personal security came from known readers. Several survey respondents indicated that they limited access to their content, as one respondent put it, "due to problems I've had with abusive ex-partners, stalkers and other issues that spill over from the web to real life at times" (Female LiveJournal user, 18-25). Another explained that using LiveJournal's software access settings was a "[d]rama-avoidance measure - my ex was stalking me after our divorce once he found out I had a journal" (Female LiveJournal user, 41-45). Two interviewees, B0D and BK, had been victims of online harassment by ex-partners and also felt compelled to exclude those individuals from their personal content online. B0D explained,

> I have ... an ex-girlfriend who ... worked very hard to find out everything about me on the Internet. We split up on rather shady terms and ... it was very uncomfortable and

> she had actually discovered my journal ... and was publicly reposting stuff ... and saving it to her own computer and it was really upsetting so … I completely locked everything down and it's been 5 or 6 years now and … I still haven't felt comfortable. I haven't had any contact with her in that time but I just still haven't felt comfortable enough to let anything open up.

B0D responded to her ex-girlfriend's harassment by restricting access to virtually all of her online content. BK took more or less the same action, for the same reasons. Her LiveJournal began as a public document where she recorded her daily activities. After a divorce, though, her ex-husband began "leav[ing] comments and … hurting [her] all over again"; she decided that she "just didn't want to deal with it." She restricted access to the blog document such that "the only people who can read it are people that I trust and know..." Despite this declaration of complete access control, BK did make public posts related to her Etsy[13] business; she viewed these as advertising and did not perceive them as opening herself up to threats to her personal security. In the relationship of audience and content, in these cases, the need to exclude abusive individuals outweighed all other considerations and had a profound impact on how bloggers related to their audiences; they were willing to forego a broader audience for their online content in order to exclude those who had treated them poorly in the past.

Exclusion Based on Professional Prudence

Another reason that bloggers cited for excluding audiences was professionalism. The blogger who excluded readers on the basis of a professional relationship reasserted a conventional public/private divide in their lives (see Prost, 1991). -R-, for instance, felt that her "dorky" self did not mesh well with her professional identity and she worked to keep the two separate.

> I worked at this big law firm that was very formal and my blog is really informal and I'm putting out this dorky stuff about myself... I... didn't want the two mixing. [T]he stories weren't bad but they weren't things I would have shared at work so I didn't want people finding them.

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[13] http://www.etsy.com

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She went on to explain that she did not think of the blog as a professional document but worried that, if she were identifiable on the blog, people might use it as a basis for professional judgment. Other bloggers indicated that they did not "want people in my work field (aside from those who are close friends) knowing what is going on in my daily life" (Female LiveJournal user, 31-35) and "I wrote mostly [publicly] for years, but took much of my content to friends-only when, despite my efforts to not link my LJ to my real name, a job search committee asked me about it" (Female LiveJournal user, 31-35). In some cases, bloggers' employers explicitly forbade blogging about work or had a history of sanctioning employees who wrote about work, as this LiveJournal user indicated.

> My employer has run searches on Myspace, Facebook, and LiveJournal before, and several of my coworkers have been called out for either badmouthing the company (though none of them ever said anything untrue) or appearing "unprofessional." I have no desire to end up in their shoes (Female LiveJournal user, 18-25).

Another survey respondent had actually suffered similar consequences. "I make sure nothing can be used against me in any way by offline people or employers. I was fired once for saying the name of the company I worked for in a public entry. I am now much more cautious" (Female LiveJournal user, 41-45). HA worked for some time at a tech company that frowned on the practice of blogging, and later at another that allowed blogging but proscribed employees' writing about the company's products. Of the latter, she explained, "[t]hey say, you can even say who you work for, which I think, that's a step too far for me. But they say, as long as you don't go on there and rubbish the products they don't care what you write about." She chose to balance her employer's permissiveness with her own comfort level by being open about the industry in which she worked but not naming the company itself, and said that she planned to camouflage the destinations of business trips in order to make it harder for readers to identify her employer.

Students, academics, and teachers in particular reported feeling pressured to keep their "blogging" identities separate from their professional identities. One survey respondent

explained that she limited access to her blog "because I talk about my thesis and teaching and I don't necessarily always want my students or professors knowing my thoughts" (Female LiveJournal user, 36-40), while another limited access to his LiveJournal due to concerns about blogging being held against him on the academic job market and in tenure decisions (Male LiveJournal user, 30-35). TN, a graduate student, told me that "the University has said … that we're not supposed to be telling everyone about … our research." She then added, "And yeah, I don't want my supervisor knowing I'm slacking off." BK is a teacher who began her LiveJournal as a public document but later began restricting access to virtually all of her blog content not just in response to harassment from her ex-husband (as detailed above) but also because she questioned "whether or not some of the things that I was making public were suitable for … future students… and I was worried about students or parents ... questioning my teaching." BY found herself in a similar position; as a teacher at a politically and socially conservative high school, she needed to separate her teaching identity from her participation in fan communities, particularly those that involved sexually explicit fan fiction. Like BK, she opted to make extensive use of LiveJournal's security settings in order to manage access to her content, as well as monitoring search engine results for her screen name. Whether they were simply working to maintain professional identity or flouting employers' policies, these bloggers found it important to keep professional contacts from gaining access to their blog document. As they did so, they reasserted the separation of the various spheres of their lives. Excluding professional contacts gave them the freedom to discuss both their personal and their professional lives without the risk of professional consequences. As we have seen already, they are segmenting their lives — some elements being acceptable to write about online and others not.

Exclusion/Inclusion Based on Audience Interest

In other cases, decisions about audience inclusion and exclusion were made based on subcultural membership and audience interest. For example, bloggers might include or exclude readers from posts about health, weight loss, and popular media. "I… post to opt-in custom groups for subjects some people may not want to read like issues dealing with depression and weight loss," one respondent explained (Female LiveJournal user, 31-35). Bloggers viewed it as their responsibility to keep their content interesting for their readers. "Access controls are used to keep the blog from getting boring for certain subsets of readers -- posts that are too personal, too in-depth, too rambling or too specific to one group will be trimmed as to be accessible to only certain readers" (Male "Other" user, 26-30). If a post was visible to readers who might not be interested in the content, it was common for bloggers to include a disclaimer, as BY did when she posted asking for parenting advice. "I was going to post this to one of the ... parenting communities, but [community name] has been inactive for over two years, and I'm not sure this is feminist enough for [community name] :) So, non-parents and non-interested parties, please just ignore" (December 20, 2008). A number of bloggers mitigated the audience interest problem by maintaining multiple blogs. NN, for example, had one blog dedicated to her work as an academic librarian and another to her non-work activities; URT participated in a group blog as well as maintaining one intended for consumption by far-flung family. Some bloggers who wrote about popular media used the same tactic. "I have two blogs: one is for general use, one is for fandom activities (following favorite TV series, talking with other fans and reading fanfiction and so on.)   The fandom blog is public: it doesn't have my name on it or links to my other blog" (Male LiveJournal user, 18-25). When bloggers include and exclude audience members based on interest, they use the interaction of content and audience to segment

their lives, and create any number of "privates" composed of those audience members who are granted access to the content.

LiveJournal in particular is home to a large number of "fans" — enthusiasts of particular media, be they television, movies, or books - who used their blogs to discuss those media products and/or to publish and discuss fan fiction. Respondents who engaged in these activities sometimes thought of access to their media-related content inclusively and other times exclusively, depending on what other purposes their blog served (as detailed in Chapter 4) and the composition of the document's known / intended audience. Most of these respondents were LiveJournal users, and they primarily used that system's software settings to control access, though some also maintained separate fandom and personal blogs. The implications and specifics of each of these practices will be elaborated later in this chapter. Bloggers who wrote fan fiction most often indicated that they excluded "real life" (offline) contacts from their fan-related content. In some cases the exclusion for (lack of) interest was stated explicitly. '[Custom filters] are ... if I have a specific fandom request my real friends don't care about..." (Female LiveJournal user, 18-25). In most cases, though, bloggers only *implied* that these offline contacts would not be interested in, or maybe even disapprove of, that particular aspect of the blogger's life. One respondent wrote, "...there are some aspects of my journal, like fan fiction and such, that I'd like to keep away from my real-life persona" (Female LiveJournal user, 18-25) while another made it clear that the nature of her fandom participation was not something that others would necessarily have an interest in, so she kept the two separate. "I want to feel free to write all about my fandom life, and my real life, without people from 'RL' being able to find it. Many of my LJ friends write fanfiction, much of which is homerotic" (Female LiveJournal user, 26-30). Concerns about unwanted audiences gaining access to sexually explicit fan fiction was, in fact, a common theme among this subset of LiveJournal users.

Other bloggers who wrote about fan-related topics took the opposite approach, excluding most readers from more "personal" content but leaving fanfiction open to the Internet at large. "I do make ... public posts when I have a new chapter of a fan-fic up or something that's not about my personal life" (Female LiveJournal user, 18-25). Other respondents lumped fandom content in with more general topics, as below.

> Most discussion of my personal life goes behind friends lock. My political musings are public, as are my activities as a fan of certain films and other media. My fan fiction is posted publicly on my LJ (Female LiveJournal user, 41-45).

> Public posts: my fanfiction, my fan meta (analysis), commentary on current events, political snark, general fandom gossip (Female LiveJournal user,51-55).

Finally, some bloggers made fandom posts public in order to receive feed back on their writing, as this respondent made clear. "Everything is friends-locked *except for fanfiction* (which I want public for feedback)" [emphasis added] (Female LiveJournal user, 18-25). The differences here arise from an interaction of the bloggers' conceptions of the purpose of their blog document (as detailed in Chapter 4) and their relationships with the blog's various audiences. If the purpose of the blog is to engage in fan communities, the blogger is more likely to exclude audiences from their personal content, and vice versa; if the purpose of the blog is to keep in touch with friends and family, the blogger will exclude those audiences from their fandom activities. In making these distinctions, these respondents illustrate that definitions of public and private, as well as their application, are highly variable and contextual.

A number of LiveJournal users invited specific audience members in to view their more risqué content. There may be some amount of overlap between these audience members and the audience members included in the "fan" filters when a blogger is posting sexually explicit fan fiction. In other cases, the blogger included those individuals with whom they were willing to share the details of their own sexual lives. B0D, for example, maintained a filter in which she posted about sex and in particular what she termed "kinky" sex. She

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explained that most of her friends list was included in group, but "the ones who are not are definitely people who have no interest in reading about the sex life or sexuality of other people." DAB, too, had a filter in which he discussed his sex life which he described as the most "private" of his several LiveJournal filters; it was limited to a relatively small number of LiveJournal friends and the content was "rather explicit". He went on to say that inclusion in that particular filter was limited to LiveJournal friends who "often post[ed] about similar matters". The type of content that went into these filters ranged from B0D discussing the impact of her chronic health problems on her sex life to KS declaring, "I bought some presents for myself today. My little buzzy friend is on its last legs, I can tell, and it's time for me to get something new. And actually, I just checked my LJ for the time I asked for advice, lol, and dude it's been three years. I'm kinda impressed, as it's not like this thing's been sitting in a drawer unused. *snicker*" (December 13, 2008). When considered through the lens of a "traditional" dichotomous public/private distinction, these are matters that would be unquestionably considered "private", yet bloggers do share them with some audiences; here, again, is an example of privacy being conceptualized as an interaction between audience and content. When bloggers assess their "inappropriate" blog content — whether it is fan fiction or content about their own sex lives, they are again drawing on the relationship between audience and content to create a variety of "privates". When a reader is (assumed to be) interested in a topic *and* the blogger deems that content to be appropriate for that particular audience, they are granted membership in the matching included audience. When content is judged to be *inappropriate* for a particular audience, regardless of that audience's interest, they are placed into an *excluded* audience. As bloggers make these decisions about access, they tailor the audience to the content rather than the content to the audience.

Through this negotiation, bloggers create and curate numerous audiences for their blog content. Some of those audiences, as we have seen, are invited in to view content,

while other are prevented from gaining access to content. Bloggers' reasons for doing so boil down to a balancing act, as they seek to maintain familial harmony (often by excluding some or all family from their content), to exercise professional prudence (again, by excluding particular potential audience members), and to make sure that their blog content is interesting to the audience (by creating a variety of included audiences to whom content can be tailored). Bloggers use this audience management to segment their lives based on concepts of public and private that exist, not as a binary, but along the continuum described in Chapter 1. In this context, as we have seen, segmentation, and thus publicity and privacy, is based on interest in and propriety of content for any given audience. Thus the audiences that bloggers create are based on an *informational* conception of publicity and privacy. Most interestingly, though, these audiences are *dynamic* and *curated* — illustrating the fluidity of the continuum of publicity and privacy. In the section that follows, I will explore the *techniques* that bloggers use to achieve these publics.

Techniques of Audience Management

Bloggers used a wide variety of techniques to manage access to their personal content. Some compartmentalized their content by maintaining multiple blogs. Those bloggers whose software allowed it used of access controls, and all bloggers, regardless of their software, relied on rhetorical techniques such as silence, anonymity/pseudonymity, and obfuscation to manage the blog's audiences.

Maintaining Multiple Blogs

A number of bloggers managed audience access to their content by maintaining multiple blogs. This practice allowed the blogger to tailor the content of each document to its audience, and was more common among those whose primary blog was hosted on an open blogging system. Just over 60% of open-system bloggers reported that they maintained two or more blog documents, as opposed to about 45% of those who used systems with

software-based access controls (see Figure 5.2 for the complete breakdown). A number of bloggers who did maintain more than one blog separated them on the basis of personal and professional documents. NN, as has already been mentioned, wrote about professional issues on one blog and personal ones on another. She did not, however, make any attempt to camouflage her offline identity in either document, explaining that "it's not that I care that [professional contacts] find [personal blog]; they're actually linked to each other..., so it would be easy for someone who stumbled across one to find the other... but I just wanted a space that was more clearly and recognizably professional." NN, and other bloggers who were open about this practice, used multiple blogs in order to allow audience members to include or exclude *themselves* (by reading a blog, or not) from particular content.
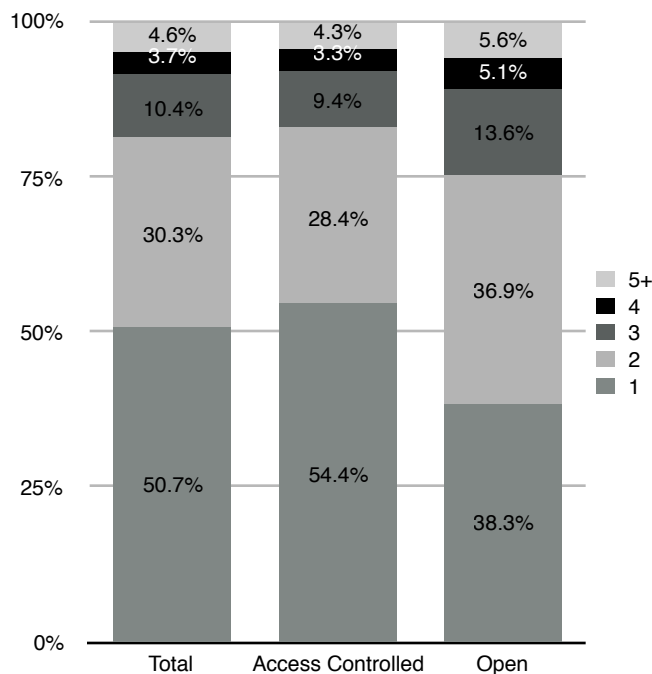
Figure 5.2: Number of Blogs Maintained

In other cases, bloggers simply targeted their separate blogs to different audiences without clearly specifying a personal / professional distinction. Some did so to separate potentially "objectionable" material from more mainstream content, and others chose to maintain separate documents on the basis of diverse interests.

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> I have carefully carved out three parts of my interests. One blog is for a fan community and is read by people with similar interests who I only know via their online personalities. A second blog is for a mix of offline friends/acquaintances and people I've met online. We know each other by real name and often communicate through friends-only posts (so, a mix of public and private). A third blog is for my coworkers and people in my professional community. It is public and affiliated with my legal name (the one on my paycheck ;-) (Female LiveJournal user, 36-40).

One respondent, who identified herself as a Vox user, explained that she maintained blogs on three different services. "My vox blog is on one particular aspect [of life]; therefore, since i have a general topic, i stick to it. my livejournal and myspace blogs are for different purposes as well" (Female Vox user, 18-25). Other bloggers were less specific, at least in their responses to me, saying things like "different blogs are aimed at different audiences of my 3 blogs" (Female LiveJournal user, 36-40). Even though maintaining multiple blogs was more common for open-system bloggers, some respondents combined software settings with the maintenance of separate blog documents.

> Well, I have two journals--one is friends only and one is public. My friends-only journal is my personal journal, where I write about my daily life, my work, etc. and I've decided to keep it at this level of privacy because a lot of the details I write about reveal my specific location and occasionally phone numbers are exchanged in my comments (Female LiveJournal user, 18-25).

By creating and maintaining multipole blog documents, these bloggers focus on segmenting their lives. This happens in degrees — compare NN to the other bloggers — but represents a clear division of areas of their lives relative to their blogging practice.

<div align="center">Rhetorical Access Management</div>

When bloggers use rhetorical access management, they rely on *the content of the blog itself* to achieve the inclusion and exclusion of particular audiences. Papacharissi and Gibson describe this practice as "redact[ing] performances of the self online so as to navigate public and private boundaries fluently" (Papacharissi & Gibson, 2011, p. 76). In this case, bloggers make strategic decisions about the content of their blog in order to manage its publicity / privacy. Bloggers used a number of strategies to achieve this type of access

management. The easiest and most reliable way to prevent unwanted audiences from accessing content was to simply not post it, as described by this survey respondent. "I'll say pretty much whatever I want to my friends and the general public, but *I watch what I post if I know my family is lurking"* [emphasis added] (Female Blogger user, 18-25). This option, however, deprives the blogger of the rewards of publishing that content online, whether it is accessible to the public or to a smaller private audience. Participants in this study did sometimes self-censor in order to protect personal information, but more often, they relied on anonymity/pseudonymity and/or obfuscation to minimize the risks of exposure to excluded audiences while still gaining the benefits of posting that content online.

Anonymity and Pseudonymity

Among the bloggers in this study, some degree of anonymization was quite common (see Figure 5.3). A large majority (70.5%) of all survey respondents reported ever attempting
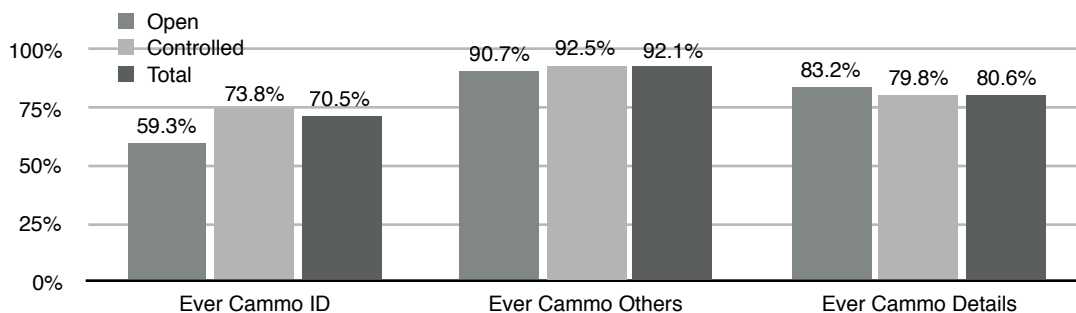
Figure 5.3: Camouflaging Self, Others, Details by Software Type

to camouflage their own identity within their blog document; 19.6% reported that they always did so. Most of these bloggers also camouflaged others' identities (92% reported ever doing so), and the two practices were strongly correlated (for bloggers who indicated that they ever camouflaged their and others' identities, r = .282, p ≤ .001; see Appendix E, Table E.20 for full correlations). Bloggers who used access-controlled software systems anonymized slightly **more** frequently than did bloggers using open software systems, and there were

significant correlations between use of those systems and use of anonymity (r = .133, p ≤ .

001 for ever anonymizing; r = -.121; p ≤ .001 for never anonymizing; see Appendix E, Table

E.21 for full correlations). Within the group of observed blogs, only 16.7% were fully

identified - including the blogger's name and making no apparent effort to anonymize the

blog content or hide the blogger's identity. Much like publicity and privacy, though, anonymity

is not a binary. An individual blogger may choose to identify themselves by only their first

name, or to use their initials or a nickname rather than their "real" name.

By far the most common anonymity-related practice was the use of pseudonyms for

blog authors and individuals mentioned on the blog, though bloggers' reasons for doing so

varied. NKH, for example, told me that she stared writing pseudonymously because that

was the norm in the blogging community in which she was participating and also because

she was an academic and concerned about how the blog might reflect on her when she was

considered for tenure. "I … didn't want it to be something that people would use to judge my

professional … anything…, not because I was ashamed of anything that was there but

because it was separate. It wasn't … a professional document." Her ultimate goal, she said,

was "to avoid the blog coming up if you google [her]." HA blogged pseudonymously for a

number of years; she made that decision when she started her blog because she "wanted it

to be … you had no idea who [she] was." In addition to writing under a pseudonym, she

gave pseudonyms to all of the people about whom she wrote regularly, including her partner,

their children, his children from a previous relationship, and his ex-wife. At the same time,

though, she often posted self-portraits and pictures of her spouse and young children on

both her blog and the Flickr photo sharing site[14], and the two profiles were linked to one

another. She did not worry about the photos compromising her pseudonymity because "it's

not like somebody passing me on the street is going to recognize me or anything like that."

