



Social Privacy: Perceptions of Veillance, Relationships, and Space with Online Social Networking Services

Steven Philip Holt Dumbleton

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**Social Privacy: Perceptions of Veillance,
Relationships, and Space with Online Social
Networking Services.**

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1 Abstract

This research seeks to examine the experience of social privacy around online social networking services. In particular, it examines how individuals experience social privacy through the perception of veillance, relationships and space. It highlights that individuals need varying types of veillance and relationships in order to experience the social privacy they desire. It also highlights that individuals used the perception of space to indicate acceptable convention within that space; seeking spaces, both real and metaphorical, that they perceived to afford them the experience of social privacy.

Through the application of phenomenological methods drawn from ethnography this study explores how the experience of social privacy is perceived. It does this through examining the perception of veillance, relationships and space in separation, though notes that the individual perceives all three simultaneously. It argues that the varying conditions of these perceptions afford the individuals the experience of social privacy. Social privacy is, therefore, perceived as a socially afforded emotional experience.

2 Acknowledgements

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4 INTRODUCTION

“Twenties and Thirties it was the role of government, Fifties and Sixties it was civil rights. The next two decades it's gonna be privacy. I'm talking about the Internet. I'm talking about cell phones. I'm talking about health records and who's gay and who's not. And moreover, in a country born on the will to be free, what could be more fundamental than this?”

- Sam Seaborn, The West Wing (1999)

Privacy is acknowledged in popular culture as something of great importance. Though even with this great importance given to it, many academics dispute the definition of the word privacy. The above quote could be read in many ways. It could be understood in terms of Internet and cell phones being breached by a technology or an individual. The term breach refers to instances where an individual is forced by another individual or institution to stop experiencing their desired privacy. Though equally the above quote could be understood in terms of how Internet, mobile phones and other related technologies facilitate aspects of privacy. This latter statement is often overlooked and is the approach this thesis will take.

Rather than dispute the definition of privacy, this study will acknowledge that there are many different facets of privacy, all of which are important to understand. However, this study will concentrate of examining one particular facet of privacy.

The facet it critically examines is the experience of social privacy before instances of breach. It sets out to explore the research question; how is social privacy before instances of breach perceived whilst engaging with online social networking services? This study hypothesises that privacy is a varied experience dependent on the situation that an individual is in. The individual will seek out specific situations in order to have a specific experience of privacy.

Academic discourse within privacy studies has formed around the definition of the core term, privacy (Andrews, 2012, Bennett, 2011, Borena et al., 2013, Boyd, 2008: 13-20, Brin, 1998: 3-114, Cunningham et al., 2010: 26-40, Custers et al., 2013: 3-26, Fuchs, 2012, Gandy, 2002, Garfinkel, 2008: 3-12% [Kindle Edition], Gavison, 1980, Grimmelmann, 2010, Gross and Acquisti, 2005: 71-80, Jensen et al., 2005, Lever, 2012: 3-15, Madden et al., 2013, Mann, 2005, Mendel, 2012, Nippert-Eng, 2010, Nissenbaum, 2010, Petronio, 2002, Room, 2007, Solove, 2008, Solove, 2011: 36-38, Stalder, 2002: 120-124, Steeves, 2012, Strahilevitz, 2005: 919-988, Stutzman et al., 2013, Van Der Velden and El Emam, 2013: 16-24, Wacks, 2010, Warren and Brandeis, 1890, Westin, 1967). This has led to multiple studies with no clear single definition of privacy. Instead, these academics approach research through conceptualising privacy (see section 6 below). This broad range of conceptualisations has led Daniel Solove (2008: 1-12) to describe privacy as a concept in disarray, an observation that has been

echoed by some of his contemporaries (Grimmelmann, 2010, Nissenbaum, 2010: 23-43% [Kindle Edition], Steeves, 2012). This research embraces the 'disarray' of discourses within privacy studies through selecting one of the multiple specific facets of privacy to study.

Through embracing the disarray of discourses within privacy studies, this research can effectively identify a facet of privacy pertinent to study and suggest how discourses within privacy studies can be brought into array. As evidenced in the literature review (see section 6 and 7), the two broad facets of privacy studies are legal privacy and social privacy. While legal studies of privacy concentrate on informational control and data protection of an individual or group, social studies of privacy seek to understand privacy in the context of a person and/or group's culture. This research studies social privacy (see section 6.4).

Privacy is often discussed in relation to technology (Andrejevic, 2002, Andrews, 2012, Borena et al., 2013, Boyd, 2008: 13-20, Braman, 2012: 798-814, Brin, 1998: 3-114, Cunningham et al., 2010: 26-40, Debatin et al., 2009: 83-108, Gandy, 2008, Garfinkel, 2008: 3-12% [Kindle Edition], Grimmelmann, 2010, Gross and Acquisti, 2005: 71-80, Hosein, 2006: 11, Jarvis, 2011, Jensen et al., 2005, Lever, 2012: 35-47, Madden et al., 2013, Mann, 2005, Marwick, 2012: 378-395, Mendel, 2012, Nippert-Eng, 2010, Nissenbaum, 2010: 9-23%

[Kindle Edition], Solove, 2007, Solove, 2008, Solove, 2011: 36-38, Strahilevitz, 2005: 919-988, Sullivan, 2014, Trottier, 2012, Van Der Velden and El Emam, 2013: 16-24, Van Dijk, 2012: 121-3, Waldo et al., 2007, Wang et al., 2011, Young and Quan-Haase, 2013: 479-500), concentrating on instances of privacy breach (Andrews, 2012, Boyd, 2008: 13-20, Cunningham et al., 2010: 26-40, Debatin et al., 2009: 83-108, Garfinkel, 2008: 3-12% [Kindle Edition], Gummadi et al., 2013: 841-842, Harper et al., 2013:175-190, Lever, 2012: 35-47, Lyon, 2001: 37-48, Lyon, 2006, Madden et al., 2013, Nissenbaum, 2010: 9-23% [Kindle Edition], Solove, 2011: 36-38, Wang et al., 2011, Warren and Brandeis, 1890: 193). This research will also seek to discuss social privacy in relation to a technology ensuring it is building off the wealth of knowledge within the discipline. The technologies it will examine are online social networking services. As the literature review will demonstrate, online social networking services are a valuable contemporary exemplar of a transformative technology (Qualman, 2012: 22). By choosing this key technology, this research can build on previous methodological approaches (see section 12). As this research has identified how broad privacy studies are as a subject, selecting a technology to research allows for more meaningful findings through providing focus and social contexts. Therefore, rather than seek to understand instances of breach of social privacy, this research will study social privacy before instances of breach while engaging with online social networking services.

As evidenced in the literature review, social privacy is difficult to define because it is intersubjective; with different individuals and cultures having different opinions and views on what social privacy is. To manage this, this study used the specific sample group of contemporary British university students. This sample was also chosen as it was identified that this group were experiencing a change in attitude towards online social networking services (see section 15.1).

The literature review further demonstrates the experiential nature of privacy, ultimately establishing that social privacy is an emotional experience. An analytical framework is established in the literature review that forms a central research question: how is social privacy before instances of breach perceived whilst engaging with online social networking services? Therefore this research sought an appropriate method to address this question.

As the methodology chapter will illustrate (see section 12), a variety of methods have been used to study instances of breach of social privacy (see Andrejevic, 2002, Andrews, 2012, Borena et al., 2013, Braman, 2012: 798-814, Custers et al., 2013: 3-26, Garfinkel, 2008: 3-12% [Kindle Edition], Jensen et al., 2005, Nissenbaum, 2010: 9-23% [Kindle Edition], Trottier, 2012). However there has been limited methodological contribution to the study of social privacy before instances of breach. Therefore this study will make a further original

contribution to knowledge in its application of Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (see section 13.2) in social studies of privacy.

Phenomenology provides the depth and grounded approach necessary for the aim of this research. Practically, the methodology was implemented using two separate methods. The first method utilised sociological interviews with Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis to uncover aspects through which social privacy is experienced. The aspects considered when studying social privacy were veillance (types of veillance as defined by Steve Mann (2013) include surveillance, sousveillance, equiveillance (Mann, 2005, Mann, 2013), dataveillance (Garfinkel, 2008: 3-12% [Kindle Edition])) (see section 8), relationships (see section 9), and space (see section 10). As evidenced in the analysis chapter (see section 18 to 22) these aspects are experienced simultaneously. However, in order to understand them at depth they are examined and analysed separately.

As established in the literature review (see sections 6 to 11), in order to research privacy for this study it must be considered that it is a subjective experience. The individual is both watched by other individuals and watches other individuals. Specifically it established that the individual will at times desire to be subjected to surveillance and to withdraw from veillance at other times. Likewise the individual

will have a desire to subject other individuals to veillance at certain times, while having the desire to remove the gaze from them at other times.

The literature review will then establish that (see section 7 to 11), in order to research privacy for this study it was considered that it can be a social experience. This means that privacy happens socially within human relationships. The literature review established that there are different ways to define relationships, but in the context in which this study was established (see section 9.3), this study is seeking to examine the perceived relationship between one human being and another human being or group of human beings. Through the analysis of the responses to the interviews from the first method, it will examine social and asocial privacy to gain an understanding of how social privacy is affected by the individual's perception of their sociality. It will go on to examine the effects of mediating relationships on an individuals perception of social privacy, establishing, like the literature review that mediating relationships provides an opportunity for the individual to embrace and eschew strangers (as discussed in section 9.4), in order to fulfil their own needs.

Throughout the interview process, the research subjects consistently provided spatial contexts for their stories and explanations. The common theme of space and how the individual was positioned

within space was identified throughout each stage of the interview process. Space was used in varying ways when referring to the experience of social privacy. This research established the influence that spatial metaphors have on the experience of social privacy with online social networking services. It also examined the geographical bodily space of the research subjects using the work of Zigmunt Bauman (1995) and established that where the research subject is geographically located had an influence on how they perceive their social privacy.

The analysis of the second method triangulated the findings of the first method and examined the ways in which individuals perceive veillance, relationships and space simultaneously.

The final chapter of this study will conclude the findings of the research of this study, establishing that socially experienced privacy is influenced by an individual's simultaneous perception of space, relationships, veillance and their emotions. It is the attitudes and desires of the individuals towards these perceptions that determine if they are able to experience the social privacy that they desire and how they manage the privacy they are experiencing.

The research concludes that individuals do not always construct their perceptions of privacy through instances of breach. But rather

perceptions of privacy are constructed constantly through interaction with other groups and individuals whom they are associating with.

5 LITERATURE REVIEW

6 Literature Review Part 1 – Understanding

Privacy Studies

In *Liquid Surveillance*, David Lyon and Zigmunt Bauman discuss privacy with online social networking services. Bauman says:

“We submit our rights to privacy for slaughter of our own will. Or perhaps we just consent to the loss of privacy as a reasonable price for the wonders offered in exchange. Or the pressure to deliver our personal autonomy to the slaughterhouse is so overwhelming, so close to the condition of the flock of sheep, that only a few exceptionally rebellious, bold, pugnacious and resolute wills are prepared to make an earnest attempt to withstand it.” (Bauman and Lyon, 2013:21).