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[14] http://www.flickr.com

Despite this confidence, though, her pseudonymity became compromised at two points. First, a friend of her spouse's happened across a picture on Flickr and made the connection between the picture, her blog, and her offline identity. That event turned out not to be problematic, as the friend "promised to keep it a secret." The second recognition, though, prompted her to decide to give up her pseudonym (though she continued to pseudonymize others). As she told the story,

> [T]he reason to out myself actually came from a real life person who found the blog and I had written about them and they were very angry about it, and they threatened to expose me…. it was a friend whose wife is dying of Huntington's Disease. [The post] wasn't in any way derogatory but he had recognized it was him and he was furious and, and I understand that and I can see that if I had read something someone had written about me, I'd probably feel quite vulnerable too. But … he threatened to out me and I thought, well, I'd rather out myself, thanks.

She went on to explain that the shift from using her pseudonym to her real name turned out to be a difficult adjustment and that the change had a significant impact on how she thought about issues of publicity and privacy in her blogging.

> I kind of feel like there's now no barrier between the public and the private. There was always this fake name … and it was me, and I'm not putting on an act. I'm obviously not a man in Nebraska. But … it was like there was still one thing left to reiterate the fact this was a separate thing from me in my personal life. And now ... it's not there. And combine that with ok, there's been this big secret that I've been keeping and that secret's gone, it, it kind of feels like sometimes it's a very blurred line between the two worlds.

All of this was true even though nothing else about the blog changed - not the content, not the readership. The use of the pseudonym had functioned as an insurance policy or a layer of abstraction for HA, and blogging "felt" different to her after it was stripped away.

Several bloggers echoed HA's view that writing under a pseudonym granted some degree of distance between their offline identities and the blog. NKH and BY both said that their reason for blogging pseudonymously was to prevent web searches on their names from returning their blogs as results. BY went so far as to set up Google alerts on both her real name and her pseudonym, and "stopped commenting in people's [LiveJournals] who aren't robot- and spider-blocked. So… if I see [BY] come up as a comment in someone

else's journal, I'll stop commenting in their journals." She recognizes that these are pretty extreme privacy measures, but feels they are what is necessary to maintain the separation between her online and offline lives.

Bloggers who used access-controlled software systems often combined pseudonymity with software access controls as well as obfuscation of identifying details (which will be discussed in greater detail below). Even when bloggers restricted access to all of their content, many still anonymized some or all of that content. BK, for example, blogged at LiveJournal and routinely used pseudonyms even in Friends-Locked posts, explaining that "sometimes I'll put [friends'] names on if I know they're OK with it or they won't ever see it ... but I tend to use ... nicknames or just the first letter of their name…" DAB employed similar techniques; he always used initials or pseudonyms when writing about friends and family in his blog, even in posts that were limited to his Friends List or subsets thereof.

When bloggers choose to anonymize or pseudonymize their content, they strike a balance between writing in a conventionally "public" forum while still maintaining their (again, conventionally defined) privacy. Writing pseudonymously or anonymously allows them to balance audience access to their *content* with audience access to their *identity*. The former is desirable, and the latter to be avoided. This form of rhetorical access management is unique in that it takes a global approach to the problem and does so in a way that protects the blogger, rather than the audience's sensibilities.

Obfuscation

In addition to the strategies of anonymity and pseudonymity, bloggers frequently obfuscated the content of their blog posts. danah boyd has named this strategy "social steganography" (see boyd, 2010; boyd & Marwick, 2011); bloggers who engaged in this practice authored posts that seemed innocuous on the surface but carried encoded information for readers who were "clued in" (see Chapter 1 for a more detailed explanation

of this practice). The ties between anonymity/pseudonymity and obfuscation are strong and

the techniques overlap quite a bit. Obfuscation was commonly used (81% of survey

respondents reported ever camouflaging details about their offline lives) and with

comparable frequency regardless of the technological affordances of the blogging system

(83% of open-system bloggers and 80% of access-controlled bloggers reported ever

camouflaging personal details on the blog), though access-controlled system users were

slightly less likely to "always" camouflage those details (r = -.094; p ≤ .01; see Table E.22 for

full correlations). This connection was elaborated in open-ended survey responses as well.

> I conceal personally-identifiable information, and do not write about certain stories
> that the [audience members] I know IRL know happened. I also will sometimes make
> sure to only tell one group of people IRL a story if I know I will be blogging about it, so
> that any given friend/acquaintance of mine stumbling across my journal will not
> immediately recognize who it is who is writing (Female LiveJournal user, 18-25).

-R- illustrated this technique when she explained, "[i]f I'm talking about my college

roommate who I've written things about before that were somewhat negative, I'll change

certain facts so that if someone else were reading it they wouldn't necessarily know it were

her." Mutual friends or people with whom -R- had shared similar stories might be able to

make the connection, but the general blog audience was prevented from discerning the

college roommate's identity.

Camouflaging identities and details served to protect the blogger and the people they

wrote about from excluded audiences while at the same time sharing content with readers

who were "in the know". This obfuscation could be as simple as being vague within the

content of a post, as when BK posted, "[t]he more I interact with other people, the more I

want to find a remote island in the Pacific Ocean and remove myself from

society" (December 16, 2008) without any indication of what interactions had prompted that

reaction, and when DAB chronicled a trip he and his son (called only "N" in his LiveJournal)

took, and instead of naming the LiveJournal friends they stayed with he simply wrote "[o]ne

of you is very kind to be having us spend the night at your place ... on Friday" (November 2,

2008). Obviously the audience member he was addressing knew that they were the

intended recipient of that message, but DAB was able to convey the interesting parts of the

trip without naming either his son or the friends with whom they stayed. In other cases,

bloggers "clean up" the content of the blog. "Since I know that my family is reading, I

definitely provide a PG-13 version of some events of my life" (Female Blogger user, 31-35).

This respondent still gets to tell stories about her life, but she does so in a manner that

respects the sensibilities of her family members.

Use of these rhetorical techniques was not limited to bloggers with publicly-

accessible blogs. Bloggers who used software-based access controls combined access-

control settings with rhetorical exclusion. As one survey respondent explained, he limited

access to "[p]osts containing a fair amount of information regarding family members, my

personal life, and my place of employment, *while still not identifying by name my family*

members, friends, or my place of employment" [emphasis added] (Male LiveJournal user,

46-50). This combination of rhetorical techniques and software settings gives the blogger the

maximum amount of control over access to the blog content. For example, CN wrote, in a

friends-locked LiveJournal post,

> Taking us basically all by surprise today, my company laid off 9 people, which is
> roughly 10% of the in-building workforce.

> Included in this were 2 people from my department.

> Yep, one was S.

> Am I sad to see the bad eating habits and tendency to utilize the same piece of floss
> repeatedly leave? No. Am I bummed at the manner in which they left? Definitely. I
> was really holding out for S to just one day have enough and quit.

Here, she refrained from naming the laid-off coworker *despite* the fact that the content was

not publicly accessible. Another time, she wrote that

> [Spouse's nickname] was the best man in a wedding on Saturday. They are two
> lovely people, that couple, and I'm sure they both have [LiveJournals]. I have no idea
> what their lj names are, so just pretend. Anyhow, the weather was perfect, and the
> site was the Wayside Inn in Sudbury, and just gorgeous. It was a very long day, but
> made much more fun by the excellent seating at my table. Again, many people with
> livejournals... mostly, I had [friend's nickname] to hang out and dance around like an
> idiot with, and that was fabulous.

In this example, CN used nicknames for both her spouse and a friend, but made no effort to obfuscate the location of the event (and, by extension, the general area in which she lives). Combining software controls with obfuscation grants bloggers the freedom to share stories and events with their included audiences while at the same time protesting the people about whom they write and themselves from the risk of accidental discovery.

Rhetorical exclusions like anonymity, pseudonymity, and obfuscation allow bloggers to post public content while still preventing undesirable audience members from connecting the content to the blogger's offline identity. No technique is perfect, but when combined they provide bloggers with enough cover to feel comfortable posting personal content online without worrying too much that members of the excluded audience will connect it to their offline identities.

Access Management Using Software Controls

The blogging systems in this study that included commonly-used access controls — LiveJournal, Xanga, and Vox — offered bloggers a variety of access options from which to choose. Most of these controls are built around the idea of a friends list: a group of other users that the blogger designates as "friends". Bloggers deployed these access settings in order to create and maintain both included and excluded audiences.

The LiveJournal system allows its users to restrict content to just their LiveJournal friends (called "Friends Lock") as well as to smaller groups of contacts within that Friends List; these smaller groups are often called "filters". Any LiveJournal post can be accessible to any of these audiences. For some respondents, the security features available on

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LiveJournal were a deciding factor in their choice of the blogging system. DAB described his

selection of LiveJournal for his blog in the following way:

> I … looked at LiveJournal in general, and I thought, hey this sounds pretty
> interesting, I can just sort of write to my heart's content, and there's no limit on …
> number of characters or anything like that … and I have the option of either posting
> publicly or to a select number of people and that I can even create filters within that
> group and so I found it very attractive for that reason.

LiveJournal bloggers used these access control features quite often; 31% of users surveyed

indicated that the default security level for their blog document was "Friends Only", and 60%

restricted access to their content on at least a monthly basis, 35% doing so using the "filters"

feature. The people whom LiveJournal users include in their friends list maps almost

perfectly to the people whom they list as their intended audience (see Appendix E, Table E.

23). As one survey respondent put it, "I prefer to know who, exactly, is reading what I write

and feel no need to share it with the world" (Male LiveJournal user, 18-25), adding that he

used filters "if it's something that only a specific group would be interested in." Friends Lock

and filters were integral to the site; the software itself marked whether a post was friends-

locked, and users would often indicate in either the subject line or body of a post that it was

limited to a particular filter.

Xanga, too, allowed users to control access on multiple levels. They could limit

access to their blog globally as well as making specified posts accessible only to members

of a predetermined "protected list".[15] Of Xanga's global controls, the most commonly used

access setting among survey respondents was "public" at 53%, but over a third of users

(34%) reported restricting access to other Xanga users, and 13% limited blog access just to

their Xanga friends. Those who described their blog document as "private" *all* limited access

to their Xanga friends. Significant minorities of Xanga users also used the "protected post"

feature; 33.3% did so at least monthly, and 20% at least weekly. There was a strong

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[15] Xanga allowed users to create one sub-group of their Xanga friends and mark posts as accessible
only to members of that group; this was called the "protected list".

relationship between limiting access to the blog and use of protected posts (r =.681, p≤.01

for restricting access and protecting posts daily; r = .650, p ≤ .01 for restricting access and

protecting posts weekly; see Appendix E, Table E.24 for complete correlations). Interestingly,

though, those who limited access to Xangans using footprints[16] were more likely to never

protect posts (r = .681; p ≤ .01). This may indicate that they felt the Footprints feature was

enough security.

Vox offered a set of controls almost as extensive as those of LiveJournal. This

blogging system allowed users to limit access to all of their blog's "assets" (text, music,

images, and movies). Content could be public, visible to the "neighborhood" (Vox's analogue

to the LiveJournal Friends List), visible to individuals the Vox user had specified as "Friends

and Family", or it could be visible only to the author. Of these settings, "Public" was the most

commonly used (57%), while 29% of Vox users restricted access in some way. The service

never really gained a significant user base, though, which is reflected in the survey data --

only seven survey respondents were Vox users.

Bloggers who used access-controlled systems made careful and considered

decisions about how to construct their various audiences. Access-controlled blog services

enabled some bloggers to write more freely. "Having post-by-post privacy options allows me

to write about a wide range of topics in one place without making me feel too self-conscious.

There's nothing I feel I can't record" (Female "Other" user, 18-25). A female LiveJournal user

explained that she made decisions about post access

> on an entry by entry basis. If I feel that I don't care who knows the information I am
> putting into an entry, I will mark it as public. If I want to know who is reading the entry,
> but don't necessarily care who does, I'll set it to friends-only. Otherwise, I'll set it to an
> appropriate custom friends group. I try to make it so that anyone who reads my LJ
> will only find out as much information as I would tell them anyways (Female
> LiveJournal user, 18-25).

---

[16] "Footprints" was a tracking feature that Xanga users could opt out of; by limiting the blog visibility to
only Xangans with the feature enabled, members could know exactly who had been viewing their
blog.

BY explained her use of filters explicitly in terms of exclusion. She thought of her filters as falling into two categories -- "this may not be interesting to you" and "this is none of your business." While she conceptualized both types of filters as exclusive, there are clear *degrees* of exclusion. In the first case, she excluded readers on the basis of interest - or, to put it another way, for their own good. In the second, she excluded audience members for *her own* protection.

Bloggers used access-control software to create and monitor included and excluded audiences. CI began her LiveJournal during high school; at that time it was primarily a public document. When she went to college, though, she became concerned about offline acquaintances finding her blog by chance, and that those people would "learn way more about [her] than [she] would probably want them to learn." She decided to use LiveJournal's software settings in order to "decide who was reading" the blog, going back and "locking" all previous posts, and keeping her entries set to "Friends Only". In doing so, she effectively created a new, private audience for the document, one over which she had control, though
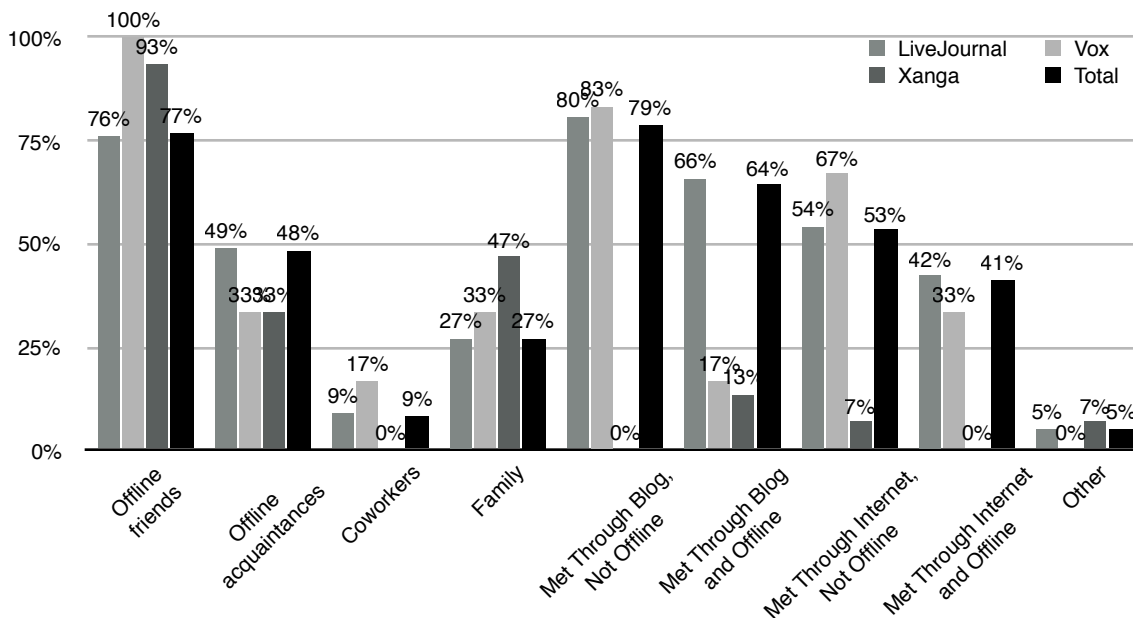
Figure 5.4: Friends List Membership

she did not "put ... a lot of effort into ... deciding who had access to [the blog]." The membership of any individual blogger's Friends List, as illustrated in Figure 5.4, can be widely varied. B0D, for example, added LiveJournal friends as "people started finding [her] based on … common interests, and so [she] started relaxing a bit" and trusting them with access to her friends-locked material (recall that she had started using friends lock in response to harassment by an ex-girlfriend), while other bloggers accepted and friend request they received.

In addition to making strategic decisions about audience membership, bloggers actively managed that membership over time, as KS showed. In early November 2008, she posted that she had removed a number of people from her LiveJournal Friends List. She explained her reasoning - that the contacts she had cut were individuals whose content she was no longer reading or those who had not commented on any of her posts in a long time. At the same time, she attempted to avoid hurting her readers' feelings by writing "If you were cut, but want to keep reading here, you're more than welcome to do so—I'm not a locked journal, and most things are public" (November 9, 2008). She also reassured her audience that, though it happened immediately after the 2008 U.S. Presidential election, her reasons for the purge were not political (KS was very vocal about her libertarian political views, and gave the impression that she was in a minority among her LiveJournal friends in that regard). She gave her readers the opportunity to reciprocate, writing that "[i]f you've been ignoring me for a while (for any reason) and would like to cut me, you never need an excuse, but if you'd like one, you're welcome to take this moment to do so now" (November 9, 2008). B0D, too, whose default access setting for her LiveJournal was Friends-Only, actively monitored friends list membership, "just [to] make sure that the people who are reading are either people I still trust or are fairly active so I know they haven't…disappeared or had their account hacked or something like that." As the composition of the blog audience

changed, and as the content of the document changed, these bloggers reassessed who in their audience should or should not have access to the blog as a whole or to particular parts of it.

LiveJournal users curated their filters in the same ways that they curated the Friends List as a whole, making sure that audience and filtered content were appropriately matched. For example, when AL gained some new LiveJournal friends, she published a post letting them know what content they were going to have access to. She mitigated this inclusion-by-default by adding, "[i]f you want out of the filter, comment anywhere and let me know" (October 16, 2008). Similarly, when KS created a filter in which she planned to post about her creative writing, she detailed what sort of content would be posted and indicated that she wanted those readers to actively give feedback. "I don't expect everyone to comment on everything all the time, but I don't want to find that the majority of people are reading passively. I'm looking for cheerleaders, in a nutshell" (October 8, 2008). Ultimately, like AL, she left membership in the filter up to the readers, saying

> [y]ou may change your mind about being in or out of the filter at anytime. I understand that some people don't like [works in progress] and just want to see the end result, and I tooootally get that, which is why I figure this is a good way to do things. :) ... Comment below if you want in, and thank you all for all the support you've always given me (October 8, 2008).

This process of curation and monitoring of the Friends List and filter membership serves a number of purposes. First, it lets the blogger be certain of the composition of their blog's audience. Second, it reinforces the reciprocal relationship that exists between bloggers and their audiences. Bloggers publish content that they think their audience will find interesting and the blog audience in turn reads and responds to that content.

Software controls of the sort included in the LiveJournal, Vox, and Xanga systems made it very easy for bloggers to include and exclude particular audiences from their blog content, and facilitate the creation of multiple publics. With these tools, bloggers were able

to continuously manage their blog audience, tailoring both the content to the audience and the audience to the content of their blog posts. If they wanted to keep family members or professional contacts from gaining access to their content, they could do so. When their blog audience spanned contacts from a variety of social contexts, they could use software settings to control which audiences were able to view which content, on the basis of propriety and interest.

<div align="center">Discussion</div>

It is in bloggers' relationships with their readers that all of the foregoing questions about publicity and privacy come together. We have already seen (in Chapter 3) that audience size is an important part of bloggers' conceptions of public and private; audiences are thought of as being either "the public" or some variation of private. The blogger's relationship with the audience illustrates the interplay of content, control, and audience (see Figure 5.5). The relationship among these three things is the basis upon which bloggers sort

<div align="center">

control

content   audience

</div>
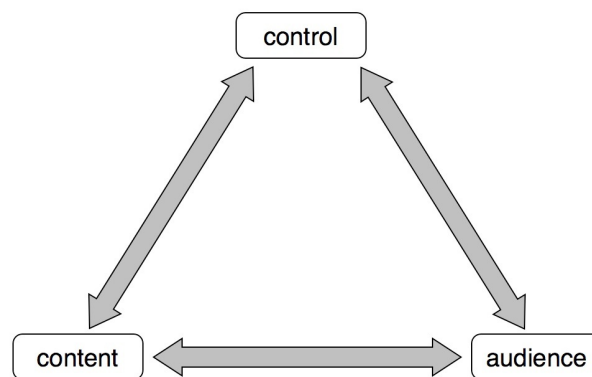
<div align="center">Figure 5.5: Interactions of Content, Control, and Audience (from Chapter 3)</div>

audience members into the variety of overlapping "privates". Bloggers then use these "privates" to segment their online lives and manage the publicity and privacy of both their online and their offline lives. When considering their relationship to an audience member, they think about how they know the individual (online or offline) and the specifics of the relationship (such as what the power dynamic is between the blogger and the potential

audience member). The latter is especially important when the potential audience includes

relatives, coworkers, or job supervisors. Bloggers think about content in terms of whether or

not it might be offensive and/or professionally prudent, how it relates to their personal safety,

and whether or not their audience might be interested in the content. Finally, bloggers use

the various means of control - both technical and rhetorical - to match the content to the

audience.

       While bloggers do think about their online writing in terms of audience, content, and

control, it is important to note that the "privates" that are created are not set in stone; the

relationship between content, control, and audience is open to renegotiation at any point.

The content of a blog can change; a blogger's interests may shift, or the circumstances of

their life may impact the type of content they publish online. A blogger may make a

conscious decision about the content of their blog document, changing it subtly or

dramatically; in extreme instances some or all of the content may be deleted entirely.

Audiences, too, can and do change over time; new readers can discover a blog or be told

about it by the blogger themselves, or audience members can stop reading (with or without

the author's knowledge). Finally, whether through rhetorical or software means, the ways in

which the blogger exerts control control over both audience and content can change. A

blogger may start or stop obfuscating particular content (as when HA stopped using

pseudonyms for herself and her partner) or they may make adjustments to software settings,

changing which audience members have access to which content.

       It is important to also note that the interplay between audience, content, and control

may differ *for any given piece of online writing*. Imagine, for example, that a blogger

publishes a piece of sexually-explicit fan fiction. Some publics will be included - readers who

have an interest in the content (other fans of that particular media product) will be included;

readers for whom the content is appropriate may also be included, regardless of their

fandom status. At the same time, readers who are not fans of the media product may be excluded, as will individuals for whom the content is judged to be inappropriate (like family members, coworkers and supervisors), regardless of whether or not they might also have an interest in it. The same pattern holds for less risqué content. URT separated narratives about her family's daily life (of interest to far-flung friends and family) from the more nitty-gritty struggles of raising a developmentally disabled child, which she discussed on a separate blog accessible only to other parents in the same situation; HA wrote about the industry in which she worked, knowing that her audience included people who knew exactly what company employed her as well as readers who did not. In all of these cases, bloggers manage the many relationships that exist between audience, content, and control.

The ways that bloggers relate to their audiences, and how they conceptualize the relationships among audience, content, and control illustrate two fundamental facets of the contemporary public/private divide. First, "public" and "private" do not correspond in any meaningful way to any sort of dichotomy. While bloggers may write primarily for online or offline contacts and segment their lives in various ways, they do not clearly differentiate between the two, and may cultivate strong relationships, started in the realm of the blog, with individuals who they may never meet offline. The ways that they think about the publicity and privacy of the blog document and its content has more to do with their *relationships to the audiences* than it does with anything else, and they use both rhetorical and software controls to manage those relationships. Considering the complexity of this leads us to the second, and more general, conclusion to be drawn about contemporary conceptions of publicity and privacy, namely that they are *complex* and *fluid.* Content that one blogger is willing to make public might be highly camouflaged and access controlled by another, but both individuals engage in a process of consideration and negotiation as they

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consider and reconsider what it means to publish writing about their daily lives in the online

space.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Public and private have long been of interest to sociologists. The concepts as they

are currently understood first became solidified with the rise of industrial capitalism, which

separated home and work and thus also the public and the private in their contemporary

sense. The conceptual separation of public and private remained powerful for most of the

twentieth century. The rise of feminism chipped away at some aspects of the dichotomy. The

development of new technology, especially communications technologies, and social media

has continued that process. Academic studies of public and private as they relate to social

media have focused on two primary issues. First, they may assume that privacy is an

inherent good and ask if social media are a threat to privacy. Second, they may focus on

how social media users manage their privacy online. These studies have found that users

do, in fact, work to manage their privacy through obscurity, anonymity, and software settings.

As a result, it makes sense today to think of public and private not as a dichotomy or as

categorical, but more as a continuum or even a series of continua. I studied these new

conceptions through a broad-ranging survey of personal bloggers, observations of bloggers'

online writing, which gave access to their publicity and privacy practices in action, and

interviews to delve deeper into bloggers' thinking on these issues.

Survey respondents defined "blog" primarily in comparison to a traditional "journal"

as well as commonly referring to the temporal nature of the document focusing on it as date-

based, frequently (or at least regularly) updated, and/or a record of daily life. They defined

public and private primarily informationally, in terms of an interaction between content and

control over that content, and in relation to the size and composition of the content's

audience. Bloggers then applied these two definitions to the social web, and especially to

their own blogs. In so doing, they developed a conception of publicity and privacy that

consists of a discretely defined "public" that encompasses content that is open and accessible to all possible audiences. The opposite side of this coin is not just one "private" but a wide variety of privates, consisting of content to which access is limited in some way. Within this, there are degrees of privacy based on audience size and composition.

Bloggers put these definitions of blogging, public, and private into practice as they publish their content online. Survey respondents identified a variety of purposes for their blog document. Those purposes fell into broad categories of internal and external focus. Externally-focused blog documents turn outwards towards the audience, while internally-focused blog documents point inwards towards the author themselves. Bloggers apply these focuses as they write about current events, work, family, and the stuff of daily life; the blog content itself can also be thought of as externally or internally focused. None of this is cut and dried, though — as bloggers apply their conceptualizations of public and private to their online writing, they engage in a constant process of negotiation of the relationship among content, control, and audience.

A deeper exploration of the centrality of the audience in relation to blogging makes clear the importance of audience to the definition of publicity and privacy. Bloggers construct two types of audiences: included and excluded. Both are used to craft "privates" as described above. Included audiences are invited in to view particular content, while excluded audiences are prevented from doing so. Audience members may be included or excluded for reasons of propriety (keeping out family members, employers, or readers who are perceived as a potential threat) or interest. Inclusion and exclusion are achieved through rhetorical and software means. Rhetorical inclusion and exclusion is embedded in the content of the blog itself; names and identifying details may be obfuscated or omitted, and content may be written in such a way that only a subset of the audience will be able to glean its true meaning. Software settings in some blogging systems allow bloggers to restrict the

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visibility of their content to a variety of audiences. In many cases, bloggers use both strategies at once.

<p style="text-align:center">Issues of Public and Privacy Persist</p>

While this study focuses on bloggers and their online writing, issues of publicity and privacy relative to the Internet and social media extend beyond this arena. In recent years, social media and personal publishing online have moved away from blogs and towards the social networking and sharing sites described in Chapter 1. That transition plus the increased pervasiveness of mobile technologies have brought new wrinkles to these same questions. In particular, social media users now must additionally consider GPS-enabled hardware and software and artificial-intelligence-driven automatic "tagging" of people in photographs.

GPS-enabled hardware and software that taps into it raise many of the issues that bloggers addressed in terms of the interaction of content and personal safety. Where bloggers routinely camouflage their location in their blog content, mobile technologies and social media sites encourage the sharing of this content, often automatically prompting users to attach their location to posts or to "check in" at events. Some social media sites — Snapchat in particular is known for this feature — aggregate accessible content and present those data on a map, making users' content visible to a much larger audience than it might have been otherwise. Users do have control over whether they tag locations and/or allow their location data to be presented publicly, but these features are often turned on by default. Both ignorance of options and subcultural norms exert a powerful influence over their use.

Social media and social sharing sites are more visually focused than the blogs in this study, which in turn amplifies issues related to obfuscation of identity and location. Anonymity and pseudonymity are virtually impossible on photo- and video-focused services like Instagram, SnapChat, and TikTok, especially when combined with these services'

pervasive cultures of posting selfies and documenting day-to-day life in a visual format. Even obfuscating one's location becomes challenging in this environment, since landmarks may be recognized and give away the social media user's location. Where location-aware software encourages users to tag their locations, participants in these media are encouraged to tag faces — to associate images with their own online identities but also with those of others. In some software systems (Facebook in particular is known for this), artificial intelligence algorithms even identify faces in photos (with varying degrees of accuracy) and prompt the person posting the photo to tag those individuals.

As they create and share content on these platforms, contemporary social media users, like the bloggers who came before them, continue to consider the three factors that underlie publicity and privacy: content, control over that content, and audience. The social media landscape in 2019 is far more complex than it was ten years ago. In addition to the user-generated content, which at its core is similar to that posted on blogs, participants in these media also have to manage automatically-generated content like the location and facial recognition described above. Social media users certainly can still use rhetorical strategies and software settings to control access to their content, but this, too, has become more complex. At the same time that more content is automatically generated, though, one common feature of contemporary social media sites enhances also automates audience access to content. A number of popular sites (most notably Snapchat, Instagram, and Facebook) make transient sharing of content easy; by using these sites' "story" features, participants can post content that remains visible for a limited time and then disappears. This transience can serve to balance the risks and rewards of posting content online. Regardless of which social media site(s) a person participates in, the core question of balancing content, control, and audience remains the same.

<u>What We Can Learn From Blogs and Their Authors</u>

The participants in this study show that public and private are not conceptualized or experienced as dichotomous. Instead, at least in the context of personal blogs, public and private are conceptualized *informationally*: bloggers are concerned abut the content that they publish on the blog and information about themselves and others that might be gleaned from reading the blog. These areas are then the subject of negotiation, particularly around the areas of content (or information), control, and audience. Given the fluidity and the negotiated nature of these concepts, it makes more sense to conceptualize publicity and
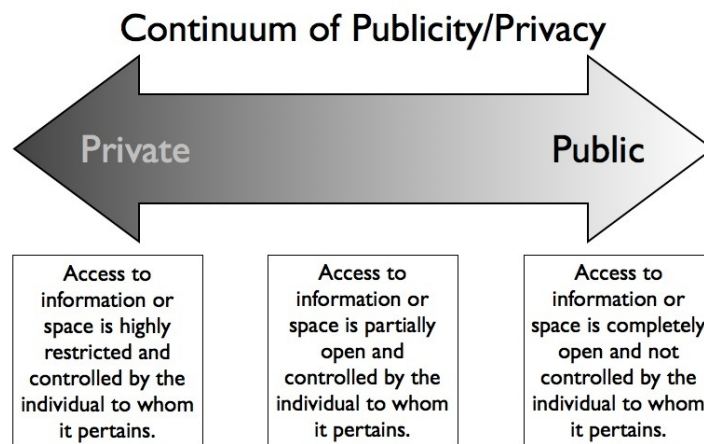
Figure 6.1: Public & Private as a Continuum

privacy as some kind of continuum. The simplest formulation is a true continuum, as described in Chapter 1 and reproduced here (Figure 6.1). This captures the non-
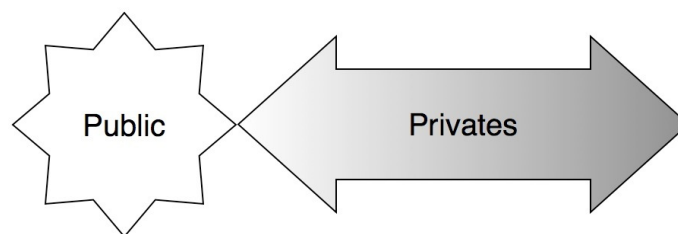
Figure 6.2: Public and a Range of Privates

dichotomous nature of publicity privacy, but does not fully align with the ways that bloggers engage with the concepts. Based on the research presented here and as laid out in Chapter 3, public is in fact a separate thing from private, and private itself exists along a continuum (Figure 6.2), with "privates" being continuously created, negotiated, and destroyed.

<div align="center">Broadening the Scope</div>

Contemporary issues of publicity and privacy extend far beyond social media use; the numerous financial data breaches of the last several years alone serve to illustrate this point. At their core, though, the issues of publicity and privacy remain the same: what content (personal information) is being shared, what entity has control over that sharing, and what audience has access? As with social media, some content is openly accessible — public — while other access to other content is limited — making that content fall somewhere along the spectrum of privates. More closely related to social media, though, is the so-called "Internet of things" — the myriad of non-computer devices that now routinely connect to the Internet. These range from smart televisions that directly display content from any number of popular streaming services to kitchen garbage cans that scan barcodes as waste is dropped into them and automatically adds those products to the user's online grocery list. The line between appliances and social media is also becoming blurred. Numerous technology companies — most notably Amazon, Google, and Apple — now offer "smart hubs" that interface not only with the above-mentioned appliances but also with a variety of content providers. Versions of these devices with integrated screens and cameras are marketed as a means to keep in touch with distant friends and family; Facebook also markets a device called "Portal" whose sole purpose is connection with other people via the device or other Facebook-provided services. Again, the issues of publicity and privacy are fundamentally similar to those encountered by the bloggers in this study — what content is available, how is access to it controlled, and what entities have access to it? These

questions will remain central to ideas about publicity and privacy and reinforce the model

proposed here: some content is accessible to the world as a whole, and that content is

public. Most content, however, is (and should be) access controlled in some way, and the

variety of types of access control and audiences that are created by means of access

controls make up a range of privates.

APPENDIX A

BLOG SERVICES

Service	URL	Description	Access Controls?	% Use Controls	Survey Resp.	Ethno Resp.
LiveJournal	http://www.livejournal.com	LiveJournal is a web-based blogging and social networking site that includes individual and group blogs as well extensive access controls. All LiveJournal blogs are hosted on the LiveJournal site.	Global & Post-by-post	31.4%	669	17
Blogger & Blogspot	http://blogger.com; http://blogspot.com	Blogger is a web-based blogging system that can publish to a user's own webspace or to Blogspot, its free companion website. Blogger has been owned by Google since 2003.	Global*	2.4%	77	1
MovableType/ Typepad	http:// www.movabletype.com/; http://www.typepad.com	MovableType is a software system developed by SixApart. TypePad is a paid web service that is built on the MovableType system.	None	0%	21	2
Xanga	http://www.xanga.com	Xanga is a web-based social networking and blogging site. All Xanga blogs are hosted at xanga.com.	Global & Post-by-post	47%	15	0
Vox (now defunct)	http://www.vox.com	Vox was a free blogging service developed by SixApart.	Global & Item-by-item**	29%	6	0
WordPress	http://wordpress.org	WordPress is a software system that can be installed on a web server.	Global & Post-by-post+	9%	52	
WordPress. com	http://wordpress.com	Free service built on WordPress software.	Global & Post-by-post++	8.3%	21	3
Other	various	Commercial blog systems not included above and custom solutions.	varies	0%	30	1

Table A.1: Blog Services

*   At the time of the survey, Blogger had just rolled out a product called "New Blogger" which included global access controls. 76% of Blogger respondents were using New Blogger.

**   Vox was a service that emphasized the sharing of "assets" - pictures, video, etc. The service allowed users to set global access controls as well as access controls on individual assets and posts.

+   WordPress software includes a wide variety of user-developed plugins, some of which allow users control over access to their content.

++   WordPress.com allows users to limit access to their blog to a predefined list of other Wordpress.com users, or to password-protect individual posts. When posts are password-protected, individuals without the password can see that the post exists but cannot access the content.

APPENDIX B

SURVEY INSTRUMENT

<u>Background</u>

What is your age?
   under 18
      (branch to "You're too young" end page)
   18-25
   26-30
   31-35
   36-40
   41-45
   46-50
   51-55
   56-60
   Over 60
What is your gender?
   Male
   Female
   Transgendered
What is the highest level of education you have completed?
   Less than High School
   High School Diploma
   Associate's Degree or Equivalent
   Bachelor's Degree
   Some Postgraduate Education
   Master's Degree
   PhD or Professional Degree

<u>General Internet Use</u>

How many years have you been using the Internet?
   Less than one year
   1-5 years
   6-10 years
   11-15 years
   16-20 years
   More than 20 years
Approximately how many total hours per week do you spend using the Internet?
   1-5 hours
   6-10 hours
   11-15 hours
   16-20 hours
   21-30 hours
   31-40 hours
   41-50 hours
   More than 50 hours

For which of the following activities do you use the internet? (Please select all that apply.)
    E-Mail
    Chat/Instant Messaging
    Networking (social or professional)
    News
    Shopping
    Banking
    Gaming
    Information gathering
    Checking the weather
    Watching videos
    Getting directions & maps
    Blogging
        (If this isn't checked, branch to "Thanks, but I'm studying bloggers")
    Creating and sharing content (photos, videos, podcasts, etc.)
    Other (please specify which activity/activities):
        (Textbox for open-ended response.)
Approximately how many total hours per week do you spend using the Internet for the following activities? [1-5 hours, 6-10 hours, 11-15 hours, 16-20 hours, 21-30 hours, 31-40 hours, 41-50 hours, more than 50 hours]
    E-Mail
    Chat/Instant Messaging
    Networking (social or professional)
    News
    Shopping
    Banking
    Gaming
    Information gathering
    Checking the weather
    Watching videos
    Getting directions & maps
    Blogging
    Creating and sharing content (photos, videos, podcasts, etc.)
    Other (please specify which activity/activities):
        (Textbox for open-ended response.)
What speed is your primary connection to the Internet?
    Dialup
    Broadband
    LAN/Ethernet/Wireless
    I Don't Know
    Other (please specify type of access)
        Textbox for open-ended response.

Public and Private, Space and Place

How would you define the term "private"?
    Textbox for open-ended response.
Please rate each of these details about yourself according to their relative publicity/privacy.
[Completely Private, Somewhat Private, Somewhat Public, Completely Public]
    Given Name
    Family Name
    Social Security Number / Other government identification number
    Home Address
    Work address
    Phone Number
    E-mail address
    Blog or website URL
How would you define the term "public"?
    Textbox for open-ended response.
Do you view the Internet generally as a public or a private space?
    Public
    Private
    Both
    Neither
Please rate each of these communication situations according to their relative "publicness".
[Completely Private, Somewhat Private, Somewhat Public, Completely Public]
    E-Mail
    Internet message boards
    Blogs
    Social Networking Sites (Facebook, MySpace, etc.)
    Mail sent through the postal service
    Land Line phone conversation at home
    Land line phone conversation at work
    Cell phone conversation
    Conversation on a pay phone
    Conversation with friends or family in a restaurant or other non-home space.
Do you view the blogosphere as a public or a private space?
    Public
    Private
    Both
    Neither
Please describe the factors that influence your characterization of the blogosphere as public or private.
    Textbox for open-ended response.

Please rate the publicity and/or privacy of each of the following communications situations relative to blogging. [Less public than a blog, About as public as a blog, Not comparable to a blog]

    E-Mail
    Internet message boards
    Blogs
    Social Networking Sites (Facebook, MySpace, etc.)
    Mail sent through the postal service
    Land Line phone conversation at home
    Land line phone conversation at work
    Cell phone conversation
    Conversation on a pay phone
    Conversation with friends or family in a restaurant or other non-home space.

Where do you use the Internet? (Please select all that apply.)

    Home
    School
    Work
    Library/Community Center
    Other (please specify location):
        Textbox for open-ended response.

With which of the following devices do you connect to the Internet? (Check all that apply.)

    Computer at home
    Computer at work
    Computer in other location (please specify the location)
        Textbox for open-ended response.
    Mobile phone
    Other handheld device

In what ways does the location in whcih you use the Internet affect how you use the Internet?

    Textbox for open-ended response.

<u>Blogging</u>

How do you define the term "blog"?

    Textbox for open-ended response.

How long have you been blogging?

    Less than one year
    1-3 years
    3-5 years
    More than 5 years

How many blogs do you maintain?

    1
    2
    3
    4
    5 or more

Approximately how often do you post to your blog(s)?

    Once a week

    Two to three times a week

    Four to six times a week

    Daily

    More than once daily

Approximately how many hours per week do you spend reading and/or commenting on other people's blogs?

    I don't read others' blogs

    Less than one hour

    1-5 hours

    6-10 hours

    11-15 hours

    16-20 hours

    More than 20 hours

The people whose blogs you read regularly are (check all that apply):

    I don't read others' blogs

    Offline friends

    Offline acquaintances

    Coworkers

    Family

    People I've met online but never offline

    People I've met online and offline

    People I've never met but who have similar interests

    People whose writing I find interesting

    Celebrities

    Other (please describe the people whose blogs you read regularly):

        Textbox for open-ended response.

For the remainder of the survey, I want you to consider your *primary* blog (if you maintain more than one).

What is the purpose of your blog?

    To keep in touch with friends and family.

    To document experiences for myself / preserve memories.

    As a creative outlet.

    To share my knowledge with others.

    To meet new people.

    Other (please describe the purpose of your blog).

        Textbox for open-ended response.

Do you consider your blog to be a public or a private document?

    Public

    Private

    Both

    Neither

Do you attempt to camouflage your identity on your blog?

    Yes, Always

    No, Never

    Sometimes

Do you attempt to camouflage other details (such as your workplace, city of residence, etc.) when you write about them on your blog?

- Yes, Always
- No, Never
- Sometimes

Do you allow comments on your blog?

- Yes, on every post
- Yes, on some posts
- No
- I don't know

Who is the intended audience / readership of your blog?

- Offline friends
- Offline acquaintances
- Coworkers
- Family
- People I've met online but never offline
- People I've met online and offline
- People I've never met but who have similar interests
- Other (please describe these intended readers)
    - Textbox for open-ended response.

To your knowledge, who is reading your blog?

- Offline friends
- Offline acquaintances
- Coworkers
- Family
- People I've met online but never offline
- People I've met online and offline
- People I've never met but who have similar interests
- Other (please describe these readers)
    - Textbox for open-ended response.

Do you write with your audience in mind?

- Always
- Sometimes
- Never

Which blogging service do you use?