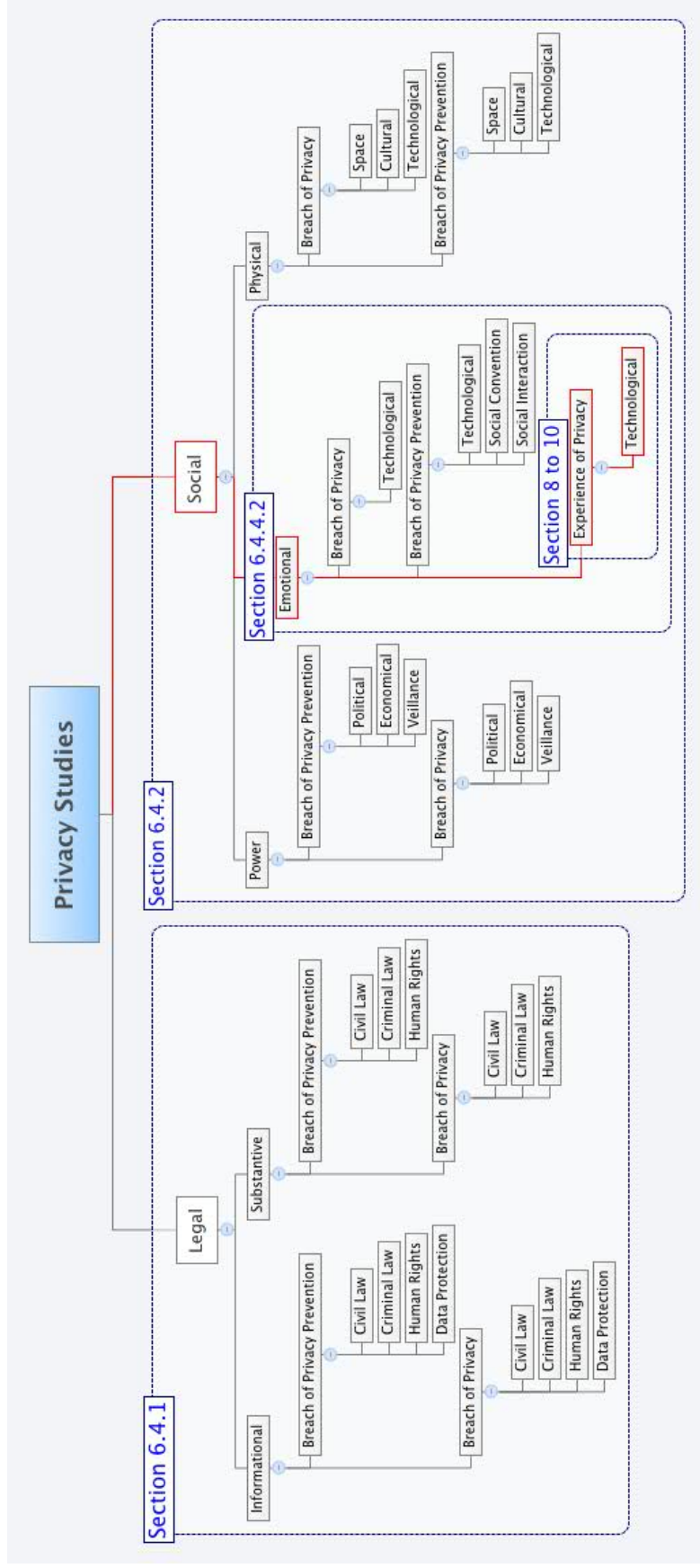
This is an example of the pervasive negativity present in discussions about privacy and an example of privacy being spoken of as a generalizable thing with a single definition applicable to everyone. It has positioned the use of online social networking services as the opposite of privacy. Bauman goes on to say that there is “a change in people’s views about what ought to be public and what ought to be

private” (Bauman and Lyon, 2013:22). Lyon and Bauman (2013: 18-52) believe that this change has been created by the advent of prevalent use of online social networking services. Contra to this assumption, this thesis will argue that online social networking services have highlighted the limitations of the approaches that are currently used to comprehend privacy. This study will show that social privacy is highly individualised with no single generalizable model that can fit all people: what privacy is for one may not be for another and that online social networking services are not “slaughterhouses’ of privacy. The study will demonstrate this by showing that there are multiple approaches to understanding privacy and by examining how privacy is achieved and enjoyed while interacting on online social networking services.

The figure (see figure 1) below sets out some of the current approaches to studies of privacy and goes some way to putting discourses within privacy studies in array. This is a necessary process as it will guide the reader through which facets of privacy that this research intends to address and which facets of privacy are not considered, providing the reader with the fullest account possible. The first tier of the diagram shows the two broad approaches to discourses within privacy studies, legal privacy and social privacy. The next tier breaks these down further into their respective facets of privacy studies. Beyond this, it can be seen that the facets are broken into the different approaches taken to provide greater

understanding. The path highlighted in red shows the direction that this study takes in its explication of social privacy.

This study followed a similar pattern when addressing the literature review. Part one of the literature review will discuss this diagram in some depth. In order to provide an understanding of the broad arguments in privacy debate, it will start by examining the two broad approaches to studies of privacy; legal privacy and social privacy. To provide further grounding, part one of the literature review will then go on to examine social privacy in more depth, drawing the readers attention to relevant academic work from across the different social privacy facets that can be drawn upon to explore the research question, how is social privacy before instances of breach perceived whilst engaging with online social networking services?



22 Figure 1: An array of privacy studies

Part two of the literature review introduces the under examined facet, the inter-subjective emotional experience of privacy. It will highlight that one way this can be examined is through a technological approach of online social networking services. For ease of navigation through this literature review, the diagram above has been presented with boundaries that have corresponding section numbers. These section numbers reflect the location in this study that discusses that particular area on the diagram.

6.1 Introduction to the Literature Review

As noted previously, academic discourse within privacy studies has formed around the definition of the core term, privacy (Andrews, 2012, Bennett, 2011, Borena et al., 2013, Boyd, 2008: 13-20, Brin, 1998: 3-114, Cunningham et al., 2010: 26-40, Custers et al., 2013: 3-26, Debatin et al., 2009: 83-108, Fuchs, 2012, Gandy, 2002, Garfinkel, 2008: 3-12% [Kindle Edition], Gavison, 1980, Grimmelmann, 2010, Gross and Acquisti, 2005: 71-80, Jensen et al., 2005, Lever, 2012: 35-47, Madden et al., 2013, Mann, 2005, Mendel, 2012, Nippert-Eng, 2010, Nissenbaum, 2010: 9-23% [Kindle Edition], Petronio, 2002, Room, 2007, Solove, 2008, Solove, 2011: 36-38, Stalder, 2002: 120-124, Steeves, 2012, Strahilevitz, 2005: 919-988, Stutzman et al., 2013, Van Der Velden and El Emam, 2013: 16-24, Wacks, 2010, Warren and Brandeis, 1890, Westin, 1967). This has

led to multiple studies with no clear single definition of privacy. There is a broad range of conceptualisations of privacy, which Daniel Solove (2008: 1-12) describes as a concept in disarray. This observation is expressed as a negative, suggesting that privacy should be simplified into one workable definition, rather than having multiple pathways to a greater understanding. By organising discourses within privacy studies into its different academic and philosophical approaches, this study will provide a greater depth.

This study starts by identifying that in privacy studies there are two main approaches followed by scholars: legal privacy or social privacy (see section 6.4). Both of these approaches broadly define the philosophical utility of privacy. Legal privacy, for example, concerns itself with the artefacts of privacy such as data. While social privacy is concerned with the affects of interaction of individuals in society on privacy. While there may be instances in which the two may cross, making a distinction between the two at the beginning of the study is important as it indicates the broad aim of the study.

This study will address social privacy in three areas, the influence that perceptions of veillance, relationships, and space have on an individual's experience of privacy while engaging with online social networking services. This research shows the detailed reasons for taking this approach in section 6.4, but initially this study will present an overview of the contemporary and historical debates surrounding

privacy, to provide greater context and grounding for the findings of this study.

6.2 The Contemporary Importance of Privacy Studies

In June 2013 news outlets began reporting on what they described as an invasion by the US Government agency, The National Security Agency (NSA), on the privacy of millions of citizens across the globe (Eaton, 2015, The Guardian Online, 2015). The invasions to which they referred were the NSA's policy to record the digital activities of citizens by default, in order to combat terrorism. What became apparent in the aftermath of this were the great variations in the attitudes and opinions that people had towards the NSA's activities. News outlets argued a legal infringement, questioning if the NSA had a right to operate in such a way (The Guardian Online, 2015). Others simply did not mind, while others had no opinion (Bever, 2013). It fast became apparent that different people had different attitudes towards privacy and what it was.

This study argues that where a lot of the different ideas about privacy come from is in part due to a lack of understanding of privacy as a multifaceted phenomenon. The next sections (6.3) of this chapter will examine some of these facets in order to show how one way of looking at privacy may not be more correct than the other, but in order

to add greater depth to understanding privacy, it is necessary to tease out a facet(s) to examine. This will be done in section 7.

6.3 Bringing Privacy Studies Into Array

There is a wealth of literature on privacy from the multitude of different facets of privacy studies. In order to bring some of these facets into array, the historical context in which they were written will be examined. As this study shows, individual studies of privacy tend to be written in technological contexts (Andrews, 2012, Backes et al., 2015, Bennett, 2011, Borena et al., 2013, Boyd, 2008: 13-20, Braman, 2012: 798-814, Brandimarte et al., 2013: 340-347, Brin, 1998: 3-114, Burkell et al., 2013: 8-23, Cunningham et al., 2010: 26-40, Custers et al., 2013: 3-26, Debatin et al., 2009: 83-108, Fuchs, 2012, Garfinkel, 2008: 3-12% [Kindle Edition], Gavison, 1980, Grimmelmann, 2010: 3-12, Gross and Acquisti, 2005: 71-80, Gummadi et al., 2013: 841-842, Hosein, 2006: 11, Jarvis, 2011, Jensen et al., 2005, Lever, 2012: 35-47, Levmore and Nussbaum, 2010: 1-14, Livingstone, 2008: 393-411, Lyon, 2003, Madden et al., 2013, Margulis, 2003: 411-429, Mendel, 2012, Nippert-Eng, 2010, Nissenbaum, 2010: 9-23% [Kindle Edition], Petronio, 2002, Rodrigues, 2010: 237-258, Room, 2007, Shklovski et al., 2014, Shokri et al., 2011: 247-262, Sloan and Warner, 2014, Solove, 2007, Solove, 2008, Solove, 2010: 15-30, Solove, 2011: 36-38, Stalder,

2002: 120-124, Steeves, 2012, Stone, 2010: 174-194, Strahilevitz, 2005: 919-988, Strahilevitz, 2010: 217-236, Stutzman et al., 2013, Svanæs, 2013, Trottier, 2012, Tsan-Sheng et al., 2002, Van Der Velden and El Emam, 2013: 16-24, Wacks, 2010, Waldo et al., 2007, Wang et al., 2011, Warren and Brandeis, 1890, Westin, 1967, Wittkower, 2010, Young and Quan-Haase, 2013: 479-500, Zhou et al., 2011: 1-8), making use of the theoretical or actual use of a technology that has breached an individual's privacy as contextual grounding for the study. This study itself makes use of online social networking services as technological grounding and the observations it produces will be in this context. For this reason understanding some historical contexts of discourses within privacy studies allows in-depth judgements to be made as to the usefulness of certain theories and assumptions.

The following sections will examine privacy discourse and this study will argue that it can be categorised into two main debates; reactionary debate and pre-emptive debate. In reactionary debate an instance of breach occurs and causes a debate as to how someone's privacy should be protected to prevent future instances of breach. The pre-emptive debate is difficult to separate from the reactionary debate as it is often in reaction to a new product or service, however the important distinction is that it fictionalises situations in which an instance of breach may occur. This distinction is important to make, as it will highlight the motivations for the debate.

6.4 The Legal and Social Approaches to Privacy Studies

As previously noted, there are two broad initial approaches to studies of privacy, legal privacy and social privacy. Valerie Steeves (2012: 192-208) identified these two differing initial approaches in contemporary privacy debate. She says that there is a gap between the goals of legislation and the reality of the way in which it is implemented, due to the legal conceptualisations of privacy being stripped of social context.

Each of these starting points has a unique philosophical stance, with the legal facet considering privacy as something that can be defined, legislated, and more importantly generalizable across entire populations. Or in other words, something that can either be considered private or public. The social approach on the other hand blurs the lines between private and public and sometimes even suggests that the two are not mutually exclusive, but rather there is no private and public binary, just varying experiences of privacy.

As this study shows, the historical context of discourses within privacy studies has shown a desire in academics to protect privacy as a right and to prevent instances of breach of privacy. Exploring the legal and social approaches to privacy studies will help

understand the differences in each approach. Of particular relevance to this study is the social approach, as it can be used to observe privacy before instances of breach, whereas the legal approach concerns itself with preventing instances of breach or the consequences of an instance of breach.

As this thesis shows, academics use many conceptualisations of privacy. This thesis will not argue that their conceptualisation of privacy is wrong, but rather that they are one of the many ways to comprehend and perceive privacy. Similarly, this thesis will not argue that there is one single definition or conceptualisation of privacy, but rather there is a whole array worthy of note and study in order to understand the details and complexity of privacy. The next section will use this to address legal facets of privacy studies.