- (branch to appropriate section for each service)
- LiveJournal
- MySpace
- Wordpress.com
- WordPress.org
- Blogger/Blogspot
- MovableType/Typepad
- Vox
- Squarespace
- Yahoo360°
- Other
- I Don't Know
    - (Branch to closing questions)

Closing Questions

How did you find this survey?
    Researcher sent the link to me.
    Link on another blog (please specify the URL or name of the blog).
        Textbox for open-ended response.
    Link sent to me through other electronic means (please specify the means).
        Textbox for open-ended response.
Do you plan to post a link to the survey on your own blog?
    Yes
    No
    Undecided
Would you be willing to be contacted by the researcher with followup questions?
    Yes
        (Branch to ethnographic participant questions.)
    No
        (End survey)

LiveJournal Users

How long have you been using LiveJournal?
    Less than one year
    1-3 years
    3-5 years
    More than 5 years
What type of LiveJournal account do you have?
    Free
    Plus
    Paid
    Permanent
    I don't know
Do you consider LiveJournal to be a social networking site or a blogging site?
    Social Networking
    Blogging
    Both
    Neither
Do you consider LiveJournal to be a public or a private space?
    Public
    Private
    Both
    Neither
Is your LiveJournal public, private, or Friends-Only?
    Public
    Private
    Friends-Only
    I don't know
If your journal is Friends-Only, why have you chosen this level of security?
    Textbox for open-ended response.

Who do you include in your LiveJournal Friends List? (Please check all that apply.)
    Offline friends
    Offline acquaintances
    Coworkers
    Family
    People I've met through LiveJournal but never online
    People I've met through LiveJournal and offline
    People I've met through other Internet media but not offline
    People I've met through other Internet media and offline
    Others
        Textbox for open-ended response.
How often do you "Friends Lock" LiveJournal posts?
    Daily
    Weekly
    Monthly
    Rarely
    Never
    I don't know how
How often do you use Custom Friends Groups to secure posts?
    Daily
    Weekly
    Monthly
    Rarely
    Never
    I don't know how
What type of posts do you "Friends Lock" or post to Custom Friends Groups?
    Textbox for open-ended response.
How often do you make private posts?
    Daily
    Weekly
    Monthly
    Rarely
    Never

MovableType & TypePad Users

How long have you been using TypePad?
    Less than one year
    1-3 years
    3-5 years
    More than 5 years
Is your MovableType / TypePad blog visible to the public?
    Yes
        (branch to "Restricted Access" questions)
    No
        (branch to "No Restriction" questions
    I don't know
        (branch to closing question)

<p style="text-align:center">MovableType / TypePad: Restricted Access</p>

Who do you allow to read your MovableType / TypePad blog?
- Offline friends
- Offline acquaintances
- Coworkers
- Family
- People I've met through blogging but never offline
- People I've met through blogging and offline
- People I've met through other Internet media but never offline
- People I've met through other Internet media and offline
- Other
    - Textbox for open-ended response.

Why have you chosen to restrict access to your blog?
- Textbox for open-ended response

<p style="text-align:center">MovableType/TypePad: No Restricted Access</p>

Why have you chosen to keep your blog public?
- Textbox for open-ended response

<p style="text-align:center">WordPress.com Users</p>

How long have you been using WordPress.com?
- Less than one year
- 1-3 years
- 3-5 years
- More than 5 years

Do you consider WordPress.com to be a social networking site or a blogging site?
- Social Networking
- Blogging
- Both
- Neither

Is your WordPress blog visible to the public?
- Yes
- No
- I don't know

If not, who do you allow to view your WordPress blog? (check all that apply)
- Offline friends
- Offline acquaintances
- Coworkers
- Family
- People I've met through WordPress but never offline
- People I've met through WordPress and offline
- People I've met through other Internet media but never offline
- People I've met through other Internet media and offline
- Other
    - Textbox for open-ended response.

Is your WordPress blog indexed by search engines?
    Yes
    No
    I don't know
Why did you choose this level of security for your blog?
    Textbox for open-ended response.
How often do you use the "password" feature of WordPress?
    Daily
    Weekly
    Monthly
    Rarely
    Never
    I don't know how
If you use this feature, what kind of posts do you password-protect?
    Textbox for open-ended response.

WordPress.org Users

How long have you been using WordPress.org?
    Less than one year
    1-3 years
    3-5 years
    More than 5 years
Have you installed any plugins that allow you to control access to some or all of your WordPress blog?
    Yes
    No
    I don't know
If so, which plugins? (Check all that apply)
    Angusman's Authenticated WordPress Plugin
    Category Visibility
    Deadbolt
    Disclose-Secret
    HideThis
    IP-Screener
    Limit Categories
    Page Restriction
    Post Levels
    Protect Old Posts
    Registered Only
    Registration Blacklist
    Subscribers-Only
    Userextra
    ViewLevel2
    WP-Members
    WP-Password
    Other (please specify the name of the plugin)
        Textbox for open-ended response.
Please describe how you use these plugins to control access to your blog.

Textbox for open-ended response.
Please elaborate on how use of these plugins impacts your perception of the relative publicity or privacy of your blog.
Textbox for open-ended response.

MySpace Users

How long have you been using MySpace?
Less than one year
1-3 years
3-5 years
More than 5 years
Who do you allow to view your MySpace profile?
Friends
MySpace Users over 18 years of age
Anyone
I don't know
Who do you allow to comment on your blog?
Any MySpace User
MySpace friends only
I don't know
Do you view your MySpace site as public or private?
Public
Private
Neither

Blogger Users

Do you use the original Blogger or New Blogger?
Original Blogger
(branch to original Blogger questions)
New Blogger
(branch to New Blogger questions)
I don't know
(branch to closing questions)

Blogger: New Blogger Users

Do you restrict access to your blog?
Yes
(branch to restricted access questions)
No
(branch to no restriction questions)
I Don't Know

New Blogger Users: Restricted Access

Who do you allow to read your blog?
    Offline friends
    Offline acquaintances
    Coworkers
    Family
    People I've met through blogging but never offline
    People I've met through blogging and offline
    People I've met through other Internet media but never offline
    People I've met through other Internet media and offline
    Others (please specify)
        Textbox for open-ended response.
Why have you chosen to restrict access to your blog?
    Textbox for open-ended response.

New Blogger Users: No Restricted Access

Why have you chosen to keep your blog public?
    Textbox for open-ended response.

Old Blogger Users

Have you considered switching to New Blogger?
    Yes
    No
What has influenced your decision to keep using Old Blogger?
    Textbox for open-ended response.

Xanga Users

How long have you been using Xanga?
    Less than one year
    1-3 years
    3-5 years
    More than 5 years
Do you view Xanga as a blogging site or a social networking site?
    Blogging site
    Social Networking site
    Both
    Neither
Who do you include in your Xanga friends?
    Offline friends
    Offline acquaintances
    Coworkers
    Family
    People I've met through Xanga but never offline
    People I've met through Xanga and offline
    People I've met through other Internet media but never offline

People I've met through other Internet media and offline
Others (please please specify)
    Textbox for open-ended response.
Who can view your Xanga site?
    Any Internet user
    Any Xangan
    Only Xangans with footprints
    Only my friends
    I don't know
If you have restricted access to your Xanga site, why have you chosen to do so?
    Textbox for open-ended response.
Do you allow your Xanga site to be indexed by search engines?
    Yes
    No
    I don't know
How often do you use Xanga's "protected post" feature?
    Daily
    Weekly
    Monthly
    Rarely
    Never
       (branch to closing questions)
    I Don't Know How
       (branch to closing questions)
Who do you include on your "protected" list?
    Offline friends
    Offline acquaintances
    Coworkers
    Family
    People I've met through Xanga but never offline
    People I've met through Xanga and offline
    People I've met through other Internet media but never offline
    People I've met through other Internet media and offline
What types of posts do you protect?
    Textbox for open-ended response.

<u>Squarespace Users</u>

How long have you been using Squarespace?
    Less than one year
    1-3 years
    3-5 years
    More than 5 years
Do you use Squarespace's "audience" feature to control access to your blog?
    Yes
    No
       (branch to closing questions)
    I don't know
       (branch to closing questions)

Who do you include in your blog's "audience"?
    Offline friends
    Offline acquaintances
    Coworkers
    Family
    People I've met through blogging but never offline
    People I've met through blogging and offline
    People I've met through other Internet media but never offline
    People I've met through other Internet media and offline
    Others (please specify)
        Textbox for open-ended response.
If you use "audiences", why have you chosen to restrict access to your blog>
    Textbox for open-ended response

<u>Yahoo360° Users</u>

How long have you been using Yahoo360°?
    Less than one year
    1-3 years
    3-5 years
    More than 5 years
Do you view Yahoo360° as a blogging site or a social networking site?
    Social Networking
    Blogging
    Both
    Neither
Who do you include in your Yahoo360° Friends?
    Offline friends
    Offline acquaintances
    Coworkers
    Family
    People I've met through Yahoo360° but never offline
    People I've met through Yahoo360° and offline
    People I've met through other Internet media but never offline
    People I've met through other Internet media and offline
    Others (please specify)
        Textbox for open-ended response.
Who can view your Yahoo360° blog?
    Public
    Friends
    Friends of Friends
    Private
Why did you choose this level of security for your blog?
    Textbox for open-ended response.

<u>Vox Users</u>

When did you join Vox?
 I was a beta tester.
 November - December 2006
 January - February 2007
 March 2007 or later
 I don't remember
Do you consider Vox to be a social networking site or a blogging site?
 Social Networking
 Blogging
 Both
 Neither
Who do you include in your Vox neighborhood?
 Offline friends
 Offline acquaintances
 Coworkers
 Family
 People I've met through Vox but never offline
 People I've met through Vox and offline
 People I've met through other Internet media but never offline
 People I've met through other Internet media and offline
 Others (please specify)
  Textbox for open-ended response.
Who do you include in your Vox friends?
 Offline friends
 Offline acquaintances
 Coworkers
 Family
 People I've met through Vox but never offline
 People I've met through Vox and offline
 People I've met through other Internet media but never offline
 People I've met through other Internet media and offline
 Others (please specify)
  Textbox for open-ended response.
Do you consider Vox to be a public space or a private space?
 Public
 Private
 Both
 Neither
Of the available privacy settings, which do you use most often?
 Everything is public
 Neighborhood
 Friends
 Family
 Friends and Family
 Draft / Private
What types of posts and assets do you restrict access to?
 Textbox for open-ended response.

Do you allow comments on your Vox assets (photos, audio, videos, books)?
    Yes
    No
    Don't Know

<div align="center">Other Service Users</div>

What blogging service do you use? (If you use a commercial service, please provide the URL.)
    Textbox for open-ended response.
How long have you been using this blogging service?
    Less than one year
    1-3 years
    3-5 years
    More than 5 years
What post access controls does this service provide?
    Global - I can control who can and can't see my entire blog, but not individual posts.
    Post-by-post - I can control who can see each individual post on my blog.
    Global and post-by-post - I can control who can see my entire blog AND I can control who can see individual posts on my blog.
    Other (please describe these access controls)
        Textbox for open-ended response.
    I don't know.
Which of these post access controls do you use?
    None
    Global
    Post-by-post
    Global and post-by-post
    Other
    I don't know how.
How often do you use these post access controls?
    Daily
    Weekly
    Monthly
    Rarely
    Never
    I don't know how
For what types of posts do you use these post access controls?
    Textbox for open-ended response

I will be contacting some participants; your contact information will not be tied to your responses to the rest of the survey.
Please indicate your first name:

    Textbox for open-ended response.

Please indicate the URL of your primary blog:

    Textbox for open-ended response.

Please indicate your primary e-mail address:

    Textbox for open-ended response.

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

What follows is the framework interview schedule used in this study. Every interviewee was asked all of these questions. In some cases the questions were not addressed in the order listed here, when the conversation naturally led to a question that appeared later in the interview schedule.

- Give participant a quick overview of the project.

- Tell me about the history of your blog... when it started, etc. [How long have you been blogging? What is the purpose of your blog?]

- Why did you choose the blogging software you use? What features attracted you to it? Has it ever changed? Why?

- Do you find that your blogging has changed over time? in terms of topics, style of writing, etc?

- How has your perception of public/private changed over the course of the blogging "career"?

- What techniques do you use to protect your personal information in your blog? What about other people's personal information? Has this ever changed?

- How much do you think about your audience? Do you often tailor posts to them, do you write with them in mind?

- What do you think of readers who don't comment? Commenters who don't blog? Do you consider those groups differently? Why?

- Is blogging an exhibitionist activity? Is reading blogs a voyeuristic activity?

- Do you emphasize or deemphasize any particular aspect of your identity / life in the blog? Why or why not? How much, if at all, has this changed over time? Why?

- Did you find that participating in this study had any impact on your blogging activities, or on how you think about public and private?

- Do you have any questions for me?

APPENDIX D: DEMOGRAPHICS OF SURVEY RESPONDENTS

Respondents by Service	# of Respondents	Percentage
Blogger	84	8.96%
LJ	701	74.81%
MT	21	2.24%
Other	29	3.09%
Vox	7	0.75%
WordPress	56	5.98%
WordPress.com	24	2.56%
Xanga	15	1.60%
	937	**100.00%**

Table D.1: Survey Respondents by Blogging Service

	Female	Male	Trans	DNA
Access Controlled	82.3%	15.8%	1.8%	0.1%
Open	79.0%	19.2%	0.9%	0.9%
Total	81.5%	16.5%	1.6%	0.3%

Table D.2: Survey Respondents by Blogging Service

	18-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-55	56-60	Over 60	DNA
Access Controlled	47.0%	18.3%	13.6%	8.9%	6.1%	3.3%	2.1%	0.6%	0.3%	0.0%
Open	22.4%	26.2%	21.5%	13.6%	8.4%	3.7%	2.8%	0.9%	0.5%	0.0%
Total	41.4%	20.1%	15.4%	9.9%	6.6%	3.4%	2.2%	0.6%	0.3%	0.0%

Table D.3: Survey Respondents by Age

	Less than HS	High School	Associate's Degree	Bachelor's Degree	Some Post-grad	Master's Degree	PhD or Professional Degree	DNA
Access Controlled	0.4%	24.1%	10.1%	28.6%	14.1%	16.5%	6.1%	0.1%
Open	1.9%	9.3%	8.4%	26.6%	13.6%	32.2%	7.5%	0.5%
Total	0.7%	20.7%	9.7%	28.2%	14.0%	20.1%	6.4%	0.2%

Table D.4: Survey Respondents by Education

	Less than one year	1-5 years	6-10 years	11-15 years	16-20 years	More than 20 years	DNA
Access Controlled	0.1%	2.4%	40.2%	44.8%	8.6%	3.3%	0.6%
Open	0.0%	2.8%	29.9%	56.1%	9.3%	1.9%	0.0%
Total	0.1%	2.5%	37.9%	47.4%	8.8%	3.0%	0.4%

Table D.5: Survey Respondents by Years of Internet Use

	1-5 hours	6-10 hours	11-15 hours	16-20 hours	21-30 hours	31-40 hours	40-50 hours	More than 50 hours	DNA
Access Controlled	0.7%	5.5%	7.3%	16.5%	23.1%	17.6%	12.9%	16.3%	0.1%
Open	0.5%	3.3%	11.7%	20.6%	15.9%	15.0%	13.1%	20.1%	0.0%
Total	0.6%	5.0%	8.3%	17.4%	21.5%	17.0%	12.9%	17.2%	0.1%

Table D.6: Survey Respondents by Weekly Hours of Internet Use

SELECTED STATISTICAL TABLES

Elements of Definition of Public	Elements of Definition of Public							
	Content/ Control	Tech- nology	Spatial	Social	Small Group	Large Group	Audience Size	Ref Opposite
Content/Control	—	-0.089 **	-0.149 ***	-0.092 **	0.013	0.340 ***	0.342 ***	-0.131 ***
Technology		—	-0.009	0.007	-0.009	-0.203 ***	-0.204 ***	-0.004
Spatial			—	-0.026	-0.007	-0.072 *	-0.073 *	0.074 *
Social				—	-0.004	-0.116 ***	-0.116 ***	0.025
Small Group					—	-0.055	0.020	-0.007
Large Group						—	0.997 ***	-0.143 ***
Audience Size							—	-0.144 ***
Ref Opposite								—
	* p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001							

Table E.1: Elements of the Definition of Public (All Blog Services)

Elements of Definition of Private	Elements of Definition of Private									
	Content/ Control	Tech-nology	Spatial	Social	One Person	Small Group	One & Small	Aud-ience Size	Per-sonal	Ref Oppo-site
Content/ Control	—	-0.079*	-0.089*	-0.187***	0.120***	0.149***	0.110***	0.165***	-0.190***	-0.163***
Tech-nology		—	0.017	-0.031	-0.095**	-0.023	-0.056	-0.066*	0.017	-0.021
Spatial			—	0.069*	-0.055	-0.078*	-0.046	-0.089*	-0.015	-0.017
Social				—	-0.061	-0.073*	-0.072*	-0.068	0.037	-0.010
One Person					—	0.472***	0.724***	0.800***	-0.065	-0.011
Small Group						—	0.773***	0.750***	-0.083*	-0.035
One & Small							—	0.580***	-0.060**	-0.017
Audience Size								—	-0.092**	-0.029
Personal									—	0.029
Ref Opposite										—
	* p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001									

Table E.2: Elements of the Definition of Private (All Blog Services)

	Internet Public	Internet Private	Internet Both	Internet Neither
Access	-0.084*	0.036	0.065	0.049
	* p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001			

Table E.3: Access Control and Characterization of the Internet as Public / Private / Both / Neither

	Blogosphere Public	Blogosphere Private	Blogosphere Both	Blogosphere Neither
Access	-0.208***	0.036	0.192***	0.049
	* p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001			

Table E.4: Access Control and Characterization of the Blogosphere as Public / Private / Both / Neither

Charac-terization of the Blogo-sphere	Reason for Characterization of the Blogosphere										
	Inherent Pub	Range	Distro	Access	Search	Selec-tion	Protect ID	Tech	Aud-ience	Commu-nication	Info
Public	0.236 ***	-0.123 ***	0.036	-0.033	0.094 **	-0.107 **	-0.083 *	-0.367 ***	0.209 ***	0.069 *	0.128 ***
Private	-0.021	-0.018	-0.020	-0.082 *	0.094 **	0.042	0.028	-0.005	-0.023	-0.016	-0.016
Both	-0.221 ***	0.119 ***	-0.035	0.040	-0.111 **	0.095 **	0.077 *	0.348 ***	-0.203 ***	-0.060	-0.144 ***
Neither	-0.029	0.025	0.017	0.017	0.013	0.019	0.006	0.045	0.010	-0.022	0.035
	* p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001										

Table E.5: Characterization of the Blogosphere and Reasons for Characterization (All Blog Services)

Charac-terization of the Blogo-sphere	Reasons for Characterization of the Blogosphere										
	Inherent Publicity	Range	Distro	Access	Search	Selec-tion	Protect ID	Tech	Audi-ence	Comm-unication	Info
Public	0.259 ***	-0.090 *	0.076 *	-0.106 **	0.063	-0.116 **	-0.087 *	-0.360 ***	0.257 ***	0.103 **	0.129 ***
Private	-0.022	-0.018	-0.024	-0.098 *	0.118 **	0.061	0.041	-0.014	-0.027	-0.018	-0.018
Both	-0.241 ***	0.081 *	-0.075	0.114 **	-0.077 *	0.108 **	0.085 *	0.334 ***	-0.249 ***	-0.091 *	-0.134 ***
Neither	-0.026	0.053	0.031	0.028	-0.026	-0.022	-0.028	0.068	0.022	-0.021	-0.021
	* p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001										

Table E.6: Characterization of the Blogosphere and Reasons for Characterization (Controlled Blog Services)

	Blog Public	Blog Private	Blog Both	Blog Neither
Access	-0.378 ***	0.129 ***	0.316 ***	0.018
	* p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001			

Table E.7: Access Control and Characterization of the Blog Document as Public / Private / Both / Neither

Character-ization	Elements of the Definition of "Blog"								
	Journal	Links	Log	Tool	Commentary	Time	Audience	Comments	Other
Public	-0.131 ***	-0.058 *	0.012	-0.027	-0.077 **	0.079 **	-0.060 *	-0.043	0.023
Private	0.000	-0.026	-0.009	-0.049	0.022	-0.020	0.013	-0.034	-0.055
Both	0.133 ***	0.070*	-0.006	0.039	0.068 *	-0.070 *	0.055 *	0.062 *	0.001
Neither	-0.046	-0.003	-0.005	0.177 ***	-0.012	-0.017	-0.013	-0.012	0.042
	* p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001								

Table E.8: Elements of the Definition of "Blog" and Characterization of the Blog Document (All Blog Services)

	Public	Private	Both	Neither
Complexity of Definition of Blog	-0.116 ***	-0.062	0.144 ***	0.014
	* p ≥ .05; ** p ≥ .01; *** p ≥ .001			

Table E.9: Complexity of Blog Definition and Conception of Blog as Public / Private / Both / Neither

Blog Purpose	Blog Purpose					
	Keep in Touch	Document/ Preserve	Creative Oultet	Share Knowledge	Meet New People	Other
Keep in Touch	—	0.190 ***	-0.117 ***	0.061	-0.026	-0.069 *
Document Experiences		—	0.099 **	0.142 ***	0.114 ***	-0.138 ***
Creative Outlet			—	0.188 ***	0.186 ***	-0.058
Share Knowledge				—	0.210 ***	0.046
Meet New People					—	0.035
Other						—
	* p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001					

Table E.10: Blog Purposes (All Blog Services)