6.4.1 Legal Privacy

Through in-depth reading of prominent privacy scholars, observations can be made that draw comparisons between their linguistic styles and those of the popular discourse of the time. Scholars, such as Boyd (2008: 13-20), Gavison (1980), Nissenbaum (2010), and Solove (2011: 36-38) discussed in later sections explore privacy through legal privacy concepts.

Legal privacy has its roots in western liberalism. Warren and Brandeis (1890: 193) coined the phrase “the right to be let alone” as direct retaliation to the prevalence of cheaply available Kodak Snap Cameras. For the first time, the layman could afford a camera, which also meant they could photograph the rich and famous (Solove, 2008: 15). The term “right to be let alone” was therefore intended to protect the individual from a perceived mediated technology risk.

Samuel Warren and Louis Brandeis (1890) wrote the following quoted article for Harvard Law Review. Warren and Brandeis were American legal practitioners at the time of writing and as such, this article discusses a legal facet of privacy.

“That the individual shall have full protection in person and in property is a principle as old as the common law; but it has been found necessary from time to time to define anew the exact nature and extent of such protection. Political, social, and economic changes entail the recognition of new rights, and the common law, in its eternal youth, grows to meet the new demands of society. Thus, in very early times, the law gave a remedy only for physical interference with life and property, for trespasses vi et armis. Then the "right to life" served only to protect the subject from battery in its various forms; liberty meant freedom from actual restraint; and the right to property secured to the individual his lands and his

cattle. Later, there came a recognition of man's spiritual nature, of his feelings and his intellect. Gradually the scope of these legal rights broadened; and now the right to life has come to mean the right to enjoy life, -- the right to be let alone; the right to liberty secures the exercise of extensive civil privileges; and the term "property" has grown to comprise every form of possession -- intangible, as well as tangible.”
(Warren and Brandeis, 1890:193)

The argument being made here is one of legal precedent. The argument is for re-interpretation of common law into something more applicable for society at the time of publication. Towards the end of the above quote, it is insinuated that the individual's desire to enjoy life was not seen as a part of life necessary to protect as a right. The first way in which Warren and Brandeis are saying that the right to enjoyment can occur, is in the right to be let alone. They go on through the text to express further the shift from physical protection by law, to a common law that enables the individual's emotions to also be protected; thus affording the individual an experience of the optimum “beauty” that life has to offer. Initially, this text appears to be offering a pre-emptive debate in which Warren and Brandeis are describing what they deem to be natural progression and the creation of a better word for all. Significantly the latter part of this text shows how the arguments being made are in fact a reactionary debate to a new technology.

Warren and Brandeis published this work as a reaction to the widespread use of Kodak Snap Cameras (Solove, 2008: 15-18). The Kodak Snap camera was a new widely available product that allowed amateurs to take photographs. As a result, the practice of photography, particularly in the media, greatly increased. They even go as far as describing the practices of the press as evil and expressing that;

“The press is overstepping in every direction the obvious bounds of propriety and of decency. Gossip is no longer the resource of the idle and of the vicious, but has become a trade, which is pursued with industry as well as effrontery. To satisfy a prurient taste the details of sexual relations are spread broadcast in the columns of the daily papers. To occupy the indolent, column upon column is filled with idle gossip, which can only be procured by intrusion upon the domestic circle. The intensity and complexity of life, attendant upon advancing civilization, have rendered necessary some retreat from the world, and man, under the refining influence of culture, has become more sensitive to publicity, so that solitude and privacy have become more essential to the individual; but modern enterprise and invention have, through invasions upon his privacy, subjected him to mental pain and

distress, far greater than could be inflicted by mere bodily injury.” (Warren and Brandeis, 1890:194)

It can be inferred from this text that there is a clear division of desires being expressed by Warren and Brandeis. There is a clear reactionary desire for protection against the invasion of the media into the lives of individuals.

Linguistically, the contrast is obvious. Protection and obtainment of privacy is described with euphoric type statements, while those that wish to take part in the “invasion” or breach of privacy are presented with the lowest of morals. This takes the debate on privacy firmly into the realms of emotion and establishes publication of information as the enemy of privacy, with the Yellow Press as the main perpetrator.

In this early definition, it can be seen that there are already two main arguments being presented for why the individual should have this right to be let alone. Firstly, the act of taking a photograph is invasive. At the time the camera operator will be close to the individual who is subject of the picture, invading their space and forcing them into something they may not wish to be part of. Secondly, the photograph produced is an artefact. The photograph contains information that can be transferred to other individuals and potentially cause damage to reputation if the content of the photograph is socially unsavoury. Stewart Room (2007: 5) described

these two approaches as informational and substantive. Informational privacy and Substantive privacy form the secondary facets of legal privacy (see figure 1)

Room (2007: 5) takes conceptualising further than the previously discussed academics in that he identifies two concepts of privacy. His concepts are prevalent in current academic discourse within the discipline of jurisprudence, and he names them 'Substantive' and 'Informational'. Room generally defines Substantive privacy as the intervention by one person in another person's life. If this were to be considered as a definition of privacy, it could be considered remarkably close to Warren and Brandeis (1890: 193) phrase "the right to be let alone" that seemingly encompasses every possible situation or eventuality, from an individual being kicked in the shin, to an unpleasant odour causing offence. Room has altered this definition into a concept that allows for interpretation of when someone has the right to be 'let alone'. For instance, western society routinely deprives prisoners the right to be let alone and imposes monitoring upon them (Schwartz, 1972).

Substantive privacy as conceptualised implies that an individual can control who has access to them, whereas practically it would be impossible for someone to control who has access to him or her in all circumstances. What Room's concept does introduce though is a

greater appreciation for those trying to gain access. This becomes particularly apparent when considering informational privacy.

Informational privacy is defined by Room (2007:5) as “the individuals right to decide who can keep data about them”. This concept is, again, heavily entrenched in the tradition of jurisprudence that is often attributed primarily to Alan Westin’s (1967:7) statement that “privacy 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”. From a legal viewpoint, this can initially appear useful as it seemingly empowers the individual. But when we consider instances where the individual has no option to decide who holds information on them (such as passing someone in the street, governments registering birth, colleagues learning about who you are and so on), it becomes a concept similar in which we base our understanding of privacy on completely unobtainable situations that are held (linguistically at least) as the ultimate euphoric state of privacy.

Informational privacy does presuppose that an individual will have a level of understanding and appreciation for where their information is at all times. It is extremely difficult to maintain control of information, especially the sorts of information that is constantly and consistently exchanged. As Sandra Petronio (2002: 6-9) says, there are some individuals, such as small children, who should not be able to decide

who keeps information about them, as it is necessary for their development that their parents or guardians monitor them. Similarly the same could be said for those we deem unsuitable to be part of our society; for example, offenders are routinely monitored to ensure they do not cause more societal harm. But also less severe instances of information exchange are impossible to control. James Grimmelman (2010: 3-12) provides the example of buying gum from a newsstand, where the cashier will learn what you look like and that you like gum. For this reason, this study will focus on the more subtle nuances of privacy in its social context to unpack the experience of privacy further.

Not all information, as defined by Room (2007: 5), can be controlled and it may not be desirable to allow some to have control either. So while this approach has its limitations, it is easy to see why it is used as a concept; it empowers the individual's rights. The roots of Room's work can be seen in the work of Ruth Gavison (1980).

Ruth Gavison (1980) is primarily concerned with how privacy can be understood in order to create more efficient legal processes through defining it as the extent to which someone or something has power over an individual, but not control of them. This she terms as a neutral concept.

She places the neutral concept of privacy as the most important, saying “First, we must have a neutral concept of privacy that will enable us to identify when a loss of privacy has occurred so that discussions of privacy and claims of privacy can be intelligible” (Gavison, 1980:4). Neutral privacy for Gavison, is the attempt to understand privacy without describing it “as a claim, a psychological state, or an area that should not be invaded... [Or] as a form of control” (Gavison, 1980:421). For these reasons, we are also encouraged not to attempt to understand the value of privacy through the neutral concept, but instead we are to only seek to identify losses of privacy. Gavison argues that for a legal system to operate efficiently the losses of privacy must be descriptive only so that they do not pre-empt any questions that we may have about the loss. Gavison (1980:421) says that the “individual experiences perfect privacy when he is completely inaccessible to others”, whilst acknowledging that this is actually unobtainable and probably not desirable for the individual. Perfect neutral privacy as a concept is impossible to achieve and is unusable for the methodologies deployed in this research, which necessarily involve a social dimension. Gavison’s ‘perfect privacy’ is not a sufficient starting point as she wants to understand privacy from the perspective of it being lost, yet by using her definition, in every situation the victim of loss was actually never experiencing perfect privacy to begin with.

Gavison's work pre-supposes that privacy should be entirely understood from the perspective of the individual who is losing it and it simplifies the concept into something that should only be observed in instances of breach. She says that "the individual always loses privacy when he becomes the subject of attention" (Gavison, 1980:421) which does account for the person that is paying attention. More account therefore, has to be made for the relationships involved in privacy and this study will examine this in more depth in section 9.

Raymond Wacks adds to this argument from a legal standpoint through acknowledging privacy through surveillance-based concepts, identifying a relationship between individuals and objects of surveillance. He acknowledges the many facets of privacy studies and argues that it is contributing to the confusion around the definition of the key term, privacy.

"The concept of privacy has become too vague and unwieldy a concept to perform useful analytical work. This ambiguity has actually undermined the importance of this value and encumbered its effective protection" (Wacks, 2010: 14% [Kindle Edition])

Wacks argues that previous academics who have written about privacy have done so in too broad a manner. His statement that privacy is "a multitude of incursions" (Wacks 2010: 14% [Kindle

Edition]) shows how Wacks is describing what privacy is, by defining what it is not. Or in simpler terms, Wacks is describing what happens to privacy in instances of breach. He uses an analogy of George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (Orwell, 1949), by saying that modern society already "displays features of, the Orwellian horror of relentless scrutiny" (Wacks: 14% [Kindle Edition]). *Nineteen Eighty-Four* as a work of fiction is intended to produce certain emotions from the reader, namely one of fear of surveillance and monitoring.

Wacks makes use of a case study when the South African government wiretapped anti-apartheid activists' telephones and the subsequent "stilted and unnatural" dialogue that was conditioned into society (Wacks, 2010:17% [Kindle Edition]). It is hard for the majority of readers to agree with apartheid. Wacks has begged the question of privacy. This standpoint of understanding relationships as intrusions on privacy serves to highlight what potentially threatens it.

It is apparent that the legal approach tends to take the route of negative incursions on the individual to examine privacy. The association of truth and beauty with privacy has enshrined privacy as the ultimate 'thing' that an individual in a liberal democracy could hope to obtain, not because privacy itself is desirable, but because the opposite of privacy has been presented as evil and anti-liberal.

It is important to note therefore that not only is there minimal indication as to what privacy is, the lack of indication and study as to what the opposite of privacy is, is also apparent. With privacy frequently being equated with an individual's control over their information or self (Andrews, 2012, Borena et al., 2013, Boyd, 2008: 13-20, Debatin et al., 2009: 83-108, Grimmelmann, 2010: 3-12, Jensen et al., 2005: 203-227, Madden et al., 2013, Room, 2007: 5, Stalder, 2002: 120-124, Strahilevitz, 2005: 919-988, Trottier, 2012, Wang et al., 2011, Young and Quan-Haase, 2013: 479-500), a study of instances in which an individual has relinquished information of the self may indicate the validity of the 'ultimate beauty' of complete control or detachment.

These legal concepts are concerned with understanding the loss or breach of privacy and written from the viewpoint that protection of the individual is key to understanding privacy. While this approach is useful in certain contexts, it is important for us to know what it is that we desire to protect. Thus it is important for us to understand privacy before instances of breach. In order to do this the social approach to privacy studies will be examined. This will be done in the next sections (see section 6.4.2).

6.4.2 Social Privacy

Even scholars with a legal background have highlighted the social aspects of privacy. James Grimmelman (2010: 8) says that privacy provides the rules for social interaction and that everyone knows these rules “not because they were given the rules of friendship, but because in our ordinarily social life we understand what is appropriate and what isn’t”. Valerie Steeves (2012: 192-208) expresses similar sentiments, highlighting that privacy can be often understood in the day-to-day negotiation of social norms within relationships. This shows how social privacy as a concept is primarily concerned with how individuals interact with each other. But given the vast types of interactions that occur between individuals, social privacy soon becomes too broad a concept. Different approaches to understanding social privacy have been sought. The next sections will examine the roles of power, politics, emotion and the creation of privacy in our understanding of what privacy is.

6.4.2.1 Politics and Power in Privacy Studies

As previously examined, politics and power were used as a route to understanding; similarly these have been used in social approaches to understanding. Christian Fuchs (2012: 139-159) contextualises privacy as political economy. In *Capitalism*, he associates privacy as

an ideology of financial secrecy. The ideology primarily serves to prevent the knowledge gain of the top earners income and worth. However an observed secondary function is to prevent knowledge of the income gap between different classes (Fuchs, 2012: 139-159). For Fuchs, Capitalist privacy values are primarily informational contextualised through control. The conceptualisation is that the information being exchanged in Capitalist contexts is primarily from the consumer to the company. The information is then processed and used to create monetary wealth for the organization (Fuchs, 2012: 139-159). This is similar to the previous discussion of Warren and Brandeis, where knowledge gain was seen as power.

When discussed in this context the right to privacy of both the public and private sector is acknowledged, as well as the laws in place governing the use of user data, similar to the concept set out by Room (2007: 5). It does not however necessarily allow for transparency so that the user can understand how their data is being used.

Fuchs provides some self-critique by observing that the Capitalist context provides little room to understand privacy from the perspective of the user. It idealizes the aims of the company and presents privacy laws as something to adhere to but not necessarily desire. The user is likely to have very different views of privacy than her user data. Fuchs says that she is instead likely to seek a more

socialist context in which she can have a personal relationship with her own data. The user does not tend to value their data in terms of monetary gain, but she does often report that she values her information. Here it can be seen that Fuchs is making the statement that there are multiple approaches to understanding privacy, of which power is one.

There is a blurring between the legal and social approaches to privacy studies when considering power and politics. Most notably this is shown in the works of Allan Westin (1967: 5-64), who writes extensively about both the social and legal approaches.

Allan Westin was a prominent privacy scholar. He belonged to the liberal western democracy of the United States of America and as such, his writings must be examined in this context. He writes;

“Privacy 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, 1967:7).

This approach serves to cover all aspects of western life. Ultimately this implies some form of group construct where privacy will be linked to a shared experience and the group has itself become one being under the condition of privacy.

Westin (1967) expands on his definition to say that privacy should be viewed in terms of social participation:

“Viewed in terms of the relation of the individual to social participation, privacy is the voluntary and temporary withdrawal of a person from the general society through physical or psychological means, either in a state of solitude or small-group intimacy or, when among larger groups, in a condition of anonymity or reserve” (Westin, 1967: 7).

Westin’s definitions are loosely based upon anthropological observations, and argued as though privacy will help build a stronger, stable society (Allen, 1988: 42). The overriding argument that Westin makes with privacy is its necessity to protect the family unit in a liberal democracy. Without an understanding of protecting privacy as a right, Westin felt that the liberal democracy would concentrate too much on protecting its own political process and ‘freedom’ that it gives to the electorate to elect representatives and not enough emphasis is given to the activities that the electorate engages in outside of the political process.

This adds to the linguistic negativity, furthering the ‘privacy as ultimate beauty’ attitude. This time, however, the enemy of privacy has been introduced as the non-liberal democracy. Privacy gives Westin the ability to comment on the ‘Freedom’ of the west

compared to the communist, enemy nations of the U.S.A at the time of writing.

Much like Warren and Brandeis' (1890: 194) use of the language of morals and religion, Westin is using the language of ideology; ideology that the reader would want to agree with out of liberal obligation: privacy is part of a liberal democracy therefore it must be defended. Westin (1967: 5-64) argues that privacy is a good thing that all citizens want to obtain and that it is a right that is necessary to protect. This is highly political and as such, serves the political nature of many studies into privacy.

This shows the similarities between legal and social approaches to privacy studies when looking at power and politics. Broadly, they have both been concerned with preventing something from happening. The key distinction is the acknowledgement that these concepts are sometimes too complex for individuals to understand. Other conceptualisations of social privacy attempt to remove some complexity, as this study will show in the next section.

6.4.2.2 Emotion

It is necessary to acknowledge that there are existing studies on emotions and media (especially uses and gratification theory (Larose

and Eastin, 2004, Raacke and Bonds-Raacke, 2008: 169-174, Ruggiero, 2000, Urista et al., 2009: 215-229, West and Turner, 2007)), however this research is bringing the study of emotions and privacy together. Emotions when theorised account for how the individual constructs what is happening to them (Lazarus et al., 1980: 189-217). Therefore the literature examined in this section will be predominantly from privacy scholars.

As noted previously, many discussions of privacy are concerned with instances of breach. When discussing instances of breach of privacy, Hosein (2006:11) argues that when something “feels wrong... is often the most helpful delineation between when an incursion into the private lives of an individual is reasonable or not”. This shows how emotion can be key to understanding privacy. It also firmly expresses privacy as a subjective phenomenon. If emotion is key to understanding privacy, then privacy will be different for every individual. The legal conceptualisations noted above, become problematic to use if the study is seeking to establish emotions and privacy.

This approach is not an exclusively contemporary one. As previously noted Westin (1967) uses an anthropological approach to examining privacy, saying “privacy 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,

1967:7). As previously discussed, this approach serves to cover all aspects of western life.

Westin (1967) expands on his definition to say that privacy should be viewed in terms of social participation:

“Viewed in terms of the relation of the individual to social participation, privacy is the voluntary and temporary withdrawal of a person from the general society through physical or psychological means, either in a state of solitude or small- group intimacy or, when among larger groups, in a condition of anonymity or reserve” (Westin, 1967:7).

This is to say that the individuals, groups, or institutions will withdraw from participating in social groups for varying amounts of time, be it psychologically or physiologically. The withdrawal can be observed through an individuals desire to experience a different form of social participation, such as “solitude, or small group intimacy, or when among larger groups in a condition of anonymity” (Westin, 1967:7). Westin uses this definition as it allows for privacy to be conceptualised as a general condition in which the individual can seek varying levels of privacy. He observes that whilst the individual desires privacy, they will equally desire participation in society, and thus “each individual is continually engaged in a personal desire for privacy with the desire for disclosure and communication of himself to others” (Westin, 1967:7). This is a concept that places privacy into a binary condition. It claims that you can lose your privacy through

the desire to share yourself with someone else. Privacy becomes something that you reluctantly give up in order to gain something else, however the motivation for doing so is one based in desire and emotion. The explanation given is one of desire to participate in social relationships, which will be discussed in section 9.

The acknowledgement that humans are emotional beings is useful. It expresses privacy as a subjective experience. Though it must be acknowledged that many observations of privacy are primarily written about instances of breach of privacy and not addressing what privacy actually is (Mendel et al., 2012: 11). Some work exists that examines the creation of privacy. This research will discuss this in the next section.

6.4.2.3 Experience of Privacy

As this research has shown, privacy is often discussed in terms of instances of breach. This research has also shown that it can be thought of as a subjective emotional experience. Bennett (2011) expresses concerns that privacy is often too closely associated with human rights. He says, “Philosophically privacy has its roots in liberal rationalism, and the notion of separation between the state and civil society” (Bennett, 2011:486). He is critical of this concept as it is entirely focused on protecting oneself from other organisations that

could be intrusive. He finds it worrying that this particular conceptual trend frequently expresses an idea of perfect privacy being one of complete detachment from everyone/thing else.

Bennett criticises historical works and the close relationship between studies of privacy and surveillance. He says there is a tendency for the language used to describe privacy to be similar to the language used when talking about physical space. He criticises the usefulness of this linguistic analogy due to its inherently subjective nature. Because of this, it becomes difficult to further the debate and study surrounding privacy as a right; the concept requires interpretation of space.

For Bennett, privacy cannot exist in isolation. It instead exists in relationships. It is the negotiation of sharing information and the norms of the relationship that allows privacy to exist. What we are legislating is actually the management of processing data and information. What we consider as privacy in the situation in which data is processed is the risk that you can be subjected to through the assignment or membership to certain groups; as the sorting and classification of an individual conditions the observer to make assumptions about the observed. Even when the data has been made anonymous (not linked to a name), it is impossible to feel as though privacy has been maintained, as the identifiableness of data is also subjective.

Bennett is making the suggestion that current studies into privacy have only taken us so far. He is arguing that privacy is subjective and because of this it has been difficult to study. Therefore, it is important for this current study to address the subjective nature of privacy. This will culminate in an analytical framework that accounts for the subjectivity in section 6.5.

This research acknowledges the disarray of privacy concepts and begins to think of its study in terms of social interaction. Privacy, in this sense, is a state of being or an emotion, a condition, and broadly an experience. Privacy is something that we are continually subjected to, because we are constantly under a condition of it (This will be examined in detail in sections 18 to 22). The next section introduces an analytical framework with which to explore this line of enquiry further.

6.5 Moving Towards an Analytical Framework for Understanding Privacy

The aforementioned academics and works that have been discussed so far in this literature review have created an overview of discourses within privacy studies in both a historical and contemporary context. This has led to an insight into the disarray of the many facets of

privacy studies. With this understanding, it is now necessary to establish the analytical framework deployed to examine contemporary social privacy.

As this research has previously noted, privacy is frequently discussed in relation to technology (Braman, 2012: 798-814, Brin, 1998: 3-114, Garfinkel, 2008: 3-12% [Kindle Edition], Greenfield, 2006: 26, Jarvis, 2011, Mann, 2005, Nissenbaum, 2010: 9-23% [Kindle Edition], Solove, 2007, Solove, 2008: 15-18, Wacks, 2010: 5% [Kindle Edition], Westin, 1967: 69-89), especially in terms of breach (Jarvis, 2011: 66, Lyon, 2001: 37-48, Pariser, 2011: 239-242, Weisburd et al., 2006: 549-592, Zittain, 2009: 200-234). The overriding trend of these academics is to discuss privacy in their respective technological contexts, which can also be seen in the Anglophone journalistic tendency to talk of privacy as a recent phenomenon (Afp, 2013, Bever, 2013, Grady, 2013). This line of enquiry not only overemphasises the technological experiences of privacy, but it also becomes a discipline concerned with instances of breach of privacy. This in turn has led to instances of breach of privacy being discussed in negative terms (Gandy, 2002: 11, Garfinkel, 2008: 3-12% [Kindle Edition], Keen, 2007: 61% [Kindle Edition], Mayer-Schönberger, 2009: 11, Rand, 1961: 84, Wacks, 2010: 5% [Kindle Edition], Zittain, 2009: 200-234), for example the dystopic visions presented by George Orwell in the novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.

As this research has shown, in addition to this, studies into privacy have an historical narrative (as seen in (Garfinkel, 2008: 3-12% [Kindle Edition], Grimmelmann, 2010, Nissenbaum, 2010, Solove, 2008, Stalder, 2002: 120-124, Steeves, 2012, Wacks, 2010). Academics set out their lines of enquiry in a chronological path of critique ending with a new conceptualisation of privacy, (informational privacy, substantive privacy (Room, 2007: 5), normative privacy (Gavison ,1980: 4), Socially Negotiated Privacy Steeves (2012: 192-208), privacy as political economy (Fuchs, 2012: 139-159))

Many of the aforementioned scholars have their cultural roots in the liberal western democracies, particularly the United States of America. Subsequently their works tend to reflect the dominant legal discourses and political movements of their time. This has led to many rationalisations of privacy that fail to account for human experience.

Paradoxically, some prominent legal scholars (Gavison, 1980, Room, 2007) do openly acknowledge that privacy is in part an emotional human experience, whilst simultaneously advocating the need to ignore this aspect for effective governance. Through this, privacy study has been claimed as a primarily legal concern, which while acknowledging is part of the epistemology through with privacy can

be comprehended, it is not exclusively through this route that understanding can be sought.