"Other" Blog Purpose	"Other" Blog Purpose						
	Instru-mental	Affective	Social	Artistic	Activism	Fandom	Discourse
Instrumental	—	-0.359 ***	-0.364 ***	-0.115	-0.126	-0.144 *	-0.168 *
Affective		—	-0.284 ***	-0.156 *	0.022	-0.141	-0.117
Social			—	0.025	-0.113	0.002	-0.152 *
Artistic				—	-0.055	-0.088	-0.073
Activism					—	-0.049	-0.041
Fandom						—	-0.066
Discourse							—
	* p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001						

Table E.11: "Other" Blog Purposes (All Blog Services)

	Keep In Touch	Document/ Preserve	Creative Outlet	Share Knowledge	Meet People	DNA
Access	0.143 ***	0.100 **	-0.012	-0.057 *	0.033	-0.042
	* p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001					

	Instrumental	Affective	Social	Artistic	Activism	Fandom	Discourse
Access	-0.123 ***	0.048	0.052	-0.028	-0.042	0.057 *	-0.012
	* p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001						

Table E.12: Access Control and Blog Purpose

Characterization of the Blog Document	Keep in Touch	Document experiences	Creative Oultet	Share Knowledge	Meet New People	Other
Public	-0.117 ***	-0.148 ***	0.025	0.001	-0.047	0.028
Private	0.030	0.069 *	-0.099 **	-0.082 *	-0.091 **	-0.029 **
Both	0.102 **	0.119	0.027	0.040	-0.092 **	-0.016
Neither	0.027	0.015	0.021	0.033	0.046	-0.013
	* p ≥ .05; ** p ≥ .01; *** p ≥ .001					

Characterization of the Blog Document	Instrumental	Affective	Social	Artistic	Activism	Fandom	Discourse	I don't know
Public	0.209 *	-0.258 **	-0.147	0.048	0.027	-0.072	0.107	0.075
Private	-0.160	0.243 **	0.030	-0.069	-0.039	-0.062	-0.048	-0.033
Both	-0.161	0.162	0.142	-0.014	-0.008	0.102	-0.083	-0.058
Neither	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
	* p ≥ .05; ** p ≥ .01; *** p ≥ .001							

Table E.13: Blog Purpose and Characterization of the Blog Document

	Access Controlled	Public	Private	Both	Neither
Complexity of Blog Purpose	0.045	-0.095 **	-0.074 *	0.133 ***	0.049
	* p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001				

Table E.14: Complexity of Blog Purpose and Access Control, Characterization of the Blog Document

Publicity of the Blog Affects Blogging Practice	Publicity of the Blog Affects Blogging Practice					
	Access Control	MIL	Access	Protect Others	Protect ID	Work School
Access Control	—	-0.023	0.316 ***	-0.026	0.063	-0.009
MIL		—	0.081 *	-0.057	-0.058	0.018
Access			—	-0.086	-0.059	0.029
Protect Others				—	0.254 ***	0.154 ***
ProtectID					—	0.078 *
Work/School						—
	*p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001					

Publicity of the Blog Affects Blogging Practice	Publicity of the Blog Affects Blogging Practice					
	Censor	No Effect	Selection	Frequency	Segmented Life	Offensive Content
Censor	—	-0.076 *	0.052	-0.026	-0.035	-0.029
No Effect		—	-0.285 ***	-0.006	-0.060	-0.051
Selection			—	-0.045	-0.049	0.059
Frequency				—	-0.020	-0.017
Segmented Life					—	0.044
Offensive Content						—
	*p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001					

Table E.15: Publicity of the Blog Affects Blogging Practice

Known Audience	Intended Audience							
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquaintances	Coworkers	Family	Met Online, Not Off	Met Online and Off	Never Met, Similar Interests	Other
Offline Friends	0.795 ***	0.452 ***	0.113 ***	0.233 ***	0.002	0.067 **	-0.100 **	0.010
Offline Acquaint-ances	0.426 ***	0.679 ***	0.197 ***	0.146 ***	0.026	0.157 ***	0.028	0.047
Coworkers	0.136	0.182 ***	0.595 ***	0.164 ***	-0.004	0.086 **	0.067 *	0.052
Family	0.236 ***	0.183 ***	0.195 ***	0.729 ***	-0.051	0.015	-0.051	0.022
Met Online, Not Off	-0.033	-0.011	-0.004	-0.030	0.736 ***	0.423 ***	0.376 ***	-0.022
Met Online and Off	0.061	0.079 *	0.076 *	0.060	0.415 ***	0.759 ***	0.276 ***	0.018
Never Met, Similar Interests	-0.112 ***	-0.017	0.052	-0.011	0.363 ***	0.262 ***	0.685 ***	0.010
Other	-0.046	0.034	0.144 ***	0.025	-0.005	0.047	0.050	0.484 ***
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001							

Table E.16: Intended and Known Audiences (All Blog Services)

Intended Audience	Intended Audience							
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquaintances	Coworkers	Family	Met Online, Not Off	Met Online and Off	Never Met, Similar Interests	Other
Offline Friends	—	0.517 ***	0.159 ***	0.313 ***	0.036	0.092 **	-0.067 *	-0.148 ***
Offline Acquaintances		—	0.284 ***	0.237 ***	0.064	0.173 ***	0.051	-0.034
Coworkers			—	0.236 ***	0.067*	0.137 ***	0.107 **	0.058
Family				—	-0.048	0.048	-0.030	-0.062
Met Online, Not Off					—	0.519 ***	0.487 ***	-0.077 *
Met Online and Off						—	0.347 ***	-0.051
Never Met, Similar Interests							—	-0.058
Other								—
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001							

Table E.17: Intended Audiences (All Blog Services)

Intended Audience	Intended Audience							
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquain-tances	Co-workers	Family	Met Online, Not Off	Met Online and Off	Never Met, Similar Interests	Other
Friends	—	0.512 ***	0.179 ***	0.271 ***	-0.053	0.044	-0.095 *	-0.123 ***
Acquaintances		—	0.257 ***	0.225 ***	-0.006	0.133 ***	0.015	-0.032
Coworkers			—	0.230 ***	0.062	0.146 ***	0.086 *	0.036
Family				—	-0.052	0.038	-0.065	-0.025
Met Online, Not Off					—	0.515 ***	0.486 ***	-0.048
Met Online and Off						—	0.353 ***	-0.049
Never Met, Similar Interests							—	-0.044
Other								—
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001							

Table E.18: Intended Audiences (Access Controlled Systems)

Intended Audience	Intended Audience							
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquain-tances	Co-workers	Family	Met Online, Not Off	Met Online and Off	Never Met, Similar Interests	Other
Friends	—	0.538 ***	0.148 *	0.474 ***	0.315 ***	0.254 ***	0.066	-0.213 **
Acquaint-ances		—	0.367 ***	0.269 ***	0.292 ***	0.310 ***	0.189 **	-0.046
Coworkers			—	0.179 **	0.123	0.147 *	0.097	0.053
Family				—	0.006	0.094	-0.019	-0.214 **
Met Online, Not Off					—	0.536 ***	0.569 ***	-0.130
Met Online and Off						—	0.360 ***	-0.051
Never Met, Similar Interests							—	-0.158
Other								—
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001							

Table E.19: Intended Audiences (Open Systems)

Camouflage Identity	Camouflage Others			
	Always	Sometimes	Ever	Never
Always	0.488 ***	-0.394 ***	0.114 ***	-0.102 **
Sometimes	-0.171 ***	0.243 ***	0.148 ***	-0.149 ***
Ever	0.237 ***	-0.076 *	0.262 ***	-0.252 ***
Never	-0.229 ***	0.088 **	-0.225 ***	0.24 ***
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001			

Table E.20: Camouflage Identity and Camouflage Others

Access Controlled Service	Camouflage Identity			
	Always	Sometimes	Ever	Never
Yes	0.018	0.107 **	0.133 ***	-0.121 ***
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001			

Table E.21: Access Controlled Service and Camouflage Identity

Access Controlled Service	Camouflage Details			
	Always	Sometimes	Ever	Never
Yes	-0.094 **	0.047	-0.036	0.043
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001			

Table E.22: Access Controlled Service and Camouflage Details

Friends List Membership	Intended Audience								
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquain-tances	Co-workers	Family	All Offline	Met Online, Not Off	Met Online and Off	All Online	Never Met, Similar Interests
Offline Friends	0.649 ***	0.355 ***	0.113 **	0.172 ***	0.5 ***	-0.110 **	0.037	-0.038	-0.116 **
Offline Acquaintances	0.448 ***	0.681 ***	0.139 ***	0.125 ***	0.549 ***	-0.073	0.064	-0.002	-0.064
Coworkers	0.105 **	0.14 ***	0.55 ***	0.15 ***	0.288 ***	0.023	0.089 *	0.066	0.015
Family	0.183 ***	0.163 ***	0.147 ***	0.658 ***	0.431 ***	-0.016	0.074 *	0.036	-0.049
All Offline	0.565 ***	0.558 ***	0.312 ***	0.433 ***	0.702 ***	-0.076 *	0.099 **	0.017	-0.090 *
LiveJournal, Not Offline	-0.027	-0.049	0.024	-0.048	-0.044	0.526 ***	0.277 ***	0.457 ***	0.372 ***
LiveJournal & Offline	-0.012	0.092*	0.077 *	-0.011	0.048	0.372 ***	0.545 ***	0.533 ***	0.347 ***
All LiveJournal	-0.023	0.034	0.066	-0.035	0.008	0.549 ***	0.526 ***	0.619 ***	0.446 ***
Other Internet, Not Offline	-0.069	-0.025	0.045	0.011	-0.023	0.358 ***	0.257 ***	0.352 ***	0.282 ***
Other Internet & Offline	-0.029	0.077 *	0.126 ***	0.061	0.075 *	0.272 ***	0.382 ***	0.380 ***	0.244 ***
All Online	-0.056	0.029	0.098 **	0.041	0.029	0.362 ***	0.366 ***	0.419 ***	0.302 ***
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001								

Table E.23: LiveJournal Friends List Membership and Intended Audience

Default Xanga Document Access	Use of Xanga Protected Post					
	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Rarely	Ever	Never
Any Internet User	-0.286	-0.419	0.367	0.464	0.419	-0.419
Xanga Friends	0.681 **	-0.154	-0.154	-0.026	0.154	-0.154
Any Xanga User	-0.161	0.650 **	-0.237	-0.342	-0.207	0.207
Xangans with Footprints	-0.071	-0.105	-0.105	-0.286	-0.681 **	0.681 **
Any Access Restriction	0.286	0.419	-0.367	-0.464	-0.419	0.419
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001					

Table E.24: Default Xanga Access and Frequency of Post Protection

APPENDIX F

CODING TABLES

Code	Description
Content/Control	Refers to content and control (or lack thereof) over that content.
Technology	Refers to technological methods of controlling content.
Spatial	Refers to spatial conceptions of public and/or private.
Social	Refers to social conceptions of public and/or private.
Audience Size	Defines "public" or "private" in terms of audience size.
OnePerson	Defines "private" in reference to one person.
Small Group	Defines "public" or "private" in reference to a small group of people.
One & Small	Defines "private" in reference to BOTH one person AND a small group.
Large Group	Defines "public" in reference to a large group of people.
Personal	Defines "private" in reference to personal content.
Ref Opposite	Defines "public" or "private" in relation to its opposite.

Table F.1: Definitions of Public and Private

Code	Description
Inherent Publicity	Describes the Internet and/or the blogosphere as inherently public
Range	References a range/spectrum/continuum of public and private
Distribution	Bloggers cannot control the distribution of something they've written in the blogosphere.
Access	Who has access to the material, references a large audience.
Search	The Internet is searchable.
Selection	The blogger is selective about their blog topics.
ProtectID	Refers to protecting offline identity.
Technology	Refers to technological methods of protecting content.
Audience	Bloggers refer to their audience.
Communication	Bloggers write to communicate with others
Info	Bloggers write to convey information
Other	Something interesting that doesn't fit in the other codes.

Table F.2: Factors Influencing Definition of Blogosphere as Public/Private/Both/Neither

Code	Description
MIL	Response references excluding specific readers from the blog.
Access	Response references use of access controls in the blogging software or to maintaining multiple blogs as a means of access control.
ProtectOthers	Response references protecting the others' identities
ProtectID	Response references protecting the blogger's offline identity
WorkSchool	Response references avoiding writing about work and/or school
Censor	Response reverences practices of self-censorship
NoEffect	Response reference publicity having no effect on practice
Personal	Response references personal content
Selection	Response references being selective about topics and/or tone
Frequency	Response references frequency of posting
Segmented Life	Response references segmenting the blogger's life
Offensive Content	Response references possibly offensive content

Table F.3: Publicity of the Blogging Document Affects Blogging Practice

Definition Element	Explanation
Journal	Definition references journal or diary.
Links	Definition references a list of links.
Log	Definition references a log of web "travels".
Tool	Definition references the blog as a "tool".
Commentary	Definition references the blog as a site of commentary.
Time	Definition references the temporal nature of the blog.
Audience	Definition references the blog's audience.
Comments	Definition references the possibility of comments on posts.
Other	Definition references something not captured above.

Table F.4: Bloggers' Definition of the Term "Blog"

Blog Purpose	Explanation
Instrumental	The blog is used for instrumental purposes ranging from organizing information to networking.
Affective	The blog is used for affective purposes such as venting, getting advice from friends, etc.
Social	The blog is used for social purposes such as keeping up with friends, engaging in discussions and debates, etc.
Artistic	The blog is used for artistic purposes; it is not clear how this differs from the use of the blog as a "creative outlet".
Activism	The blog is used in the course of activist activities.
Fandom	The blog is used to participate in media fandom activities.
Discourse	The blog is used as a means of participating in public discourse.
IDK	The respondent indicated that they did not know the purpose of their blog.

Table F.5: "Other" Blog Purposes

APPENDIX G

SUPPLEMENTAL STATISTICAL TABLES AND FIGURES

Chapter 3

All Blog Services

Elements of Definition of Blog	Elements of Definition of Blog							
	Journal	Links	Log	Tool	Commentary	Time	Audience	Comments
Journal	—	0.003	-0.012	-0.017	0.088 **	-0.309 ***	-0.025	-0.110 **
LInks		—	0.058	-0.019	-0.002	0.064	-0.005	0.104 **
Log			—	-0.030	0.081 *	-0.020	-0.060	-0.010
Tool				—	-0.012	-0.078 *	0.074 *	-0.011
Commentary					—	-0.028	-0.036	-0.077 *
Time						—	-0.070 *	0.073 *
Audience							—	0.157 ***
Comments								—
	* p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001							

Elements of the Definition of Blog

	Elements of Definition of Blog							
	Journal	Links	Log	Tool	Commentary	Time	Audience	Comments
Access	0.153 ***	0.001	0.013	0.015	0.113 ***	-0.076 *	0.006	0.009
	* p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001							

Elements of the Definition of Blog by Access Control

	Access Controlled?	Public	Private	Both	Neither
Complexity of Definition of Blog	0.082 *	-0.116 ***	-0.062	0.144 ***	0.014
	* p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001				

Complexity of the Definition of Blog by Access Control & Characterization of the Bl´ogosphere

Reasons for Characterizing the Blogosphere as Public/ Private	Reasons for Characterizing the Blogosphere as Public/Private										
	In-herent Pub	Range	Distro	Access	Search	Selec-tion	Protect ID	Tech	Audi-ence	Commu-nication	Info
Inherent Pub	—	-0.055	-0.061	-0.195 ***	-0.005	-0.017	-0.037	-0.113 ***	-0.030	0.003	0.032
Range		—	0.069	-0.148 ***	-0.010	-0.052	-0.021	0.070	-0.015	-0.012	-0.041
Distro			—	-0.002	-0.042	0.032	0.024	0.026	-0.046	-0.020	-0.046
Access				—	0.059	-0.152 ***	-0.166 ***	0.138 ***	-0.165	-0.107 **	-0.083 *
Search					—	-0.061	-0.039	0.051	-0.070 *	-0.050	-0.023
Selection						—	0.182 ***	-0.087 *	-0.023	-0.018	-0.045
Protect ID							—	-0.074 *	-0.061	-0.033	-0.031
Tech								—	-0.132 ***	-0.105	-0.050
Audi-ence									—	0.268 ***	0.149 ***
Communication										—	0.065
Info											—
	* p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001										

Reasons for Characterizing the Blogosphere as Public or Private

Access Control?	Reasons for Characterizing the Blogosphere as Public/Private										
	Inherent Pub	Range	Distro	Access	Search	Select-ion	Protect ID	Tech	Aud-ience	Commu-nication	Info
Yes	-0.064	-0.085 *	0.020	0.057	-0.069 *	-0.109 **	-0.105 **	0.150 ***	0.035	-0.002	-0.005
	* p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001										

Access Control and Reasons for Characterizing the Blogosphere as Public/Private

Characterization of the Blogosphere	Reason for Characterization of the Blogosphere										
	Inherent Pub	Range	Distro	Access	Search	Selection	Protect ID	Tech	Audience	Communication	Info
Public	0.236 ***	-0.123 ***	0.036	-0.033	0.094 **	-0.107 **	-0.083 *	-0.367 ***	0.209 ***	0.069 *	0.128 ***
Private	-0.021	-0.018	-0.020	-0.082 *	0.094 **	0.042	0.028	-0.005	-0.023	-0.016	-0.016
Both	-0.221 ***	0.119 ***	-0.035	0.040	-0.111 **	0.095 **	0.077 *	0.348 ***	-0.203 ***	-0.060	-0.144 ***
Neither	-0.029	0.025	0.017	0.017	0.013	0.019	0.006	0.045	0.010	-0.022	0.035
	* p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001										

Characterization of the Blogosphere and Reasons for Characterization

	Public	Private	Both	Neither	Complexity
Access Controlled	-0.192 ***	0.045	0.182 ***	-0.014	0.025
Complexity	-0.116 ***	-0.046	0.103 **	0.069	—
	* p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001				

Access Control, Complexity of Reasons for Characterization of the Blogosphere and Characterization of the Blogosphere

Open Blog Services

Elements of Definition of Public	Elements of Definition of Public					
	Content/ Control	Technology	Spatial	Social	Large Group	RefOpposite
Content/ Control	—	-0.050	-0.266 ***	-0.187 **	0.400 ***	-0.167 *
Technology		—	-0.039	-0.032	-0.129	-0.043
Spatial			—	-0.024	-0.185 **	-0.033
Social				—	-0.200 **	0.168 *
Large Group					—	-0.096
Ref Opposite						—
	* p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001					

Elements of the Definition of Public

	Elements of Definition of Private									
Elements of Definition of Private	Content/ Control	Tech	Spatial	Social	One Person	Small Group	One & Small	Audience Size	Pers- onal	Ref Opposite
Content/ Control	—	-0.041	-0.121	-0.305 ***	0.169 *	0.247 ***	0.152 *	0.271 ***	-0.004	-0.105
Tech		—	-0.036	-0.036	-0.050	-0.012	0.010	-0.066	0.028	-0.023
Spatial			—	-0.025	-0.035	-0.042	0.007	-0.078	-0.043	-0.016
Social				—	-0.104	-0.042	-0.075	-0.078	-0.043	-0.016
One Person					—	0.394 ***	0.720 ***	0.734 ***	0.034	0.043
Small Group						—	0.680 ***	0.778 ***	-0.023	0.037
One & Small							—	0.529 ***	-0.028	0.082
Audience Size								—	0.031	0.011
Personal									—	-0.027
Ref Opposite										—
	* p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001									

Elements of the Definition of Private

Elements of Definition of Blog	Elements of Definition of Blog							
	Journal	Links	Log	Tool	Commentary	Time	Audience	Comments
Journal	—	0.003	-0.012	-0.017	0.088 **	-0.309 ***	-0.025	-0.110 **
LInks		—	0.058	-0.019	-0.002	0.064	-0.005	0.104 **
Log			—	-0.030	0.081 *	-0.020	-0.060	-0.010
Tool				—	-0.012	-0.078 *	0.074 *	-0.011
Commentary					—	-0.028	-0.036	-0.077 *
Time						—	-0.070 *	0.073 *
Audience							—	0.157 ***
Comments								—
	* p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001							

Elements of the Definition of Blog

Reasons for Charac-terizing the Blogo-sphere as Public/ Private	Reasons for Characterizing the Blogosphere as Public/Private										
	Inherent Publicity	Range	Distro	Access	Search	Selec-tion	Protect ID	Tech	Audience	Commu-nication	Info
Inherent Publicity	—	-0.091	-0.069	-0.163 *	-0.037	0.020	-0.066	-0.024	0.009	-0.061	-0.061
Range		—	0.119	-0.197 **	-0.027	-0.096	-0.055	0.244 ***	0.019	0.047	-0.057
Distro			—	-0.020	-0.071	0.009	0.061	0.075	-0.052	-0.043	-0.043
Access				—	0.167 *	-0.248 ***	-0.160 *	0.021	-0.004	0.003	-0.059
Search					—	-0.107	-0.071	-0.001	-0.075	-0.063	0.033
Selection						—	0.183 *	-0.194 **	0.001	0.029	-0.064
ProtectID							—	-0.183 *	-0.091	-0.075	0.007
Tech								—	-0.140	-0.156 *	0.072
Audience									—	0.205 **	0.079
Commu-nication										—	-0.038
Info											—
	* p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001										