Having reviewed the work of the privacy scholars noted above, a clear line of enquiry can be formed that suggests that there is a need to consider five different aspects of privacy, in order to address it effectively within this study;

1. In order to address privacy in this study it was considered that it exists before instances of breach.
2. In order to address privacy in this study it was considered that it is an emotional experience.
3. In order to address privacy in this study it was considered that it is subjective.
4. In order to address privacy in this study it was considered that it is often experienced socially.
5. In order to address privacy in this study it was considered that it is contextual.

While the first two of these points have been discussed in some depth in the first part of this literature review, the last three are also important to examine. The second part of this literature review will look at the other three. The literature review has highlighted the need to select a technology in order to undertake an effective study. This research has sought to select a technology that is considered

transformative and an exemplar of the modern context in which the study is written. Online social networking services have been selected as a transformative technology (Qualman, 2012: 22). Online social networking services are also an exemplar of the time at which this research was conducted and they are of particular prominence in the lives of the research sample selected in the methodology (see section 15.1). They also present an opportunity to understand a culture that has formed around a technology (see section 8.2).

7 Literature Review Part 2 – A Framework For This Study

The first part of this literature review showed how there are multifaceted historical and contemporary studies in privacy that have created conceptualisations to help understand privacy. Interpretation of the studies highlighted five key things that must be acknowledged to understand social privacy.

The first thing it considered for this study is that privacy exists before instances of breach. This has been examined in some depth in Part 1 of this literature review, and will be addressed more fully in the methodology chapter.

The second thing it considered for this study is that privacy is an emotional experience. This too has been examined in Part 1 of this literature review, but becomes more pertinent for the methodological design, where a phenomenological method will be selected to help understand this aspect of privacy.

The second part of this literature review will examine in more depth the remaining three things it considered for this study about privacy. These three things will form the structure of the enquiry into privacy.

This study must consider the subjective nature of privacy. This research will do this in the next section where this study will discuss privacy literature that seeks to understand the role of the individual in privacy. Much of this literature comes from surveillance studies and as such is not social privacy. However interpretation with aid from other relevant literature will build an understanding of how veillance can affect how privacy is experienced.

To consider that privacy is experienced socially this study will look at how relationships affect the experience of privacy. Much of this literature will come from social privacy scholars, but with further interpretation from relationship studies, an in-depth account will be formed.

Finally this study considered that privacy is contextual. As the analysis chapter of this study shows, when discussing privacy the test subjects used a variety of spatial metaphors and allegories to express the contexts in which they were experiencing privacy. Therefore, this section will examine the role that spatial context has in the experience of privacy.

8 Veillance

8.1 Introduction

One element of privacy that has been identified in the literature review is the role that veillance plays in perceptions of privacy. Veillance is a term coined by Steve Mann (2013) and is used to describe any veillance-based activity (surveillance, sousveillance, equiveillance (Mann, 2005, Mann, 2013), dataveillance (Garfinkel, 2008: 3-12% [Kindle Edition])). It is necessary to use this term as it removes any of the existing power associations with surveillance (watch from above) sousveillance (watch from below) equiveillance (watch equally) and dataveillance (digitally watch without knowledge). Veillance instead simply accounts for watching and/or being watched.

This section will examine existing literature on the role of veillance in privacy. It will use literature from veillance studies and construct an understanding of veillance and the individual; an individual who subjects others to surveillance and is also under surveillance. The technical context of this study has been identified as online social networking services, thus the starting point for examining the role veillance has on the experience of privacy will be to examine veillance and identity with online social networking services.

8.2 Cultures Surrounding Online Social Networking Services

Boyd and Ellison (2007: 210-230) observe that social networking services have attracted study from multiple academic disciplines, many with unique methodological approaches to their study. They also argue that online social networking services have consistent key technological features, but that the cultures that emerge around online social networking service are distinct, with online social networking services catering for specific interests or catering for a specific language. The common theme they identify is the social nature of the online social networking service.

Strong, weak, and latent ties have been used to examine the social connection of individuals on online social networking service (Haythornthwaite, 2002: 385-401, Haythornthwaite, 2005: 125-147). This research suggests that ties exist between communicators wherever an exchange of information occurs and that the strength of the tie relies on “frequency of contact, duration of the association, intimacy of the tie, provision of reciprocal services, and kinship” (Haythornthwaite, 2002: 386), with the higher levels of which resulting in strong ties such as marriage and lower levels resulting in weaker ties such as strangers. It is argued that the internet has

created a third type of tie, the latent tie (Boyd and Ellison, 2007: 210-230, Haythornthwaite, 2002: 385-401, Haythornthwaite, 2005: 125-147). The latent tie is a tie where the connection technologically exists that is yet to be socially activated and online social networking service provide the means of activation. This means that online social networking service provide a means for an individual to connect with strangers, though previous studies argue that the motivation for using the online social networking service is to connect with strong ties (Boyd and Ellison, 2007: 210-230, Haythornthwaite, 2002: 385-401, Haythornthwaite, 2005: 125-147). Chauvac et al. (2014: 5-9) argue that there is a vast categorisation of ties, each with varying characteristics and qualities. The online social networking service provides a way to build and nurture these ties asynchronously, allowing the individual to relate to others constantly with their online presence (Antoci et al., 2014: 1911-1927). The online social networking service allows the individual to organise, display, and maintain their existing social connections, as well as examine the opportunities to make new connections (Antoci et al., 2014, Boyd and Ellison, 2007: 210-230).

Grimmelmann (2010) argues that the distinction between an online social networking service and an offline social network should not be made. In the online social networking service the users bring the “same kind of hopes and expectations that they bring to other social settings. They want to have the same... friendships online that they

do face to face” (Grimmelmann, 2010: 10) which can only serve the purpose of blurring the line between a users’s online and offline social network. The users are aware that they are not offline, but because they copy and extend so much of their existing social activity into the online social networking service, they are invested in its success. For this study therefore, the online social networking service is not of key importance, but rather the cultures that have formed around it are.

Online social networking services provide an opportunity for the individual to experience their identity in another context as well as perceive the identity of others (Chou, 2012: 15-117, Kross et al., 2013). The online social networking service has a form of value for the individual. There is motivation to use it for identity exploration (as this study will show in more depth in section 9.6).

This research acknowledges that there is disarray of categorisation of online social networking service, but as the research primarily sets out to understand social experienced privacy on an online social networking service, it will instead concentrate on the social privacy related aspects of the cultures and behaviours that emerge around online social networking service usage. It will do this by studying three facets of privacy in this context, perceptions of veillance, relationships, and space. All three are treated as an emergence of

culture around the online social networking service. The next sections will examine this in more depth.

8.3 Veillance

The individual undertakes various forms of veillance. They subject others to veillance and they are subjected themselves. As this study will now examine, veillance will cause the individual to act or not act in a certain way. Veillance terminology and privacy are often, incorrectly, used interchangeably. While the two areas may have considerable influence on each other, they are distinct concepts. When discussing surveillance, this research is discussing how being watched by an individual or institution, real or perceived, influences the way in which an individual will act. It is these actions that have an influence over how an individual will experience privacy. Therefore, to understand the differences between surveillance and privacy will prevent the incorrect use of terminology and lead to greater understanding of both terms.

Michel Foucault (1977:200) discusses the idea that “visibility is a trap”. Through this, he theorises that if an individual is bathed in visibility, then they will alter their behaviour accordingly. He goes on to use the idea of panopticism to examine this further.

Foucault (1977: 195-230) identifies that the panopticon was an idea initially examined by Jeremy Bentham through his architectural plans. The panopticon is a prison in which the prisoners are bathed in visibility. It is a hollow circular structure with prison cells on the circumference facing inwards to a guard watchtower in the centre of the prison cavity. The panopticon allowed for very few guards to monitor a large number of prisoners, therefore the prisoner would never be fully aware that they were being watched, only that there was always the potential that they were being watched. They could always be seen, but they themselves could never confirm when they were being observed. Foucault argues that this conditioned the prisoners into a state of compliance. Through fear of being seen, the prisoners would not plot to escape or to rise up against the guards.

Foucault (1977) uses the panopticon as a metaphor. Panopticonism works by making “surveillance permanent in its effects, even if it is discontinuous in its action” (Foucault, 1977: 201). It is the uncertainty of whether an individual is being watched that creates the desire to adhere to the norms of the institution or situation that an individual is located. David Lyon (2007: 46-70) identifies that the panoptic metaphor has been used to explore surveillance as a disciplining force from a position of power (employer gaining power over employee, military power, and criminal justice). Lyon (1997: 62) Argues that the panopticon “in its least helpful versions, it acts as a metaphor for total power over hapless victims.” Not only this, but

there is acknowledgement that society desires surveillance to provide them with a form of safety in others (Omand, 2010: 7% [Kindle Edition], Weisburd et al., 2006: 549-592).

As previously seen in part one of this literature review (see section 6), despite this, surveillance tends to be approached in linguistic negativity, with the automatic stance that surveillance is taking power from the masses and moving society into an era of oppression by the governments in charge. This is partly due to the prevalence of the panopticon in academic discourse on surveillance, because as a concept, the panopticon provides a rich and endlessly interpretable metaphor (Lyon, 2006: 3-20). The metaphor has somewhat become a starting point now to “straw man” at the beginning of discussions on surveillance.

Lorna Rhodes (2004: 21-98) studies’ on the Washington State Supermax prison in the USA, for example, argues that the inmates under the intense scrutiny and discipline of the guards do not always become docile bodies, instead they resist. This resistance takes place as a spectacle, with some inmates choosing to self mutilate or dirty protest and while this will invite further intervention from the guards in the form of medical intervention or further restrictions on the inmate, the inmate has displayed power by not conforming to what the guards have tried to instil.

David Lyon (2006: 4) argues that this is because “the more stringent and rigorous the panoptic regime, the more it generates resistance, whereas the more soft and subtle the panoptic strategies, the more it produces the desired docile bodies”. This entirely presupposes, on a metaphorical level at least, the existence of panoptic structures as something of a deliberate creation, rather than a pre-existing phenomena with a metaphor retrospectively applied. This leads many academics to talk about beyond panopticism, (Lyon, 2007: 56-62, Wood, 2007: 245-253) which, though it acknowledges that the panoptic metaphor may not be entirely useful, it still inherits the power struggle and linguistic negativity of the panopticon.

Instead, perhaps by seeking to look upon surveillance at its most basic form by removing any judgement over the reasons for watching and instead acknowledging that humans have always naturally watched other humans (Lyon, 2006: 3), this research can instead seek to use Goffman’s (1990) dramaturgical framework (see section 8.5). This research will explore this in the praxis of human observation, which will be examined in the next section.

8.4 The Praxis of Human Observation

While it has been said that “surveillance practices are as old as human history” (Lyon, 2006: 3), as previously stated, there is an

inherent negativity still with this term. It does not account for the desire to be subjected to surveillance, or the desire to survey others without the intent to exert power (Bar-Tura, 2010: 231-240, Meikle, 2010: 13-20). Steve Mann (2005) spoke about three veillances in his utopic visions of a society free from centralised control; surveillance being the observation from above where society is watched from a position of power, sousveillance being the observation from below, where society watches the position of power. His utopic vision was for equiveillance. Equiveillance offers both the position of power and society opportunity to watch each other, with the ultimate idea being that cooperation and creativity would flourish. It is however, important to recognise that veillance based activities exist far beyond the relationship between society and the government. Veillance activities can also exist socially and are inherent in human interaction.

Daniel Trottier's (2012: 61-84) work on social media as surveillance is an example of this. Trottier splits surveillance into two broad areas, interpersonal and institutional. Using the online social networking service Facebook as an exemplar, he argues the different ways in which a user is subjected to veillance. When talking about institutional veillance (the surveillance that Facebook the company subjects its users to), he presents a more traditional power relationship that this research has been previously discussing, one where Facebook the company require information from their users in order to make money and thus, subject them to veillance from a

position of power (surveillance). However, he highlights that Facebook the company must not be perceived in a negative light, due to the users willingness to provide information about themselves to them in order to gain the service (something that a previous study of the author of this work has also shown (Dumbleton, 2012)).

The power relationships and institutionalised structures seem to hold some credit for studying veillance where the academic wishes to present the power relationships in a negative light. However, for interpersonal veillance, a more subtle approach that eschews power could produce useful findings. Trottier provides some insight into interpersonal veillance (though it must be highlighted here that Trottier uses the term surveillance almost exclusively in his writings). He initially provides reference to the work of Mark Andrejevic (2002: 479-497) indicating that he believes that interpersonal surveillance has its foundations as a form of peer monitoring. This terminology suggests that there is some inherent desire within social groups to be watching each other on a more intent basis rather than incidental watching. In other words, to monitor someone is to watch them with intent, even if this intent is in itself the desire to watch.

Trottier explains that Facebook is deliberately designed to encourage individuals to share personal information and photographs and bathe themselves in the visibility of others while simultaneously gaining the ability to watch others. He describes this very much in the ways

Mann (2005) describes equivalence; as though no agent using Facebook would have power over another, as the amounts and types of sharing are relatively equal and inherently social. This approach has a stance in which Facebook is forcing people to share. While on the contrary, users can maintain their profiles however they wish, only the influence of their social group will pressure an individual to use the technology in a certain way.

Facebook has a variety of profile settings designed to allow the user to control their interpersonal interactions. Put simply, not everything that an individual puts on Facebook is open for everyone to see. Reducing the experience of interpersonal veillances into a generalizable concept like this is problematic for this study, as it does not account for the highly contextual, subjective nature of privacy experience.

Trottier provides useful insight into what he calls communal living on social media. Again, using Facebook as an exemplar he argues that there has been a migration of individuals onto social media platforms through which they now, in part, live their lives. He argues that Facebook has become a quasi-public environment that has had a large impact on identity, namely, through the sheer number of cultural descriptors that an individual can choose to display about themselves. Facebook allows a user to present information about themselves from ethnicity and gender, to favourite films and music.

All of this leads to a form of textually rich self-expression. Though, a large part of this self-expression is done through social relationship formation and maintenance, thus the identity formed on Facebook is done according to the standards and norms of those social relationships. Or in other words, the relationships formed indicate the acceptability of what an individual can share. This is where the ideas of traditional power influence of veillance can be useful; rather than the power coming from one institution, it can come from the shared construct of all social agents which will be explored in the next section.

The issue arises with online social networking services where the user has created an increasingly narcissistic view of communities. As already stated, there are multiple agents that the user will add into their group on an online social networking service, all of whom have only one thing in common; the connection to the user. The user then has to manage multiple communities on one platform, as well as the wider, singular community they have built around themselves. It is at this point that understanding the veillances with online social networking services becomes important. While the user has opened themselves up to viewing the content of the individuals they have added into their wider ego-centric community, they have not closed themselves off sufficiently to know how they themselves should act in front of all the communities to which they are members, in accordance to the multiple communities differing rules and norms.

The network of interpersonal veillances becomes increasingly complex and leaves the individual in a struggle to come to terms with how they should be acting in front of multiple groups and communities. It is in this that there is the praxis; the members of the groups and communities all watching and influencing each other, moving the community forward together.

How the individual will experience this requires examination. As this research has established it is a praxis of influence from the individual to others and to groups and communities. The following section will examine the individual in this praxis by using Goffman's (1990: 28-82) dramaturgical framework.

8.5 The Individual in Praxis

Dramaturgical approaches to social media suggest that there are some elements of an individual's identity that are intended to be more public than others. Indeed, Goffman (1990: 28-82) suggests that the front stage and back stage of an individual's identity expression make a clear-cut distinction in time and space as to what an individual wishes to outwardly display. There have, however, been suggestions that with online social networking services the distinction has become less clear (Trottier, 2012: 61-84).

Trottier suggests that the vast complexity of online social networks seems to force seemingly intimate interactions to occur in public, while intentionally public displays can go unnoticed. Trottier further argues that the way in which online social networking services (Facebook particularly) are built, forces a form of peer review, where a users connections require them to be as close to the identity with which they are familiar as possible within the limitations of the platform. While a user may choose to untag themselves from photos, or to select a certain film to be a fan of, movement beyond the familiar identity will result in social tension.

The user has placed themselves within the veillance of selected groups and individuals and while it may be argued that this veillance has conditioned the user to act in a certain way and they are being subjected to a power relationship. The user has ultimately decided to partake in this relationship and this is in no way a negative thing. As this study will show in section 9 an individual desires to belong to a group or community as well as desiring to form their own identities and experience detachment from established groups and communities. So, rather than using veillance terminology with linguistic negativity, it is apparent that there are contexts where being under veillance is a desirable state to be in, as it allows an individual to form and foster relationships. Applying Goffman's (1990: 109-140) ideas of front stage and back stage to this shows how the lines between the two are blurred.

A user may desire to use Facebook in order to interact with their peers and subsequently feels comfort as part of a community. Perhaps this user also has an interest that they do not want to share with their community on Facebook, however it forms part of their identity and they wish to indulge it in some way (Muhr, 2010: 265-276). Through seeking another online social networking service, such as Twitter, they can explore this interest away from the community they have formed on Facebook and accordingly they are indulging their back stage. However, for all those the user interacts with on Twitter, they believe they are seeing the front stage. The back stage becomes another pseudo front stage performance. They will step out of character in front of an audience.

This seemingly suggests that there may be problems in applying the work of Goffman to online social networking services. Sherry Turkle (1995: 13) uses the metaphor of windows in digital contexts as it thinks about the self as a multiple, distributed system, one that is playing many roles in different worlds at different times, each one it's own window. Turkle's work, however suggests a separation of the self and that the self is not one constant. This is why Goffman's work is useful.

Turkle distributes the individual, removing the grounding of the individual from the body. Goffman's dramaturgical framework

positions the individual grounded within the body. For this research it is necessary to understand the individual in this way as it is seeking to understand the perceptions of the individual in a given context, not the perceptions of a distributed individual. Therefore the research subjects studied are treated as a Goffman-esque performer.

Front stage and back stage must be deployed not only according to the physical contexts that an individual is in, but also the emotional contexts they seek. This places an important difference to how Goffman originally expressed the theory. Rather than the back stage being a place for the individual to reserve and keep things away from their front stage performance, it shows that there will be contexts in which the individual is actually seeking to share elements of their back stage. The linguistic negativity of surveillance and discourses within privacy studies has led to academic discourse surrounding the prevention of sharing the back stage. The difference here is that socially there is actually a desire to share. Privacy ceases to be spoken of in terms of preventing others from subjecting you to veillance, but rather the seeking out of individuals and groups that you want to be in the veillance of.

While Goffman has explored many concepts, this study uses this one specific aspect of Goffman's work. Initially, the dramaturgical framework may appear at odds with this studies' use of Merleau-Ponty (see section 13.2). However, Goffman's dramaturgical

framework can be used to understand how the individual is interacting with the world and Merleau-Ponty is used to assist the researcher with understanding the research subjects. In this way, the theories of Goffman and Merleau-Ponty are used to different ends.

8.6 Conclusion

The individual will seek out instances in which they can be the subject of veillance in order to fulfil a certain need or desire. They want to subject others to veillance, so they seek out relationships and communities in which they can take part in these. Online social networking services will provide an opportunity for both of these aspects of the individual to occur. There is more examination required to fully understand relationships. Therefore, the next section will look at relationships in-depth.

9 Relationships

9.1 Introduction

One aspect of privacy studies that must be considered for this study is that privacy is social; this is to say that privacy can occur between social beings. This section will examine existing privacy literature on social privacy as well as privacy literature on relationships. This section will also draw on literature from relationship studies to gain a greater understanding of why an individual will seek out relationships and the role that online social networking services have in this. Ultimately, this section will establish how relationships influence an individual's experience of privacy. It will start in the next section by examining social and asocial concepts of privacy.

9.2 Social and Asocial Privacy

As previously noted, conceptualisations of privacy tend to be broad in their stance when considering what or who is breaching privacy. Warren and Brandeis (1890: 193) "Right to be let alone", seemingly encompasses intrusions from multiple sources, not just other individuals; an idea that has been carried over into interpretations of other academics work, including Allan Westin (1967).

As previously stated, Westin (1967) takes an anthropological approach to examining privacy. Through his observations of western society in the United States, he understands privacy in terms of control saying “privacy 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, 1967:7). He goes on to identify that individuals, groups, or institutions will withdraw from participating in social groups for varying amounts of time, be it psychologically or physiologically such as “Solitude, or small group intimacy, or when among larger groups in a condition of anonymity” (Westin, 1967:7). He observes that individuals will seek out privacy as well as social participation; “each individual is continually engaged in a personal desire for privacy with the desire for disclosure and communication of himself to others” (Westin, 1967:7).

It is this social concept of privacy that is of particular interest to this study as it indicates the incomplete nature of his original definition. Westin is showing that, while he has created a broad definition of what privacy may be, it is only when contextualised and conceptualised that greater understanding is brought about, in this instance, understanding through a social concept. In this social concept he diametrically opposes privacy and sociality as though one must be given up in order to gain the other. He does this however, from the perspective that privacy is the overriding desire of the

individual and it is given up reluctantly in order to be social. Through this, he creates privacy as an asocial concept, placing privacy as a desire in humans above the desire to be social. This removal of the social element of privacy further generalises the definition, presupposing that social interaction between individuals cannot be considered private, thus there is no variation in types of relationship, as in this conceptualisation, privacy cannot be socially experienced.

Steeves (2012: 192-208) provides a different perspective when considering the observations that the above academics have made. As previously noted, she identifies two differing arguments in contemporary privacy debate, being legal and social. She says that there is a gap between the goals of legislation and the reality of the way in which it is implemented, due to the concepts of privacy being stripped of social context, therefore they should be studied separately.

Steeves takes issue with the notion of Westin's (1967) definition of privacy as informational control as she feels in some cases the desire for privacy can be negotiated through normal social interaction. She states that informational flow and control seemingly ignores someone's desire to seek his or her own, or respect another's privacy.

Steeves proposes a new concept of privacy which is “a dynamic process of negotiating personal boundaries in intersubjective relationships” (Steeves 2012:193). This is a social concept that avoids the shortfalls of the legal concepts by taking into account the desire to participate in a variety of relationships, for example, romantic partners share different information to work colleagues. She does not argue that privacy should not be solely understood as an individual's right over that of the collective rights of society, just that it “can be more fully understood as a social construction that we create as we negotiate our relationships with others on a daily basis” (Steeves, 2012:193) as “privacy is inherently social – it is part of the way in which social beings interact” (Steeves, 2012:196).

Steeves critiques Westin's work to justify her new concept. She is particularly interested in Westin's use of Goffman's work on “masks” (this study has already discussed Goffman's work in section 8). The individual wears masks in different circumstances, however humans need to remove their masks at certain times to rest and truly be themselves. When they do this, they need privacy. Westin goes on to say how there can be forced removal of this mask and at this point privacy has been invaded. She uses this to identify that disclosure is the choice of the individual, usually through the desire to participate. It places her concept firmly within relationships as it can allow for the “mask” to be on or removed in varying circumstances. Masks are difficult to use when studying privacy as they remove any instance of

a definable, observable phenomenon. It is impossible to know when a mask is being worn and a mask is often expressed in terms of hiding and secrecy of the entire real self. It does not account for instances that, to use the same terminology, the individual has only put a small part of their mask on, or is unaware of the mask that they are wearing. This is of importance for this research as it has been identified that online social networking services provide the opportunity for mask removal (Marinucci, 2010: 65-74, Wandel, 2010: 89-96).

Another aspect of Westin's (1967: 11-19) work can provide an alternative line of enquiry relevant for how privacy is experienced. Westin noted how architecture influenced acceptability of sexual expression, which ultimately drove his interest in how privacy was experienced. Westin uses Erving Goffman's (1959: 5-46) work on social conventions such as jokes, gestures, changing the subject of a conversation, or facial expressions to show when an individual signals a need to withdraw from others. Whilst appearing initially social, Westin actually places an emphasis on the responsibility of the individual to manage their exposure (or lack there of), creating an eternal dialectic conflict between the individual's desire for privacy and their desire for social interaction. Valarie Steeves (2012: 192-208) recognises that through diametrically opposing privacy to social interaction, Westin has not only forced privacy to be asocial, but has

also situated privacy as something that when lost, cannot be regained.