Reasons for Characterizing the Blogosphere as Public/Private

Character-ization of the Blogo-sphere	Reasons for Characterization of the Blogosphere										
	Inherent Publicity	Range	Distro	Access	Search	Selec-tion	Protect ID	Tech	Aud-ience	Commu-nication	Info
Public	0.155 *	-0.123	0.036	-0.033	0.094	-0.107	-0.083	-0.367 ***	0.209 **	0.069	0.128
Private	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Both	-0.146 *	0.119	-0.035	0.040	-0.111	0.095	0.077	0.348 ***	-0.203 **	-0.060	-0.144 *
Neither	-0.039	0.025	0.017	0.017	0.013	0.019	0.006	0.045	0.010	-0.022	0.035
	* p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001										

Characterization of the Blogosphere and Reasons for Characterization

	Reasons for Characterization of the Blogosphere			
	Public	Private	Both	Neither
Complexity	-0.123	—	0.096	0.109
	* p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001			

Complexity of Reasons for Characterization of the Blogosphere and Characterization of the Blogosphere

	Journal	Links	Log	Tool	Commentary	Time	Audience	Comments
Journal	—	-0.004	-0.006	-0.066	0.129	-0.439 ***	0.121	-0.046
LInks		—	-0.014	-0.018	-0.023	0.058	-0.038	0.125
Log			—	-0.025	-0.033	0.000	-0.054	-0.050
Tool				—	-0.040	-0.102	0.199 **	0.032
Commentary					—	0.026	-0.017	-0.081
Time						—	-0.183 **	0.129
Audience							—	0.060
Comments								—
	* p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001							

Elements of the Definition of the Blog

Controlled Blog Services

Elements of the Definition of Public	Elements of the Definition of Public							
	Content/ Control	Tech- nology	Spatial	Social	Small Group	Large Group	Audience Size	Ref Opposite
Content/ Control	—	-0.102 **	-0.116 **	-0.039	0.014	0.330 ***	0.332 ***	-0.116 **
Technology		—	-0.004	0.020	-0.010	-0.223 ***	-0.224 ***	0.005
Spatial			—	-0.025	-0.008	-0.044	-0.045	0.098 **
Social				—	-0.004	-0.079 *	-0.079 *	-0.023
Small Group					—	-0.065	0.022	-0.008
Large Group						—	0.996 ***	-0.155 ***
Audience Size							—	-0.156 ***
Ref Opposite								—
	* p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001							

Elements of the Definition of Public

Elements of the Definition of Private	Elements of the Definition of Private									
	Content/ Control	Tech-nology	Spatial	Social	One Person	Small Group	One And Small	Audience Size	Pers-onal	Ref Opposite
Content/ Control	—	-0.096 *	-0.088 *	-0.118 **	0.093 *	0.110 **	0.089 *	0.119 **	-0.261 ***	-0.189 ***
Tech		—	0.026	-0.028	-0.110 **	-0.027	-0.074	-0.069	0.014	-0.020
Spatial			—	0.105 **	-0.066	-0.088 *	-0.062	-0.096 *	-0.010	-0.017
Social				—	-0.039	-0.085 *	-0.068	-0.061	0.072	-0.008
OnePerson					—	0.489 ***	0.722 ***	0.817 ***	-0.092*	-0.028
Small Group						—	0.797 ***	0.741 ***	-0.100* *	-0.060
One And Small							—	0.590 ***	-0.069	-0.048
Audience Size								—	-0.127 ***	-0.043
Personal									—	0.051
Ref Opposite										—
	* p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001									

Elements of the Definition of Private

	Journal	Links	Log	Tool	Commentary	Time	Audience	Comments
Journal	—	0.005	-0.016	-0.006	0.063	-0.253 ***	-0.073	-0.133 ***
LInks		—	0.077 *	-0.020	0.002	0.067	0.004	0.099 **
Log			—	-0.031	0.100 **	-0.025	-0.062	0.000
Tool				—	-0.010	-0.070	0.041	-0.022
Commentary					—	-0.030	-0.041	-0.079 *
Time						—	-0.032	0.056
Audience							—	0.184 ***
Comments								—
	* p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001							

Elements of the Definition of Blog

Reasons for Characterization of the Blogosphere	Reasons for Characterization of the Blogosphere										
	Inherent Pub	Range	Distro	Access	Search	Selection	Protect ID	Tech	Audience	Communication	Info
Inherent Pub	—	-0.045	-0.058	-0.204 ***	0.004	-0.048	-0.033	-0.135 ***	-0.040	0.027	0.066
Range		—	0.055	-0.122 **	-0.010	-0.039	-0.017	0.021	-0.023	-0.037	-0.036
Distro			—	0.001	-0.031	0.046	0.015	0.010	-0.045	-0.014	-0.047
Access				—	0.021	-0.103 **	-0.164 ***	0.164 ***	-0.212 ***	-0.141 ***	-0.090
Search					—	-0.049	-0.034	0.086 *	-0.067	-0.046	-0.045
Selection						—	0.166 ***	-0.022	-0.028	-0.039	-0.039
ProtectID							—	-0.012	-0.049	-0.017	-0.049
Tech								—	-0.139 ***	-0.092	-0.085
Audience									—	0.285 ***	0.168 ***
Communication										—	0.096
Info											—
	* p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001										

Reasons for Characterizing Blogosphere as Public/Private

	Characterization of the Blogosphere			
	Public	Private	Both	Neither
Complexity	-0.110 **	-0.054	0.101 **	0.056
	* p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001			

Complexity of Reasons for Characterization of the Blogosphere and Characterization of the Blogosphere

Chapter 4

All Blog Services

Access Control	Blog Purpose					
	Keep in Touch	Document / Preserve	Creative Outlet	Share Knowledge	Meet New People	Other
All Respondents	59.8%	83.1%	70.9%	50.4%	33.8%	14.3%
Open	47.6%	77.6%	71.9%	55.7%	31.0%	18.1%
Controlled	63.4%	84.7%	70.5%	48.8%	34.6%	13.2%

Blog Purpose by Access Control

Access Control	Blog Purpose							
	Instrumental		Affective		Social		Artistic	
	All	Other	All	Other	All	Other	All	Other
All Respondents	5.0%	34.8%	3.0%	21.2%	3.9%	27.3%	1.3%	9.1%
Open	10.0%	55.3%	1.4%	7.9%	2.4%	13.2%	1.9%	10.5%
Controlled	3.5%	26.6%	3.5%	26.6%	4.3%	33.0%	1.1%	8.5%

Access Control	Blog Purpose					
	Activism		Fandom		Discourse	
	All	Other	All	Other	All	Other
All Respondents	0.4%	3.0%	1.1%	7.6%	0.7%	4.5%
Open	1.0%	5.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%	2.6%
Controlled	0.3%	2.1%	1.4%	10.6%	0.7%	5.3%

"Other" Blog Purpose by Access Control
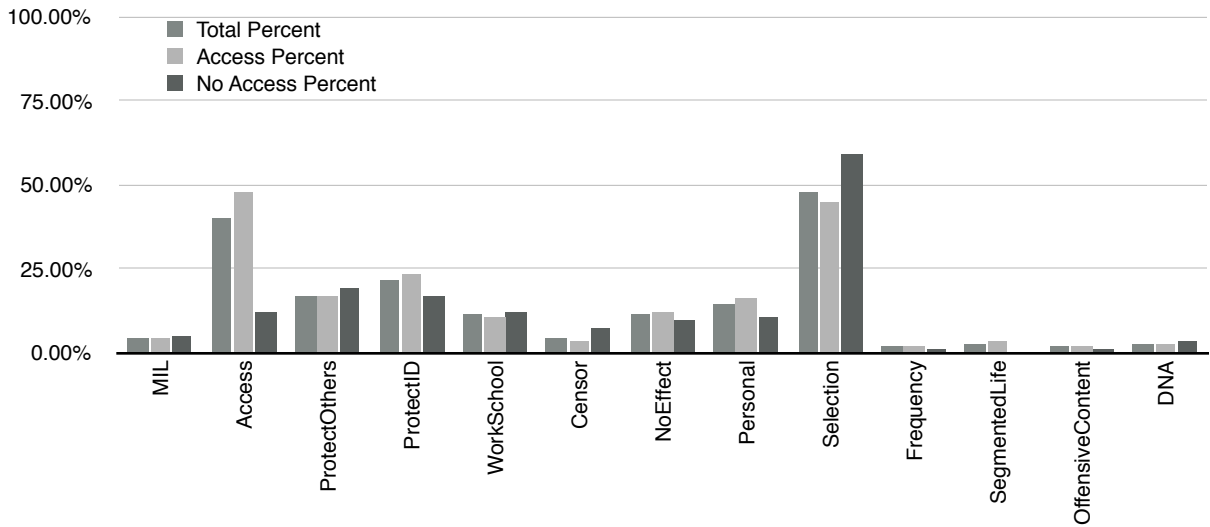
Publicity of the Blog Affects Blogging Practice

Access Control	Blog Purposes			
	Internal	External	Both	DNA
All	78.34%	7.87%	13.04%	0.75%
Open	76.42%	11.79%	11.79%	0.00%
Controlled	82.48%	7.01%	14.60%	0.29%

Internal and External Purposes by Service Type (Frequencies)

Open Blog Services

Blog Purpose	Blog Purpose					
	Keep in Touch	Document / Preserve	Creative Outlet	Share Knowledge	Meet New People	Other
Keep in Touch	—	0.329 ***	-0.019	0.140 *	0.125	-0.052
Document / Preserve		—	0.274 ***	0.027	0.236 ***	-0.163
Creative Oultet			—	0.104	0.258 ***	-0.091
Share Knowledge				—	0.286 ***	0.070
Meet New Poeple					—	-0.020
Other						—
	* p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001					

Blog Purpose

"Other" Blog Purpose	"Other" Blog Purpose						
	Instrumental	Affective	Social	Artistic	Activism	Fandom	Discourse
Instrumental	—	-0.325 *	-0.433 **	-0.209	-0.262	XX	-0.262
Affective		—	-0.114	-0.100	-0.069	XX	-0.069
Social			—	0.120	-0.092	XX	-0.092
Artistic				—	-0.081	XX	-0.081
Activism					—	XX	-0.056
Fandom						—	XX
Discourse							—
	* p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001						

"Other" Blog Purpose

Characterization of the Blog Document	Blog Purpose							
	Keep in Touch	Document / Preserve	Creative Outlet	Share Knowledge	Meet New Poeple	Other	Internal	External
Public	-0.061	-0.112	0.013	0.058	0.001	0.055	-0.010	0.037
Private	0.073	0.037	-0.111	-0.078	-0.046	-0.033	-0.048	-0.031
Both	0.038	0.144 *	0.033	-0.054	0.005	-0.035	0.056	-0.039
Neither	0.073	0.037	0.043	0.062	0.103	-0.033	0.046	0.101
	* p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001							

Elements of the Blog Purpose and Characterization of the Blog Document

Publicity Affects Practice	Publicity Affects Practice										
	MIL	Access	Protect Others	Protect ID	Work/ School	Censor	No Effect	Selec- tion	Fre- quency	Segmen- ted Life	Offensive Content
MIL	—	0.342 ***	-0.059	-0.059	-0.047	-0.050	-0.037	0.304 ***	XX	-0.016	0.273 ***
Access		—	-0.053	-0.053	-0.043	-0.046	-0.034	0.261 **	XX	-0.015	-0.021
Protect Others			—	0.187*	0.259 **	0.031	-0.053	0.084	XX	-0.024	-0.033
ProtectID				—	-0.068	-0.072	-0.053	-0.152	XX	-0.024	-0.033
Work/ School					—	0.191 *	-0.043	0.306 ***	XX	-0.019	0.232 **
Censor						—	-0.046	0.207 **	XX	-0.020	-0.029
NoEffect							—	-0.096	XX	-0.015	-0.021
Selection								—	XX	-0.042	0.220 **
Frequen- cy									—	XX	-0.009
Segmen- tedLife										—	-0.009
Offensive Content											—
	*p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001										

Publicity of the Blog Affects Blogging Practice

Controlled Blog Services

Blog Purpose	Blog Purpose					
	Keep in Touch	Document / Preserve	Creative Outlet	Share Knowledge	Meet New People	Other
Keep in Touch	—	0.130 ***	-0.146 ***	0.049	-0.077 *	-0.065
Document / Preserve		—	0.042	0.189 ***	0.072	-0.122 **
Creative Outlet			—	0.212 ***	0.166 ***	-0.048
Share Knolwedge				—	0.191 ***	0.034
Meet New People					—	0.056
Other						—
	* p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001					

Blog Purposes

"Other" Blog Purpose	"Other" Blog Purpose						
	Instrumental	Affective	Social	Artistic	Activism	Fandom	Discourse
Instrumental	1.000	-0.338 ***	-0.295 **	-0.091	-0.085	-0.122	-0.137
Affective		1.000	-0.381 ***	-0.172	0.085	-0.194	-0.134
Social			1.000	0.009	-0.109	-0.043	-0.175
Artistic				1.000	-0.044	-0.102	-0.070
Activism					1.000	-0.049	-0.034
Fandom						1.000	-0.079
Discourse							1.000

"Other" Blog Purposes

Characteriza-tion of the Blogosphere	Blog Purpose					
	Keep in Touch	Document experiences	Creative Oultet	Share Knowledge	Meet New People	Other
Public	-0.117 ***	-0.148 ***	0.025	0.001	-0.047	0.028
Private	0.030	0.069 *	-0.099 **	-0.082 *	-0.091 **	-0.029 **
Both	0.102 **	0.119	0.027	0.040	-0.092 **	-0.016
Neither	0.027	0.015	0.021	0.033	0.046	-0.013
	* p ≥ .05; ** p ≥ .01; *** p ≥ .001					

Blog Purpose by Characterization of the Blog Document

Publicity Affects Practice	Publicity Affects Practice										
	MIL	Access	Protect Others	Protect ID	Work School	Censor	No Effect	Selec-tion	Fre-quency	Segmented Life	Offensive Content
MIL	—	0.095 *	-0.039	-0.043	0.053	0.072	-0.077	0.050	-0.026	0.017	0.038
Access		—	-0.096 *	-0.080	0.054	-0.070	-0.172 ***	-0.081	-0.059	0.082	0.018
ProtectOthers			—	0.278 ***	0.127 **	-0.023	-0.150 ***	-0.097	-0.056	-0.053	-0.029
ProtectID				—	0.101 *	-0.024	-0.190 ***	-0.153 ***	-0.069	-0.024	-0.017
WorkSchool					—	0.004	-0.131 **	-0.082	-0.044	0.004	0.034
Censor						—	-0.069	0.073	-0.023	-0.034	-0.027
NoEffect							—	-0.254 ***	0.001	-0.069	-0.055
Selection								—	-0.050	-0.036	0.055
Frequency									—	-0.023	-0.019
SegmentedLife										—	0.048
Offensive Content											—
	*p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .01; *** p ≤ .001										

Publicity of the Blog Affects Blogging Practice

Chapter 5: Bloggers and Their Audiences

All Blog Services

Access Controlled Service	Conception of Publicity of Blog Document			
	Public	Private	Both	Neither
Yes	-0.378 ***	0.129 ***	0.316 ***	0.012
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001			

Access Control and Conception of Publicity of Blog Document

Access Controlled Service	Camouflage Others			
	Always	Sometimes	Ever	Never
Yes	0.000	0.016	0.029	-0.014
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001			

Access Controlled Service and Camouflage Others

Access Controlled Service	Intended Audience								
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquaintances	Co-workers	Family	All Offine	Met Online, Not Off	Met Online & Off	All Online	Never Met, Similar Interests
Yes	0.022	-0.017	-0.188 ***	-0.186 ***	-0.12 ***	0.065 *	0.019	0.047	-0.124 ***
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001								

Access Controlled Service and Intended Audience

Access Controlled Service	Known Audience								
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquaintances	Co-workers	Family	All Offine	Met Online, Not Off	Met Online & Off	All Online	Never Met, Similar Intersts
Yes	-0.022	-0.046	-0.259 ***	-0.229 ***	-0.196 ***	0.067 *	0.045	0.065 *	-0.129 ***
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001								

Access Controlled Service and Known Audience

Conception of Publicity of Blog Document	Camouflage Identity			
	Always	Sometimes	Ever	Never
Public	-0.019	-0.092 **	-0.117 ***	0.126 ***
Private	0.041	-0.085 **	-0.057	0.052
Both	-0.002	0.140 ***	0.152 ***	-0.145 ***
Neither	0.028	-0.002	0.023	-0.021
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001			

Conception of Blog Document and Camouflage Identity

Conception of Publicity of Blog Document	Camouflage Others			
	Always	Sometimes	Ever	Never
Public	0.024	-0.023	-0.001	0.018
Private	-0.045	0.010	-0.056	0.071 *
Both	0.002	0.028	0.054	-0.054
Neither	0.009	0.005	0.024	-0.022
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001			

Conception of Publicity of Blog Document and Camouflage Others

Conception of Publicity of Blog Document	Camouflage Details			
	Always	Sometimes	Ever	Never
Public	0.017	0.009	0.028	-0.019
Private	-0.022	-0.071 *	-0.109 ***	0.113 ***
Both	-0.001	0.039	0.048	-0.042
Neither	-0.005	-0.019	-0.028	0.029
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001			

Conception of Publicity of Blog Document and Camouflage Details

Conception of Publicity of Blog Document	Intended Audience								
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquaintances	Coworkers	Family	All Offine	Met Online, Not Off	Met Online & Off	All Online	Never Met, Similar Interests
Public	-0.019	0.072 *	0.153 ***	0.145 ***	0.119 ***	-0.060	-0.050	-0.063	0.144 ***
Private	-0.004	-0.074 *	-0.061	-0.065 *	-0.074 *	-0.096 **	-0.028	-0.070 *	-0.210 ***
Both	0.036	-0.025	-0.112 ***	-0.100 ***	-0.065 *	0.127 ***	0.080 *	0.118 ***	-0.021
Neither	-0.038	-0.014	-0.028	-0.027	-0.038	-0.046	-0.033	-0.045	-0.033
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001								

Conception of Publicity of Blog Document and Intended Audience

Conception of Publicity of Blog Document	Known Audience								
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquaintances	Co-workers	Family	All Offine	Met Online, Not Off	Met Online & Off	All Online	Never Met, Similar Interests
Public	0.021	0.059	0.182 ***	0.171 ***	0.155 ***	-0.081 *	-0.053	-.077 *	0.099 **
Private	-0.009	-0.052	-0.075 *	-0.090 **	-0.083 *	-0.091 **	-0.009	-0.055	-0.193 ***
Both	0.001	-0.021	-0.138 ***	-0.111 ***	-0.094 **	0.144 ***	0.074*	.125 ***	0.011
Neither	-0.044	-0.024	0.002	-0.035	-0.039	-0.026	-0.033	-0.035	-0.007
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001								

Conception of Publicity of Blog Document and Known Audience

Camouflage Identity	Camouflage Details			
	Always	Sometimes	Ever	Never
Always	0.360 ***	-0.16 ***	0.161 ***	-0.157 ***
Sometimes	-0.132 ***	0.246 ***	0.171 ***	-0.167 ***
Ever	0.169 ***	0.131 ***	0.328 ***	-0.319 ***
Never	-0.162 ***	-0.13 ***	-0.32 ***	0.33 ***
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001			

Camouflage Identity and Camouflage Details

Camouflage Others	Camouflage Details			
	Always	Sometimes	Ever	Never
Always	0.323 ***	-0.12 ***	0.173 ***	-0.167 ***
Sometimes	-0.252 ***	0.211 ***	0.010	-0.001
Ever	0.091 **	0.176 ***	0.306 ***	-0.282 ***
Never	-0.088 **	-0.169 ***	-0.295 ***	0.300 ***
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001			

Camouflage Others and Camouflage Details

Camou-flage Identity	Intended Audience								
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquain-tances	Co-workers	Family	All Offline	Met Online, Not Off	Met Online and Off	All Online	Never Met, Similar Interests
Always	-0.184 ***	-0.173 ***	-0.119 ***	-0.101 **	-0.211 ***	0.013	-0.094 **	-0.048	0.040
Sometimes	0.062	-0.003	-0.065 *	-0.034	-0.008	0.100 **	0.066 *	0.094 **	0.038
Ever	-0.092 **	-0.154 ***	-0.175 ***	-0.125 ***	-0.192 ***	0.121 ***	-0.009	0.062	0.077 *
Never	0.103 **	0.16 ***	0.182 ***	0.128 ***	0.202 ***	-0.099 **	0.019	-0.044	-0.063
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001								

Camouflage Identity and Intended Audience

Camou-flage Identity	Known Audiences								
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquain-tances	Co-workers	Family	All Offline	Met Online, Not Off	Met Online and Off	All Online	Never Met, Similar Interests
Always	-0.186 ***	-0.145 ***	-0.11 ***	-0.082 *	-0.193 ***	0.008	-0.087 **	-0.05	0.035
Sometimes	0.050	0.046	-0.079 *	-0.011	0.009	0.058	0.045	0.06	0.036
Ever	-0.106 **	-0.076 *	-0.182 ***	-0.083 *	-0.158 ***	0.070 *	-0.026	0.022	0.070 *
Never	0.124 ***	0.093 **	0.184 ***	0.087 **	0.173 ***	-0.043	0.045	0.005	-0.045
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001								