One area of privacy studies where the concept of social relationships in privacy is being embraced is in the study of intimacy. Daniel Solove (2008: 34-37) suggests that intimacy can be an appropriate way to conceptualise privacy as it recognises that privacy is not only essential for self creation, but also for social relationships, particularly for the formation of differing levels and types of relationships that an individual desires. Simplified, this means that without a social form of privacy there would be no variation of difference in the types of relationships the human experiences. However, there is again a move towards information exchange, through the suggestion that privacy in this conceptualisation should be understood in terms of how intimate information is controlled and shared. Intimate information in this instance is defined using the theory of Charles Fried (1970: 142) that intimate information is that which you only want to share with a limited number of people. With this, we again become too broad with this conceptualisation of privacy as we consider the human interaction within this 'intimacy' as something rational; namely controlling information.

Lior Strahilevitz (2005: 919-988) argues that it cannot simply be about information flow and sharing between people that creates the most intimate of relationships, as the content of the information

shared is also relevant. If an individual were to share information about a third party, this has less meaning than if they were to share the same type of information about themselves. Put simply, the level of trust one has with the other party will influence what information you share. What this does not account for however is the views and opinions of the other party. While one may have trust to share a certain type of information, it may not be deemed socially acceptable to share it, or the other party may not wish to receive the information. This places relationships as a dialectic process where a negotiation can happen to determine what the relationship is (Altman et al., 1992: 193-241, Baxter, 2004: 1-22, Brown et al., 2006: 673-694). Or as Matthew Tedesco says “to have a relationship, we must invest ourselves in it” (Tedesco, 2010: 126).

The idea that isolation is the ultimate condition of privacy that individuals strive for is troublesome because individuals desire participating in a variety of relationships and the subsequent experiences of privacy they produce. It would be more accurate to identify that there is a varying reveal of the self when in different relationships. Privacy in this construction becomes inherently social and it is through the formation and maintenance of relationships that privacy is experienced. One aspect of relationships prominent in discourses within privacy studies is the experience of intimate relationships, but as this research has shown this has been used to understand informational privacy. This area of privacy studies

requires further research, but in order to do this this study must form an idea of what a relationship actually is. This will be done in the next section.

9.3 What Is A Relationship?

Understanding what relationships are is key to understanding how relationships affect the experience of privacy. As examined in the previous section, privacy has been studied in terms of social relationships before, but through using information concepts of privacy. The following section will look at ways in which this study will define relationship types and how this will be applicable for this study.

Vanlear et al. (2006: 91-112) advocate the use for structure in relationship typologies if a coherent science is to be built around human relationships. Whilst Vanlear et al. (2006: 91-112) identify multiple methods and approaches towards creating a relationship typology, they can be split into two broad categories, Inductive and Confirmatory.

In the Inductive method individuals would be given examples of relationships and asked to sort them into separate relationship categories, thus the relationship typology is formed from these given

categories and the feedback from the individuals. The Confirmatory method starts with a pre-existing typology and seeks to confirm its fit for the current relationship. This is not without its flaws as Ruscio et al. (2006: 35-64) identifies the fallacy of fitting a natural phenomenon into pre-existing systems that are often continually revised and altered. This highlights the volatile nature of, not only relationship studies, but also relationships themselves. Thus for practicality, the approach should seek to strike balance between the inductive and confirmatory methods.

The issue that this raises is one of cultural influence. Linguistically different cultures assign words to describe the connection that an individual has with another that presume certain qualities about that relationship. For example, to describe someone as a 'Mother' would presuppose a biological or legal connection through conception and birth or adoption, along with the subsequent intimacy that is experienced in a maternal relationship. However the reality is not as simple as there are complex interactions that alter the nature of a relationship from one human being to another. Therefore the cultural linguistics must only serve as a starting point for further enquiry.

Vanlear et al. (2006: 91-112) use volition and intimacy to produce a simple typology that can be interpreted for further investigation. The connections made in this model represent the western perspective of cultural constructs, meaning they are the terminologies used to

describe relationship types present in western culture. They are often self-declarative terminologies, with the wider culture choosing to state the relationship type in order to transfer some meaning to another within the culture. The typology allows for four broad categories, Voluntary Personal Relations (VPR), Voluntary Social Relations (VSR), Exogenously Established Personal Relations (EEPR), and Exogenously Established Social Relations (EESR). These categories can then have contextual relationship types placed within them, thus allowing for the research to be grounded in theories regarding intimacy and volition.

As this study will seek to explore the use of specific forms of online social networking services, to ask an individual to select their typology of relationship types based off a pre-existing model would hinder this study. The inductive method allows for the individual to state his or her own perception of their relationship types for interpretation by the author. Therefore the typology of relationships becomes less important and the experience of relationships remains key. This study will not set out to define what the different types of relationships are, but instead consider that there are different types and they will affect the experience of privacy.

While privacy is often studied and understood in relation to something, some scholars use the terms government and the individual as though they are in a relationship (Brin, 1998: 3-114,

Garfinkel, 2008: 3-12% [Kindle Edition], Lever, 2012: 35-47, Solove, 2011: 36-38, Westin, 1967). But as this research has shown, this can provide a broad, rhetoric heavy account. Also, while it has been seen that the exchange of personal information helps the formation of relationships (Grimmelmann, 2010: 3-12, Strahilevitz, 2005: 919-988), this does not address why the relationships form. To build upon the methodological approach of using relationships to understand privacy, it is first important to understand what relationships in the broadest sense are considered to be in the context of this study. This research will use online social networking services to provide context for relationships in the next section.

9.4 Mediating Relationships

In the remainder of this section this study will examine literature on online relationships to contextualize what is possibly meant by relationship. This will help in our understanding of how privacy can be experienced in mediated relationships. As identified above, this research needed to use a broad approach to relationship types and establish what each type will mean in context. To do this, this study first established what a relationship is with an individual whom another individual does not know.

Online social networking services support the formation and maintenance of relationships (Andrews, 2012, Bar-Tura, 2010: 231-240, Bell, 2001: 92-112, Bloor, 2010: 147-158, Boyd, 2007b, Chou, 2012: 15-117, Condella, 2010: 111-122, Hamington, 2010: 135-842, Jarvis, 2011: 43, Tedesco, 2010: 123-134, Van Der Velden and El Emam, 2013: 16-24). When discussing the online social networking service MySpace, Danah Boyd (2007b: 121) identified that the “site supports sociality amongst preexisting friend groups”, which is the reason for it’s popularity. Similarly Deborah Chambers (2013: 21-39) makes arguments that purely technologically mediated relationships with no face-to-face element have been critiqued for their lack of depth. This suggests that there is only an appeal to adding a technologically mediated element to pre-existing face-to-face relationships to ensure an individual can achieve depth. The tendency with these arguments is to idealize the close relationship, ignoring the possibility that users of technology may actively wish but also need to have distant relationships (Thalos, 2010: 75-88).

Some useful grounding can be found in the works of Zigmunt Bauman’s (1993) writings on technology. He says, “the ideological rationale of technological society is the quest for improvement” (Bauman, 1993:194), so that the messiness of nature can be replaced with order and structure. It is this idealizing of technology that places many discussions of mediated relationships into linguistic negativity.

Bauman (1993: 145-185) poses the idea that there are three types of relationship; aliens, neighbors, and strangers. Aliens are the unknown person, someone whom you have no contact with, but rather create a perception about them. Bauman argued that the individual is comfortable with the alien as they will never be in contact with them and rely on them being kept away under observation. The neighbors are those who are close to the individual, socially known and geographically near. The stranger, according to Bauman is the most troubling. They can be neither alien or neighbor, or perhaps both or either. The stranger represents the unknown and the unconceivable. Bauman argues that technology has meant that the stranger is an increasing occurrence in modern life; the problem no longer being about eliminating the stranger, but rather how to live in their constant company. Writing before widespread use of online social networking services and the World Wide Web, Bauman believed this was done through physical separation or confinement, or psychologically through inattention. However a new method of coping with the stranger may be emerging, that of occasional embrace.

9.5 Embrace of Strangers

The stranger, according to Bauman's (1993: 145-185) definition is the person unknown, a person who creates feelings of uneasiness in the individual. This is in no way a desirable person to come across, as they do not allow the individual to experience a desired feeling. Bauman argues that the individual will keep strangers at a distance in order to minimise their experience of this feeling. However, with the emergence of the World Wide Web and online social networking services contact with the stranger through mediated means has become more prevalent. Rather than this being something that is undesirable, as Bauman would say, it appears as though this is actually something that the individual is seeking out. The individual is occasionally embracing mediated contact with strangers. Specifically mediated contact in the form of sharing with online social networking services.

Mashek and Aron (2004: 343) describe the desire of removing oneself from the closeness of another individual as the desire to readdress the balance of power or undue influence that one individual holds over another. They argue that the individual desires autonomy and an identity of their own. The closeness of a relationship with another can threaten this autonomy. Individuals become associated with groups, subsequently having some of their identity formed through this association, or the group exerts control

over the individual threatening the individual's ability to seek out new perspectives, identities, or social resources. Thus the individual will seek social situations that allow them to examine their own identity.

The online social networking services allow for this to happen (Brake, 2008: 285-300). The individual can distance themselves from their current social resources and relationships in order to examine their identity. In these situations the stranger becomes a desirable individual to interact with. The stranger in this mediated context is the foundation for identity exploration. This will be examined further in the next section.

9.6 The Mediated Stranger

The stranger mediated through online social networking services differs from that of Bauman's (1993: 145-185) stranger. Bauman poses that the stranger is either alien or neighbour, both, or perhaps neither. For Bauman, the stranger represents the unknown and unconceivable. However, in certain contexts where an individual may desire to use online social networking services such as Twitter, where the individual can decide to leave their tweets accessible to any other individual with an internet connection, or allow other Twitter users to follow their profile, the individual is leaving themselves open

to mediated interaction with strangers, but also filling the role of the stranger by interacting with others themselves.

In this instance the individual is not unreasonably fearful of the stranger. They are not attempting to distance themselves through inattention or separation, but instead they seek to interact. The stranger serves a role in the individual's desire to seek their own identity, thus the individual will seek specific strangers that allow them to do this. They will seek strangers with the specific social materials that they desire.

It is inherent in certain online social networking services that the strangers will present themselves with certain metadata; on Twitter, this takes the form of a short biography and photo. This metadata gives the stranger the appearance of a neighbour, removing some of the uncertainty and the unknown that comes with social interaction. Jeremy Sarachan (2010: 51-64) notes that the profile picture in particular makes an online social networking profile feel more 'real'. This transforms the stranger into a pseudo-neighbour. The individual can choose to interact with pseudo-neighbours based on the metadata available. This carries less apparent risk for the individual than interacting with a stranger as they feel they know enough about the pseudo-neighbour that they will gain the social materials they seek in order to examine their own identity. The pseudo-neighbours

they seek will have shared interests and provide the social materials required for successful identity exploration around these interests.

The stranger becomes desirable to interact with. They become a pseudo stranger. This is not to say that the stranger will also be a pseudo stranger in offline contexts. In these contexts an individual may still be experiencing social privacy, considering what this research has previously stated with Goffman's (1990: 28-82) idea of masks, the individual may be seeking to remove their mask in front of strangers. This may not always be the case and there may also be attempts to eschew the stranger in these contexts.

Though an individual may desire interacting with strangers in some mediated contexts, there will remain mediated contexts in which an individual will want to eschew the stranger. Similarly, while this research understands that an individual may have the desire to have a break from a relationship, they will also have desire to maintain closeness and their group constructed identity. Online social networking services allow for this to occur. An online social networking service such as Facebook may be used by an individual who actively desires interaction with people the individual may already know and be a way to extend offline relationships on to an online platform, which could act as a form of security for the individual who seeks to experience relationships for the feelings of security that they provide (Mashek and Aron, 2004: 343-356). An

online social networking service therefore becomes a form of security; a visual display of the friendships an individual has created. In this context there is no need or desire for identity explorations and the intrusion on this by strangers may negatively impact the individual. The stranger may be embraced or eschewed depending on the motivations of the individual in any given context.