Camouflage Identity and Known Audience

Camouflage Others	Intended Audiences								
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquain-tances	Co-workers	Family	All Offline	Met Online, Not Off	Met Online and Off	All Online	Never Met, Similar Interests
Always	-0.151 ***	-0.124 ***	-0.067 *	-0.030	-0.137 ***	0.029	-0.051	-0.014	0.056
Sometimes	0.136 ***	0.112 ***	0.063	0.034	0.127 ***	0.061	0.096**	0.091 **	0.038
Ever	-0.010	-0.008	0.000	0.009	-0.003	0.158 ***	0.085 **	0.138 ***	0.162 ***
Never	0.031	0.019	0.015	0.001	0.024	-0.155 ***	-0.074 *	-0.13 ***	-0.156 ***
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001								

Camouflage Others and Intended Audience

Camouflage Others	Known Audience								
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquain-tances	Co-workers	Family	All Offline	Met Online, Not Off	Met Online and Off	All Online	Never Met, Similar Interests
Always	-0.169 ***	-0.139 ***	-0.079 *	-0.056	-0.165 ***	0.025	-0.044	-0.014	0.045
Sometimes	0.147 ***	0.129 ***	0.079*	0.065*	0.156 ***	0.059	0.099 **	0.095 **	0.051
Ever	-0.021	-0.003	0.008	0.023	0.003	0.147 ***	0.102 **	0.145 ***	0.167 ***
Never	0.045	0.010	-0.013	-0.018	0.010	-0.137 ***	-0.092 **	-0.132 ***	-0.168 **
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001								

Camouflage Others and Known Audience

Camouflage Details	Intended Audience								
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquain-tances	Co-workers	Family	All Offline	Met Online, Not Off	Met Online and Off	All Online	Never Met, Similar Interests
Always	-0.124 ***	-0.15 ***	-0.010	-0.045	-0.128 ***	-0.065*	-0.112 ***	-0.102 **	0.012
Sometimes	0.061	0.051	-0.016	0.023	0.049	0.139 ***	0.106 **	0.140 ***	0.102 **
Ever	-0.047	-0.086 **	-0.029	-0.016	-0.067 *	0.106 **	0.020	0.071 *	0.137 ***
Never	0.059	0.091 **	0.033	0.023	0.077 **	-0.095 **	-0.010	-0.058	-0.127 ***
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001								

Camouflage Details and Intended Audience

Camouflage Details	Known Audience								
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquaintances	Co-workers	Family	All Offline	Met Online, Not Off	Met Online and Off	All Online	Never Met, Similar Interests
Always	-0.117 ***	-0.132 ***	-0.007	-0.020	-0.107 **	-0.068 *	-0.087 **	-0.092 **	0.025
Sometimes	0.042	0.069 *	0.005	0.027	0.056	0.132 ***	0.114 ***	0.144 ***	0.116 ***
Ever	-0.064 *	-0.046	-0.002	0.014	-0.037	0.094 **	0.054	0.085 **	0.168 ***
Never	0.077 *	0.051	0.006	-0.005	0.049	-0.08 *	-0.044	-0.071 *	-0.158 ***
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001								

Camouflage Details and Known Audience

Known Audiences	Known Audiences							
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquaintances	Coworkers	Family	Met Online, Not Off	Met Online and Off	Never Met, Similar Interests	Other
Offline Friends	—	0.504 ***	0.151 ***	0.272 ***	0.018	0.086 **	-0.093 **	-0.007
Offline Acquaintances		—	0.252 ***	0.208 ***	0.046	0.169 ***	0.089 **	0.069 *
Coworkers			—	0.248 ***	0.052	0.134 ***	0.146 ***	0.085 **
Family				—	0.026	0.067 *	0.020	0.059 *
Met Online, Not Off					—	0.447 ***	0.433 ***	-0.023
Met Online and Off						—	0.325 ***	0.060
Never Met, Similar Interests							—	0.041
Other								—
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001							

Known Audiences (all)

Controlled Blog Services

Conception of Publicity of Blog Document	Camouflage Identity			
	Always	Sometimes	Ever	Never
Public	0.018	-0.047	-0.037	0.043
Private	0.047	-0.110 **	-0.083 *	0.074 *
Both	-0.048	0.112 **	0.083 *	-0.078 *
Neither	0.042	-0.023	0.012	-0.011
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001			

Conception of Publicity of Blog Document and Camouflage Identity

Conception of Publicity of Blog Document	Camouflage Others			
	Always	Sometimes	Ever	Never
Public	0.057	-0.056	-0.004	0.014
Private	-0.048	0.006	-0.073	0.087 *
Both	-0.028	0.054	0.051	-0.056
Neither	0.021	-0.007	0.024	-0.022
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001			

Conception of Blog Document and Camouflage Others

Conception of Publicity of Blog Document	Camouflage Details			
	Always	Sometimes	Ever	Never
Public	0.022	0.004	0.025	-0.021
Private	-0.009	-0.083 *	-0.108 **	0.111 **
Both	-0.016	0.0530	0.050	-0.048
Neither	0.007	-0.040	-0.041	0.042
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001			

Conception of Blog Document and Camouflage Details

Conception of Publicity of Blog Document	Intended Audience								
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquain-tances	Co-workers	Family	All Offline	Met Online, Not Off	Met Online and Off	All Online	Never Met, Similar Interests
Public	-0.031	0.046	0.070	0.087*	0.058	-0.068 *	-0.086 *	-0.089 *	0.106 **
Private	-0.012	-0.079 *	-0.065	-0.056	-0.076 *	-0.115 **	-0.028	-0.080 *	-0.211 ***
Both	0.050	0.010	-0.025	-0.046	0.000	0.145 ***	0.11 **	0.146 ***	0.030
Neither	-0.060	-0.036	-0.024	-0.015	-0.050	-0.071	-0.053	-0.071	-0.045
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001								

Conception of Blog Document and Intended Audience

Conception of Publicity of Blog Document	Known Audience								
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquain tances	Co-workers	Family	All Offline	Met Online, Not Off	Met Online and Off	All Online	Never Met, Similar Interests
Public	0.004	0.038	0.047	0.079 *	0.062	-0.091 *	-0.094 *	-0.109 **	0.028
Private	-0.010	-0.048	-0.068	-0.077 *	-0.073 *	-0.109 **	-0.010	-0.065	-0.19 ***
Both	0.017	0.002	-0.009	-0.025	-0.005	0.159 ***	0.108 **	.154 ***	0.086 *
Neither	-0.063	-0.045	0.025	-0.021	-0.045	-0.045	-0.055	-0.059	-0.013
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001								

Conception of Blog Document and Known Audience

Camouflage Identity	Camouflage Others			
	Always	Sometimes	Ever	Never
Always	0.483 ***	-0.398 ***	0.102 **	-0.091 *
Sometimes	-0.185 ***	0.238 ***	0.117 **	-0.132 ***
Ever	0.230 ***	-0.092 *	0.226 ***	-0.233 ***
Never	-0.225 ***	0.099 **	-0.206 ***	0.224 ***
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001			

Camouflage Identity and Camouflage Others

Camouflage Identity	Cammo Details			
	Always	Sometimes	Ever	Never
Always	0.376 ***	-0.162 ***	0.156 ***	-0.154 ***
Sometimes	-0.154 ***	0.238 ***	0.143 ***	-0.143 ***
Ever	0.168 ***	0.123 ***	0.304 ***	-0.302 ***
Never	-0.164 ***	-0.124 ***	-0.303 ***	0.308 ***
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001			

Camouflage Identity and Camouflage Details

Camouflage Others	Cammo Details			
	Always	Sometimes	Ever	Never
Always	0.345 ***	-0.130 ***	0.165 ***	-0.162 ***
Sometimes	-0.293 ***	0.224 ***	-0.004	0.006
Ever	0.058	0.185 ***	0.276 ***	-0.267 ***
Never	-0.061	-0.186 ***	-0.281 ***	0.284 ***
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001			

Camouflage Others and Camouflage Details

Camouflage Identity	Intended Audience								
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquaintances	Co-workers	Family	All Offline	Met Online, Not Off	Met Online and Off	All Online	Never Met, Similar Interests
Always	-0.16 ***	-0.159 ***	-0.104 **	-0.078 *	-0.186 ***	0.017	-0.090 *	-0.044	0.024
Sometimes	0.042	0.011	-0.017	-0.039	0.002	0.092*	0.061	0.087 *	0.059
Ever	-0.097 **	-0.133 ***	-0.114 **	-0.115 **	-0.167 ***	0.120 **	-0.013	0.059	0.089 *
Never	0.106 **	0.141 ***	0.117 **	0.122 **	0.177 ***	-0.111 **	0.013	-0.053	-0.083 *
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001								

Camouflage Identity and Intended Audience

Camouflage Identity	Known Audience								
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquain-tances	Co-workers	Family	All Offline	Met Online, Not Off	Met Online and Off	All Online	Never Met, Similar Interests
Always	-0.162 ***	-0.121 **	-0.083 *	-0.071	-0.164 ***	-0.017	-0.104 **	-.074 *	0.015
Sometimes	0.034	0.027	-0.004	0.019	0.031	0.059	0.042	0.058	0.060
Ever	-0.109 **	-0.079*	-0.08 *	-0.043	-0.114 **	0.052	-0.047	-0.002	0.082 *
Never	0.125 ***	0.088 *	0.084 *	0.049	0.128 ***	-0.032	0.055	0.017	-0.069
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001								

Camouflage Identity and Known Audience

Camouflage Others	Intended Audience								
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquain-tances	Co-workers	Family	All Offline	Met Online, Not Off	Met Online and Off	All Online	Never Met, Similar Interests
Always	-0.119 **	-0.12 **	-0.054	-0.009	-0.114 **	0.027	-0.073	-0.028	0.048
Sometimes	0.098 **	0.104 **	0.063	0.022	0.106 **	0.050	0.109 **	0.093 *	0.031
Ever	-0.025	-0.017	0.022	0.024	-0.003	0.139 ***	0.074 *	0.121 **	0.139 ***
Never	0.030	0.024	-0.014	-0.017	0.012	-0.152 ***	-0.076 *	-0.129 ***	-0.147 ***
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001								

Camouflage Others and Intended Audience

Camouflage Others	Known Audience								
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquain-tances	Co-workers	Family	All Offline	Met Online, Not Off	Met Online and Off	All Online	Never Met, Similar Interests
Always	-0.154 ***	-0.144 ***	-0.079 *	-0.040	-0.157 ***	0.030	-0.081 *	-0.035	0.041
Sometimes	0.123 ***	0.131 ***	0.091 *	0.057	0.150 ***	0.030	0.119 **	0.091 *	0.031
Ever	-0.040	-0.008	0.030	0.035	0.003	0.105 **	0.078 *	0.106 **	0.127 ***
Never	0.047	0.006	-0.020	-0.038	0.000	-0.113 **	-0.080 *	-0.111 **	-0.146 ***
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001								

Camouflage Others and Known Audience

Camouflage Details	Intended Audience								
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquaintances	Co-workers	Family	All Offline	Met Online, Not Off	Met Online and Off	All Online	Never Met, Similar Interests
Always	-0.106 **	-0.146 ***	-0.046	-0.033	-0.128 ***	-0.062	-0.110 **	-0.100 **	-0.002
Sometimes	0.026	0.023	0.015	-0.002	0.023	0.138 ***	0.087 *	0.128 ***	0.105 **
Ever	-0.068	-0.109 **	-0.024	-0.034	-0.092 *	0.109**	0.002	0.061	0.124 ***
Never	0.072	0.108 **	0.027	0.038	0.096 *	-0.105 **	0.001	-0.058	-0.122 ***
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001								

Camouflage Details and Intended Audience

Camouflage Details	Known Audience								
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquaintances	Co workers	Family	All Offline	Met Online, Not Off	Met Online and Off	All Online	Never Met, Similar Interests
Always	-0.122**	-0.119 **	-0.060	-0.052	-0.134 ***	-0.066	-0.124 ***	-0.114 **	0.007
Sometimes	0.024	0.037	0.033	0.029	0.045	0.114	0.128	0.142	0.112
Ever	-0.084 *	-0.067	-0.016	-0.014	-0.071	0.075 *	0.039	0.065	0.142 ***
Never	0.089 *	0.067	0.018	0.019	0.075 *	-0.070	-0.036	-0.060	-0.14 ***
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001								

Camouflage Details and Known Audience

Intended Audience	Known Audience							
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquain-tances	Co-workers	Family	Met Online, Not Off	Met Online and Off	Never Met, Similar Interests	Other
Friends	0.827 ***	0.456 ***	0.156 ***	0.212 ***	-0.051	0.032	-0.108 **	0.034
Acquaintances	0.443 ***	0.727 ***	0.193 ***	0.161 ***	-0.002	0.142 ***	0.006	0.057
Coworkers	0.161 ***	0.170 ***	0.577 ***	0.165 ***	0.032	0.120 **	0.078 *	0.052
Family	0.193 ***	0.136 ***	0.166 ***	0.755 ***	-0.023	0.024	-0.067	0.025
Met Online, Not Off	-0.102 **	-0.062	0.035	-0.019	0.758 ***	0.440 ***	0.413 ***	0.007
Met Online and Off	0.012	0.065	0.094 *	0.065	0.428 ***	0.765 ***	0.314 ***	0.028
Never Met, Similar Interests	-0.146 ***	-0.076 *	0.032	-0.049	0.364 ***	0.287 ***	0.693 ***	0.028
Other	-0.015	0.021	0.062	0.033	0.006	0.051	0.058	0.442 ***
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001							

Intended Audience and Known Audience (Access Controlled Services)

Known Audience	Known Audience							
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquain tances	Coworkers	Family	Met Online, Not Off	Met Online and Off	Never Met, Similar Interests	Other
Friends	—	0.515 ***	0.198 ***	0.221 ***	-0.028	0.067	-0.095 *	0.014
Acquaintances		—	0.234 ***	0.181 ***	0.007	0.163 ***	0.040	0.065
Coworkers			—	0.239 ***	0.075 *	0.158 ***	0.136 ***	0.065
Family				—	0.047	0.089	-0.008	0.067
Met Online, Not Off					—	0.459 ***	0.444 ***	-0.016
Met Online and Off						—	0.357 ***	0.047
Never Met, Similar Interests							—	0.051
Other								—
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001							

Known Audiences (Access Controlled Services)

Open Blog Services

Conception of Publicity of Blog Document	Camouflage Identity			
	Always	Sometimes	Ever	Never
Public	-0.121	-0.089	-0.184 **	0.226 ***
Private	-0.032	-0.057	-0.083	0.086
Both	0.150 *	0.115	0.232 ***	-0.235 ***
Neither	-0.032	0.082	0.057	-0.055
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001			

Conception of Publicity of Blog Document and Camouflage Identity

Conception of Publicity of Blog Document	Camouflage Others			
	Always	Sometimes	Ever	Never
Public	-0.081	0.109	0.057	0.013
Private	-0.043	0.053	0.022	-0.019
Both	0.117	-0.088	0.035	-0.040
Neither	-0.043	0.053	0.022	-0.019
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001			

Conception of Publicity of Blog Document and Camouflage Others

Conception of Publicity of Blog Document	Camouflage Details			
	Always	Sometimes	Ever	Never
Public	-0.147 *	0.113	-0.021	0.064
Private	-0.040	-0.080	-0.152	0.158 *
Both	0.183 **	-0.076	0.113	-0.101
Neither	-0.040	0.059	0.031	-0.030
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001			

Conception of Publicity of Blog Document and Camouflage Details

Conception of Publicity of Blog Document	Intended Audience								
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquaintances	Co-workers	Family	All Offline	Met Online, Not Off	Met Online and Off	All Online	Never Met, Similar Interests
Public	0.054	0.153 *	0.14 *	0.067	0.145 *	0.054	0.090	0.083	0.106
Private	0.045	-0.060	0.131	0.070	0.060	-0.104	-0.098	-0.115	-0.135 *
Both	-0.045	-0.132	-0.142 *	-0.038	-0.123	0.002	-0.038	-0.021	-0.030
Neither	0.045	0.078	-0.036	-0.067	0.009	0.045	0.048	0.053	0.035
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001								

Conception of Publicity of Blog Document and Intended Audience

Conception of Publicity of Blog Document	Known Audience								
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquaintances	Co-workers	Family	All Offline	Met Online, Not Off	Met Online and Off	All Online	Never Met, Similar Interests
Public	0.047	0.071	0.206 **	0.141 *	0.174 *	0.033	0.147 *	0.110	0.166 *
Private	0.039	-0.072	0.097	0.058	0.043	-0.118	-0.093	-0.125	-0.143 *
Both	-0.028	-0.038	-0.197 **	-0.103	-0.137 *	0.034	-0.100	-0.043	-0.086
Neither	0.039	0.065	-0.048	-0.080	-0.010	0.040	0.050	0.054	0.033
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001								

Conception of Publicity of Blog Document and Known Audience

Camouflage Identity	Camouflage Others			
	Always	Sometimes	Ever	Never
Always	0.506 ***	-0.38 ***	0.152 *	-0.134 *
Sometimes	-0.128	0.261 ***	0.236 ***	-0.201 **
Ever	0.270 ***	-0.038	0.355 ***	-0.307 ***
Never	-0.248 ***	0.068	-0.272 ***	0.284 ***
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001			

Camouflage Identity and Camouflage Others

Camouflage Identity	Camouflage Details			
	Always	Sometimes	Ever	Never
Always	0.332 ***	-0.157 *	0.180 **	-0.172 *
Sometimes	-0.035	0.258	0.300 ***	-0.285 ***
Ever	0.226 ***	0.135 *	0.442 ***	-0.421 ***
Never	-0.205 **	-0.130	-0.411 ***	0.441 ***
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001			

Camouflage Identity and Camouflage Details

Camouflage Others	Camouflage Details			
	Always	Sometimes	Ever	Never
Always	0.268 ***	-0.085	0.201 **	-0.189 **
Sometimes	-0.136 *	0.167 *	0.061	-0.030
Ever	0.189 **	0.146 *	0.414 ***	-0.344 ***
Never	-0.167 *	-0.115	-0.347 ***	0.362 ***
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001			

Camouflage Others and Camouflage Details

Camouflage Identity	Intended Audience								
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquaintances	Co-workers	Family	All Offline	Met Online, Not Off	Met Online and Off	All Online	Never Met, Similar Interests
Always	-0.267 ***	-0.219 **	-0.159 *	-0.168 *	-0.287 ***	-0.004	-0.109	-0.065	0.120
Sometimes	0.118	-0.043	-0.114	0.061	0.013	0.098	0.077	0.099	0.026
Ever	-0.092	-0.215 **	-0.239 ***	-0.071	-0.213 **	0.095	-0.009	0.048	0.120
Never	0.109	0.211 **	0.261 ***	0.070	0.224 ***	-0.037	0.044	0.004	-0.070
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001								

Camouflage Identity Intended Audience

Camouflage Identity	Known Audience								
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquain-tances	Co-workers	Family	All Offline	Met Online, Not Off	Met Online and Off	All Online	Never Met, Similar Interests
Always	-0.269 ***	-0.228 ***	-0.178 **	-0.113	-0.289 ***	0.079	-0.034	0.024	0.133
Sometimes	0.119	0.132	-0.165 *	0.000	0.031	0.026	0.037	0.038	0.011
Ever	-0.092	-0.047	-0.306 ***	-0.088	-0.196 **	0.089	0.010	0.057	0.116
Never	0.116	0.088	0.315 ***	0.095	0.226 ***	-0.045	0.042	0.000	-0.037
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001								

Camouflage Identity and Known Audience

Camouflage Others	Intended Audience								
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquain-tances	Co-workers	Family	All Offline	Met Online, Not Off	Met Online and Off	All Online	Never Met, Similar Interests
Always	-0.258 ***	-0.136 *	-0.104	-0.096	-0.209 **	0.034	0.021	0.032	0.091
Sometimes	0.26 ***	0.140 *	0.080	0.084	0.199 **	0.092	0.051	0.082	0.080
Ever	0.032	0.022	-0.027	-0.009	0.008	0.207 **	0.118	0.185	0.274 ***
Never	0.033	0.002	0.068	0.044	0.049	-0.160 *	-0.067	-0.129	-0.207 **
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001								

Camouflage Others and Intended Audience

Camouflage Others	Known Audience								
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquain-tances	Co-workers	Family	All Offline	Met Online, Not Off	Met Online and Off	All Online	Never Met, Similar Interests
Always	-0.221 **	-0.123	-0.093	-0.112	-0.200 **	0.009	0.073	0.051	0.064
Sometimes	0.232 ***	0.123	0.079	0.116	0.200 **	0.146 *	0.033	0.103	0.145 *
Ever	0.043	0.015	-0.012	0.019	0.023	0.257 ***	0.168 *	0.251 ***	0.34 ***
Never	0.037	0.022	-0.012	0.026	0.027	-0.203 **	-0.126	-0.194 **	-0.274 ***
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001								

Camouflage Others and Known Audience

Camouflage Details	Intended Audience								
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquain-tances	Co-workers	Family	All Offline	Met Online, Not Off	Met Online and Off	All Online	Never Met, Similar Interests
Always	-0.170 *	-0.170 *	0.005	-0.144 *	-0.175 *	-0.053	-0.114	-0.096	0.008
Sometimes	0.172 *	0.144 *	-0.056	0.137 *	0.148*	0.131	0.166 *	0.169 *	0.124
Ever	0.029	-0.009	-0.069	0.012	-0.010	0.110	0.086	0.112	0.173 *
Never	0.009	0.032	0.084	0.012	0.046	-0.074	-0.051	-0.071	-0.127
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001								

Camouflage Details and Intended Audience

Camouflage Details	Known Audience								
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquaintances	Co-workers	Family	All Offline	Met Online, Not Off	Met Online and Off	All Online	Never Met, Similar Interests
Always	-0.116	-0.188 **	0.017	-0.019	-0.113	-0.052	0.029	-0.012	0.035
Sometimes	0.108	0.182 **	-0.016	0.071	0.129	0.175 *	0.062	0.138 *	0.169 *
Ever	0.007	0.021	-0.001	0.072	0.038	0.170	0.115	0.168	0.265 ***
Never	0.038	0.005	0.020	-0.044	0.005	-0.130	-0.083	-0.125	-0.218 **
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001								

Camouflage Details and Known Audience

Intended Audience	Known Audience							
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquaintances	Co-workers	Family	Met Online, Not Off	Met Online and Off	Never Met, Similar Interests	Other
Friends	0.692 ***	0.448 ***	0.058	0.348 ***	0.154 *	0.175 **	-0.056	-0.055
Acquaintances	0.365 ***	0.516 ***	0.228 ***	0.105	0.119	0.209 **	0.106	0.017
Coworkers	0.084	0.203 **	0.573 ***	0.065	-0.036	0.051	-0.041	0.030
Family	0.371 ***	0.301 ***	0.140 *	0.610 ***	-0.086	0.022	-0.114	-0.016
Met Online, Not Off	0.194 **	0.163 *	-0.029	-0.003	0.669 ***	0.367 ***	0.309 ***	-0.087
Met Online and Off	0.232 ***	0.132	0.064	0.076	0.375 ***	0.740 ***	0.151 *	-0.005
Never Met, Similar Interests	0.008	0.186 **	-0.008	-0.009	0.423 ***	0.208 **	0.616 ***	-0.076
Other	-0.141 *	0.056	0.236 ***	-0.058	-0.012	0.051	-0.021	0.575 ***
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001							

Intended Audience and Known Audience (Open)

Known Audience	Known Audience							
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquain-tances	Co-workers	Family	Met Online, Not Off	Met Online and Off	Never Met, Similar Interests	Other
Friends	—	0.463 ***	0.054	0.449 ***	0.173 *	0.155 *	-0.104	-0.075
Acquaint-ances		—	0.299 ***	0.274 ***	0.178 **	0.201 **	0.262 ***	0.072
Coworkers			—	0.130	0.069	0.139 *	0.085	0.094
Family				—	0.031	0.053	-0.017	0.001
Met Online, Not Off					—	0.408 ***	0.467 ***	-0.032
Met Online and Off						—	0.251 ***	0.106
Never Met, Similar Interests							—	-0.020
Other								—
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001							

Known Audiences (Open)

LiveJournal

Conception of Publicity of LiveJournal Document	Conception of Publicity of Blog Document			
	Public	Private	Both	Neither
Public	0.612 ***	-0.111 **	-0.506 ***	-0.011
Private	-0.063	0.344 ***	-0.130 ***	-0.009
Both	-0.579 ***	0.030	0.526 ***	0.016
Neither	-0.048	-0.022	0.058	-0.006
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001			

Conception of Publicity of LiveJournal Document and Conception of Publicity of the Blog Document

Default LiveJournal Access	Conception of Publicity of Blog Document			
	Public	Private	Both	Neither
Public	0.382 ***	-0.350 ***	-0.157 ***	-0.006
Friends-Only	-0.352 ***	0.374 ***	0.120 **	0.016
Private	-0.068	0.069	0.027	-0.009
I Don't Know	-0.083 *	-0.047	0.106 **	-0.014
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001			

Default LiveJournal Access and Conception of Publicity of the Blog Document

Conception of Publicity of LiveJournal Document	Default LiveJournal Access			
	Public	Friends Only	Private	I Don't Know
Public	0.285 ***	-0.264 ***	-0.002	-0.033
Private	-0.132 ***	0.149 ***	-0.011	-0.016
Both	-0.201 ***	0.219 ***	0.008	0.022
Neither	-0.100 **	0.071	-0.008	0.107 **
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001			

Conception of Publicity of LiveJournal and Default LiveJournal Access

Conception of Publicity of Blog Document	Frequency of Friends Lock Use					
	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Rarely	Never	I Don't Know How
Public	-0.285 ***	-0.162 ***	-0.047	0.305 ***	0.210 ***	0.040
Private	0.375 ***	-0.124 ***	-0.069	-0.164 ***	-0.066	0.061
Both	0.054	0.230 ***	0.081 *	-0.189 ***	-0.165 ***	-0.069
Neither	0.028	-0.044	0.016	-0.017	0.038	-0.010
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001					

Conception of Publicity of the Blog Document and Frequency of Friends Lock Use

Conception of Publicity of LiveJournal Document	Frequency of Friends Lock Use					
	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Rarely	Never	I Don't Know How
Public	-0.218 ***	-0.142 ***	0.053	0.22 ***	0.128 ***	0.049
Private	0.105 **	0.019	-0.040	-0.064	-0.030	-0.011
Both	0.187 ***	0.136 ***	-0.029	-0.177 ***	-0.107 **	-0.041
Neither	0.042	0.054	-0.030	-0.049	-0.022	-0.009
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001					

Conception of Publicity of LiveJournal and Frequency of Friends Lock Use

Default LiveJournal Access	Frequency of Friends Lock Use					
	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Rarely	Never	I Don't Know How
Public	-0.671 ***	-0.059	0.197 ***	0.448 ***	0.202 ***	-0.018
Friends-Only	0.721 ***	0.007	-0.205 ***	-0.420 ***	-0.188 ***	0.032
Private	-0.063	0.044	0.075 *	-0.039	0.018	-0.012
I Don't Know	0.028	0.094 *	-0.038	-0.044	-0.048	-0.019
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001					

Default LiveJournal Access and Friends Lock Use

Conception of Publicity of Blog Document	Frequency of Custom Friends Groups Use					
	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Rarely	Never	I Don't Know How
Public	-0.117 **	-0.17 0***	-0.128 ***	0.071	0.189 ***	0.071
Private	0.108 **	0.077 *	-0.053	-0.087 *	-0.012	0.040
Both	0.054	0.124 **	0.156 ***	-0.023	-0.168 ***	-0.097 **
Neither	-0.021	-0.037	-0.033	0.042	-0.003	0.051
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001					

Conception of Publicity of the Blog Document and Frequency of Custom Friends Group Use

Conception of Publicity of LiveJournal Document	Frequency of Custom Friends Groups Use					
	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Rarely	Never	I Don't Know How
Public	-0.091 *	-0.157 ***	-0.078 *	0.061	0.142 ***	0.062
Private	0.036	-0.004	0.003	-0.075 *	0.017	0.097 **
Both	0.075 *	0.142 ***	0.080 *	-0.017	-0.124 **	-0.073
Neither	-0.019	0.123 **	0.026	-0.057	-0.040	-0.019
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001					

Conception of Publicity of LiveJournal and Frequency of Custom Friends Group Use

Default LiveJournal Access	Frequency of Custom Friends Groups Use					
	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Rarely	Never	I Don't Know How
Public	-0.239 ***	-0.157 ***	-0.065	0.140 ***	0.170 ***	0.038
Friends-Only	0.251 ***	0.153 ***	0.059	-0.131 ***	-0.140 ***	-0.024
Private	-0.027	-0.047	0.037	0.003	0.009	-0.027
I Don't Know	0.036	0.028	-0.011	0.028	-0.064	-0.002
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001					

Default LiveJournal Access and Frequency of Custom Friends Group Use

Conception of Publicity of Blog Document	Frequency of Private Posting					
	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Rarely	Never	I Don't Know How
Public	-0.072	-0.093 *	-0.115 **	-0.009	0.154 ***	0.025
Private	0.104 **	-0.002	0.090 *	-0.061	-0.015	-0.016
Both	0.012	0.073	0.063	0.049	-0.125 ***	-0.069
Neither	-0.013	0.090 *	-0.027	-0.021	-0.050	0.313 ***
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001					

Conception of Publicity of the Blog Document and Frequency of Private Posting

Conception of Publicity of LiveJournal	Frequency of Private Posting					
	Daily	*Weekly*	*Monthly*	*Rarely*	*Never*	*I Don't Know How*
Public	-0.064	-0.053	-0.064	-0.006	0.108 **	0.030
Private	0.183 ***	0.017	0.017	-0.019	-0.059	-0.005
Both	0.027	0.048	0.069	0.028	-0.079 *	-0.026
Neither	-0.011	0.041	-0.024	-0.003	-0.001	-0.004
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001					

Conception of Publicity of LiveJournal and Frequency of Private Posting

Default LiveJournal Access	Frequency of Private Posting					
	Daily	*Weekly*	*Monthly*	*Rarely*	*Never*	*I Don't Know How*
Public	-0.072	-0.073	-0.124 ***	0.043	0.124 ***	0.041
Friends-Only	0.070	0.038	0.165 ***	-0.036	-0.097 *	-0.036
Private	-0.016	0.105 **	-0.034	-0.005	-0.033	-0.006
I Don't Know	-0.024	0.041	-0.052	0.047	-0.034	-0.009
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001					

Default LiveJournal Access and Frequency of Private Posting

Conception of Publicity of Blog Document	Friends List Membership										
	Offline Friends	*Offline Acquaintances*	*Co-workers*	*Family*	*All Offline*	*Live-Journal, Not Offline*	*Live-Journal and Online*	*All Live-Journal*	*Other Internet, Not Offline*	*Other Internet and Offline*	*All Online*
Public	-0.026	0.045	0.007	-0.005	0.012	-0.013	-0.022	-0.022	-0.014	0.042	0.016
Private	0.010	-0.020	-0.034	-0.021	-0.026	-0.136 ***	-0.090 *	-0.138 ***	-0.072	0.008	-0.037
Both	0.037	-0.025	-0.003	0.013	0.008	0.094*	0.076 *	0.105 **	0.072	-0.041	0.018
Neither	-0.072	-0.015	0.094 *	0.025	0.000	-0.001	-0.010	-0.007	-0.092 *	-0.004	-0.055
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001										

Conception of Publicity of the Blog Document and Friends List Membership

Conception of Publicity of LiveJournal	Friends List Membership										
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquaintances	Co-workers	Family	All Offline	Live-Journal, Not Offline	Live-Journal and Online	All Live-Journal	Other Internet, Not Offline	Other Internet and Offline	All Online
Public	0.001	0.039	0.015	0.005	0.024	-0.037	-0.076 *	-0.073	0.004	-0.013	-0.043
Private	-0.011	0.017	-0.031	0.004	-0.003	-0.095 *	-0.018	-0.066	-0.051	0.001	-0.055
Both	0.026	-0.026	-0.009	0.015	0.002	0.096 *	0.100 **	0.122 **	0.026	0.017	0.082 *
Neither	0.043	0.040	0.044	-0.046	0.028	0.038	0.055	0.058	0.032	0.089 *	0.078 *
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001										

Conception of Publicity of LiveJournal and Friends List Membership

Default LiveJournal Access	Friends List Membership										
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquaintances	Co-workers	Family	All Offline	Live-Journal, Not Offline	Live-Journal and Online	All Live-Journal	Other Internet, Not Offline	Other Internet and Offline	All Online
Public	-0.025	-0.007	0.088 *	0.040	0.026	0.100 **	0.054	0.093 *	0.095*	0.045	0.104 **
Friends-Only	0.063	0.014	-0.078 *	-0.007	0.008	-0.083 *	-0.002	-0.048	-0.074	-0.018	-0.062
Private	-0.003	0.002	-0.033	-0.065	-0.035	0.019	-0.092 *	-0.051	-0.009	-0.065	-0.056
I Don't Know	0.007	0.022	0.014	-0.037	0.001	0.012	-0.053	-0.029	-0.031	-0.029	-0.039
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001										

Default LiveJournal Access and Friends List Membership

Frequency of Friends Lock	Custom Friends Group Use					
	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Rarely	Never	I Don't Know How
Daily	0.341 ***	0.130 ***	0.018	-0.088 *	-0.159 ***	-0.077 *
Weekly	-0.069	0.372 ***	0.116 **	-0.168 ***	-0.169 ***	-0.009
Monthly	-0.099 **	-0.149 ***	0.223 ***	0.041	-0.047	0.008
Rarely	-0.146 ***	-0.252 ***	-0.197 ***	0.323 ***	0.105 **	0.001
Never	-0.073	-0.128 ***	-0.116 **	-0.156 ***	0.420 ***	0.039
I Don't Know How	0.026	-0.049	-0.045	-0.059	0.001	0.242 ***
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001					

Frequency of Friends Lock and Custom Friends Group Use

Frequency of Friends Lock	Private Posting					
	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Rarely	Never	I Don't Know How
Daily	0.094 *	0.037	0.082 *	-0.006	-0.086 *	-0.031
Weekly	0.021	0.174 ***	0.041	-0.012	-0.120 **	-0.028
Monthly	-0.001	-0.040	0.089 *	-0.047	0.033	-0.021
Rarely	-0.073	-0.129 ***	-0.118 **	0.141 ***	0.045	-0.034
Never	-0.044	-0.040	-0.094 *	-0.097 **	0.211 ***	0.083 *
I Don't Know How	-0.017	0.007	0.007	-0.043	0.020	0.231 ***
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001					

Frequency of Friends Lock and Private Posting

Frequency of Custom Friends Group Use	Private Posting					
	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Rarely	Never	I Don't Know How
Daily	0.005	0.046	0.004	0.056	-0.091 *	-0.013
Weekly	0.044	0.131 ***	-0.004	0.032	-0.122 **	-0.023
Monthly	0.000	-0.039	0.134 ***	0.016	-0.070	-0.021
Rarely	-0.070	-0.046	-0.046	0.059	0.039	-0.040
Never	-0.030	-0.073	-0.061	-0.051	0.164 ***	0.037
I Don't Know How	0.131 ***	0.046	0.025	-0.127 ***	0.047	0.101 **
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001					

Frequency of Custom Friends Group and Private Posting

Intended Audience	Intended Audience								
	Offline Friends	Offline Acquaintances	Co-workers	Family	All Offline	Met Online, Not Off	Met Online and Off	All Online	Never Met, Similar Interests
Offline Friends	—	0.519 ***	0.184 ***	0.269 ***	0.763 ***	-0.058	0.048	-0.003	-0.099 **
Offline Acquaintances		—	0.260 ***	0.213 ***	0.776	-0.011	0.120 **	0.066	0.013
Coworkers			—	0.236 ***	0.509 ***	0.058	0.142 ***	0.117 **	0.083 *
Family				—	0.641 ***	-0.053	0.035	-0.008	-0.065
All Offline					—	-0.034	0.117 **	0.051	-0.039
Met Online, Not Off						—	0.505 ***	0.855 ***	0.473 ***
Met Online and Off							—	0.879 ***	0.338 ***
All Online								—	0.464 ***
Never Met, Similar Interests									—
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001								

LiveJournal Intended Audience

Default LiveJournal Access	Camouflage Identity			
	Always	Sometimes	Ever	Never
LiveJournal Public	0.010	0.002	0.012	-0.006
LiveJournal Friends Only	-0.030	-0.011	-0.039	0.039
LiveJournal Private	0.046	-0.007	0.034	-0.033
LiveJournal "I Don't Know"	0.007	0.008	0.016	-0.014
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001			

LiveJournal Default Access and Camouflage Identity

Default LiveJournal Access	Camouflage Others			
	Always	Sometimes	Ever	Never
LiveJournal Public	0.098 **	-0.073	0.036	-0.016
LiveJournal Friends Only	-0.111 **	0.098 **	-0.012	0.024
LiveJournal Private	-0.009	-0.002	-0.019	-0.029
LiveJournal "I Don't Know"	-0.004	-0.027	-0.055	0.027
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001			

LiveJournal Default Access and Camouflage Others

Default LiveJournal Access	Camouflage Details			
	Always	Sometimes	Ever	Never
LiveJournal Public	-0.019	0.029	0.017	-0.008
LiveJournal Friends Only	0.022	-0.053	-0.044	0.041
LiveJournal Private	0.023	-0.001	0.020	-0.020
LiveJournal "I Don't Know"	-0.049	0.069	0.036	-0.035
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001			

LiveJournal Default Access and Camouflage Details

Xanga

Conception of Blog Publicity	Xanga Default Access				
	Any Internet User	Xanga Friends	An Xanga User	Xangans with Footprints	Any Restriction
Public	0.218	-0.320	-0.185	0.327	-.218
Private	-0.419	1.000 ***	-0.237	-0.105	.419
Both	0.071	-0.367	0.342	-0.250	-.071
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001				

Conception of Blog Publicity and Xanga Default Access

Conception of Blog Publicity	Use of Xanga Protected Post					
	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Rarely	Ever	Never
Public	-0.218	0.080	-0.320	0.218	-0.080	0.080
Private	0.681 **	-0.154	-0.154	-0.026	0.154	-0.154
Both	-0.250	0.026	0.419	-0.196	-0.026	0.026
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001					

Conception of Blog Publicity and Frequency of Post Protection

Concepton of Publicity of Blog Document	Xanga Friends List Membership							
	Friends	Acquain-tances	Family	All Offline	Met Thorugh Xanga, Not Offline	Met Through Xanga and Offline	Met through other Internet and Offline	All Online
Public	-0.327	0.000	0.055	-0.064	0.327	-0.320	-0.218	0.000
Private	0.105	-0.277	0.026	-0.107	-0.367	-0.154	-0.105	-0.331
Both	0.250	0.189	-0.071	0.136	-0.071	0.419	0.286	0.226
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001							

Conception of Publicity of Blog Document and Xanga Friends List Membership

Default Xanga Access	Xanga Friends List Membership								
	Friends	Offline Acquaintances	Family	All Offline	Met Thorugh Xanga, Not Offline	Met Through Xanga and Offline	All Xanga	Met Through Other Internet Not Offline	All Online
Any Internet User	0.286	0.094	0.071	0.177	-0.419	0.250	-0.200	-0.286	-0.342
Any Xangan	-0.443	0.213	-0.262	-0.165	0.650 **	-0.161	0.452	0.443	0.659 **
Xangans with Footprints	0.071	-0.189	0.286	0.083	-0.105	-0.071	-0.134	-0.071	-0.161
Xanga Friends	0.105	-0.277	0.026	-0.107	-0.154	-0.105	-0.196	-0.105	-0.237
Any Restriction	-0.286	-0.094	-0.071	-0.177	0.419	-0.250	0.200	0.286	0.342
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001								

Default Xanga Access and Xanga Friends List Membership

Intended Audience	Xanga Friends							
	Friends	Offline Acquaintances	Family	All Offline	Met Through Xanga, Not Offline	Met Through Xanga And Offline	Met Through other internet, not offline	All Online
Friends	1.00 ***	0.189	0.250	0.543 *	0.250	0.105	0.071	0.226
Acquaintances	0.218	0.866 ***	0.327	0.733 **	0.600 *	0.080	0.327	0.518 *
Family	0.218	0.289	0.873 ***	0.733 **	0.600 *	0.080	0.327	0.518 *
All Online	0.499	0.660 **	0.700 **	0.919 ***	0.700 **	0.113	0.365	0.607 *
Met Online, Not Offline	0.218	0.289	0.055	0.255	0.600	0.480	0.327	0.690 **
Met Online & Offline	0.161	0.533 *	0.040	0.365	0.342	0.207	0.443	0.446
All Online	0.205	0.434	0.051	0.329	0.512	0.376	0.410	0.616 *
Never Met, Similar Interests	0.161	0.213	0.040	0.188	0.342	-0.237	0.443	0.255
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001							

Intended Audience and Xanga Friends List Membership

Default Xanga Access	Protected Post Access					
	Friends	Offline Acquaintances	Family	All Offline	Met through Xanga, not Offline	All Online
Any Internet User	0.342	0.367	-0.419	0.183	-0.419	-0.419
Any Xanga User	-0.318	-0.237	0.207	-0.206	0.650 **	0.650 **
Xangans with Footprints	-0.443	-0.105	-0.105	-0.366	-0.105	-0.105
Xanga Friends	0.237	-0.154	0.423	0.269	-0.154	-0.154
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001					

Default Xanga Access and Protected Post Access

Intended Audience	Intended Audience							
	Friends	Offline Acquaintances	Family	All Online	Met Online, Not Offline	Met Online & Offline	All Online	Never Met, Similar Interests
Friends	—	0.218	0.218	0.499	0.218	0.161	0.205	0.161
Offline Acquaintances		—	0.444	0.821 ***	0.167	0.431	0.313	0.123
Family			—	0.821 ***	0.167	0.123	0.157	0.123
All Online				—	0.234	0.336	0.303	0.173
Met Online, Not Offline					—	0.739 **	0.939 ***	0.739 **
Met Online & Offline						—	0.925 ***	0.659 **
All Online							—	0.752 **
Never Met, Similar Interests								—
	* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001							

Xanga Intended Audience

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