9.7 Conclusion

While Bauman has offered some initially interesting observations surrounding the types of relationship an individual will have through social interaction, they require some extension to become useful in a contemporary context. It is no longer appropriate to view an individual as a stranger in a mediated context as the metadata they provide removes some of the uncertainty and unknown surrounding them. They have instead become a pseudo-neighbour, someone whom an individual has the perception of knowing. This is just enough for the pseudo-neighbour to have utility for the individual. It is through interacting with the pseudo-neighbour that the individual can examine his or her own identity.

This model is far more complex than the traditional withdrawal and immersion model proposed by Westin (1967) (see section 6.4) as it allows for the individual to desire varying social experiences rather

than the binary social or asocial. The individual desires socialising in contexts traditionally not considered to be social such as with strangers.

By using this model this research can move on to understanding the different desires and motivations that an individual will have for using a specific online social networking service, but also the varying contexts and times that they choose to access these online social networking services. Online social networking services provide specific types of relationship. While one type may not be more desirable to experience than the other, it is more that the individual desires to experience a variety of relationships and all that they provide. For this reason, when referring to an online social networking service, it is imperative that this research refer to the specific online social networking service as all provide highly subjective different experience to the individual. The individual will seek different ones for this reason; though examples (as used above) may be necessary to illustrate a point and will always be referred to as such.

This research has shown throughout this section that it is necessary to provide some context to examine relationships. While this research has examined it already, the next section will go into greater depth and examine a specific aspect of context that is space.

10 Space

10.1 Introduction

As previously identified, it was considered that privacy for this study is contextual. The previous sections of this literature have already gone some way to provide various contexts, specifically the technological context of online social networking services in which this study takes place. In addition to this, something that has yet to be addressed fully, the idea of space. What this research examines is the affect that space, or perceived space has on the experience of privacy. This section will start by examining some existing literature on privacy and space, then move on to how space can be perceived and experienced.

10.2 Veillant Space

As previously noted in the section on veillance, individuals are veillant. In order to subject someone to surveillance, or be subjected to it himself or herself the individual will seek out relationships. All of this is dependent on context.

There are early discussions of space when conceptualising privacy. To take the previously discussed (Warren and Brandeis, 1890: 15) definition of the “Right to be let alone” as a starting point, it can be

seen why space became of importance to discuss. Warren and Brandeis (1890) definition was composed in direct retaliation to the intrusion of owned space, such as homes or land. The definition is based on intrusion in a negative sense, something that can again be inherently seen in the tendency for some privacy scholars to rely on conceptualisations of breach.

As previously discussed (see section 8.3) the study of surveillance uses this idea of space extensively. Foucault (1977: 195-230) uses the panopticon (see section 8.3) as a metaphor for invisible structures that are deployed throughout society to instil desires of compliance in individuals. This metaphor is present in the writings of some surveillance scholars (Andrejevic, 2002, Bauman and Lyon, 2013, Gandy, 2002, Harper et al., 2013:175-190, Lyon, 2001, Lyon, 2003, Lyon, 2006, Lyon, 2007: 34, Marwick, 2012: 378-395, 2012, Solove, 2011: 36-38, Sullivan, 2014, Trottier, 2012), though they also offer criticisms of the panoptic metaphor, advocating a move beyond the panopticon due to its irrelevance in contemporary society.

Where metaphors are still present is when discussing physical space. The example of CCTV cameras in space, providing society with a sense of being watched, supposedly conditions the individual to follow the social and institutional norms of the setting. This has influenced the ways in which discourses within privacy studies talk about intrusion, with Solove (2008: 163) recognising the similarity of

surveillance and spatial intrusion in some conceptualisations of privacy. Solove identifies that spam emails, telemarketers and even junk mail can be considered incursions as they remove ones attention from their current activity. If these were to be considered similar to the social conditioning of surveillance, then spam email, telemarketers and junk mail would have to condition the individual from a point of power. Instead what is seen is annoyance of the individual with the item intruding, not oppression of the individual. To use the same metaphorical standpoint of control and power to describe CCTV and telemarketing, does not provide enough insight to the complexity of either issue.

What is apparent in this way of thinking is that space is being discussed in very physical terms, while the act of surveillance is abstracted into perception, power influence, and assumption. Perhaps instead, the complexity of space lies in its perception, not its actual physical attributes. Zigmunt Bauman (1995: 44-71) discusses spaces in experiential terms, using different examples of where a space is experienced beyond its physical attributes and the pervasive influence of sociality and perception take effect. He uses the example of a train carriage. On this train carriage strangers gather together knowing that soon they will each be going their own way, to lead separate lives. But in this moment while they are on the train carriage, they must share a space. Bauman would say that this is:

“Not for the sake of anything in particular, not because what they have to do needs them to stay in physical reach of each other. None of the strangers-among-the-strangers really needs the presence of any other”(Bauman, 1995:45)

The presence of the other strangers is therefore incidental happenstance. If you were to board this train and no strangers were on the same carriage, your objective of travel would not suffer through this occurrence. The presence of strangers are neither obstacle or useful in your endeavours to be transported from one station to another.

Yet in this time a set of social norms will assist the individual in understanding the acceptable behaviour of interaction (or lack thereof) with passengers. There is nothing that the stranger will do to invite encounter, nor would the stranger wish to force encounter upon another. The individuals in this space will remain individual, separate in interaction, the only thing they may have in common is the space they share.

This particular social norm is so engrained that when tested by Stanley Milgram and John Sabini (1978: 31-40) in "On maintaining social norms: a field experiment in the subway", it was discovered that when asking people to knowingly break the social norms of the

train carriage, many could not bring themselves to do it, or would internalise an excuse. Researchers were asked to approach an individual on the New York subway under varying conditions and ask to have their seat. The varying conditions of the experiment gained different responses from the strangers, but the responses from the researchers were consistently reported. The researchers found it difficult to break the social norms and even found that they would clutch their stomachs subconsciously to signal illness to the stranger, and sometimes even resulting in the researcher imagining actual symptoms of illness.

While the space alone may have been a factor that influenced these actions, the space is not experienced separately from other factors. In fact, the individual would still act according to social norms in the space, even with the absence of strangers. This is not an influence of power that has conditioned these social norms, nor is it a deliberately deployed invisible structure of surveillance. The individual has reached these social norms through interaction and sociality. The space therefore becomes the setting in which social norms can be deployed, with a praxis indicating to the individual what social norms they should use when in that space.

To bring this into a contemporary context, the idea of shoulder surfing (for example, the act of viewing another person's mobile phone screen without their permission or knowing) an individual's

mobile phone can be discussed. There are studies regarding breach of data or passwords by shoulder surfing (Goucher, 2011, Tari et al., 2006, Wiedenbeck et al., 2006: 172-184). However, though they highlight the social convention of unacceptability of shoulder surfing, they are from a security rather than social perspective.

David Beer (2012: 361-367) argues that mobile devices, including mobile phones, are often thought of in terms of functionality, but that it is important to think of them as objects to which individuals develop attachments. Sherry Turkle (2007:5) examines what she calls evocative objects. She argues "We find it familiar to consider objects as useful or aesthetic, as necessities or vain indulgences. We are on less familiar ground when we consider objects as companions to our emotional lives or as provocations to thought. The notion of evocative objects brings together these two less familiar ideas, underscoring the inseparability of thought and feeling in our relationship to things. We think with the objects we love; we love the objects we think with." This argument takes the object, in this instance the mobile phone, beyond the tangible monetary worth of the object and highlights the emotions and provocations of thought that the mobile phone provides. Shoulder surfing ceases to be an intrusion upon data and the physical mobile phone, but becomes an intrusion upon the emotions that an individual has provoked by the mobile phone. Thus, while recognising that there are other approaches to the mobile phone (Glutz et al., 2005, Gordon, 2002,

Gordon, 2007, Hoffner et al., 2015, Katz and Aakhus, 2002), when discussing the mobile phone in this thesis, it is an examination of the emotions that the mobile phone provokes that is considered. When discussed in relation to shoulder surfing it is the examination of instances of breach of social convention in space that impacts the feelings about the evocative object.

Space moves beyond the physical and into perception. When the individual perceived space, they do not see it merely in terms of the physical objects it contains or the function it may fulfil, but they instead view it experientially. They will perceive a space according to their culture, past experiences, and those they interact with (Tuan, 1974: 13-29). It is this perception that will ultimately lead the individual to a conclusion on how to act.

Where this adds complexity in studies of privacy is that it blurs the traditional sense of a public and private space. All spaces, depending on context, can now be considered both public and private; or more accurately, under varying conditions of social privacy. The perception of space accounts for far more than the structures deployed.

10.3 Desire to be in Space

As the previous section identified, the individual desires a variety of relationships. Similarly, one could assume that the individual will also desire to be in a variety of spaces. Solove (2008: 58) recognises that space can play a role in how privacy is experienced. He identifies the home as a place that is often seen as the quintessential place for privacy; the home is often enshrined in law as a space that can only be intruded upon in certain instances. As this research has shown previously, Solove (2008: 58) uses a historical narrative to illustrate how attitudes towards home space have changed as architecture has developed, moving from shared spaces towards individual rooms and bedrooms as culture and society have changed (Cromley, 1991: 177-186). Individuals have desired these spaces in order to experience a certain type of privacy. Steven Miles (2010: 13-34) argues that different spaces are sought by individuals in order to fulfil different desires, some of these desires are fulfilled through individuals seeking technology with a social aspect. Therefore, an individual will always be seeking a space to facilitate their current social desires.

10.4 Metaphorical Space

While this research has discussed space in physical terms, discourses within privacy studies does at times use metaphorical spaces to understand privacy, often in the form of words such as boundaries (Petronio 2002: 6), or discussing privacy as a physical intrusion (Nippert-Eng, 2010: 69% [Kindle Edition], Nissenbaum, 2010: 9-23% [Kindle Edition], Sloan and Warner, 2014: 182-188, Solove, 2008, Wacks, 2010, Warren and Brandeis, 1890, Westin, 1967). There are also discussions of online social networking services as space (Burkell et al., 2013: 37, Condella, 2010: 111-122, Vejby, 2010: 97-108) however, these metaphors are used in the discussion of instances of privacy breach, thus the metaphor is used to describe the absence of privacy. To understand how metaphorical space can be used to understand the experience of social privacy, this research will seek metaphors used before instances of breach.

In the book *Topophilia* Yi-Fu Tuan (1974) examines the emotional engagement of people, culture, environment and place and in particular attachment to place. Tuan says that the idea of space varies greatly depending on perceptions and attitudes towards the space, therefore spatial metaphors are also subjective. Tuan uses the word *Topophilia* to discuss the individual emotional connection one person will have to space, arguing that individuals seek out spaces to have emotional experiences. Therefore, when someone is

using a spatial metaphor, they are actually describing a state of emotion that they have in that space. The spatial metaphor is used in discourses within privacy studies to describe an idealized state. For example, the previously discussed idealized state of complete detachment posed by Westin (1967). However as Westin himself noted, complete detachment is not desirable. Instead, by understanding the emotional connection an individual has to a space when they use it as a metaphor, this study will begin to understand their perceptions of privacy in greater depth. For example, if an individual were to describe using Twitter as being in their bedroom (as a research subject did in section 21.2), after understanding the emotional attachment that individual has to their bedroom this study will begin to understand their perceptions of socially experienced privacy in greater detail with online social networking services.

10.5 Conclusion

As this research has shown, space provides the individual with information as to how they should be acting. It is a social convention and norms that have formed, which assist the individual in society. When discussing the idea of space it is Bauman's conceptualisation of space that this study will be referring to. This research cannot look at perceptions of veillance, relationships, and space in separation; they all occur simultaneously and in praxis. Through focusing on the

social individual in context combined with the literature review, an analytical framework is provided that helps us to address how privacy is experienced.

Firstly this framework highlights that the social conventions are not deployed through society for the benefit of the performer beyond what they catalyse. But they are instead intended for the recipient to act upon.

Secondly, it seeks to understand the lived experience in privacy. Rather than privacy being spoken of in breach, it allows for the social conventions under which privacy is experienced in a day-to-day sense to be considered.

Thirdly, these social conventions are not exclusively technologically determined. They are determined through negotiated norms within relationships, which may or may not be partly in reaction to a new technology, but will also have context in other social conventions and conditions.

Whilst recognising that privacy is a multi faceted subject, this analytical framework provides a holistic approach to examine the frequently overlooked aspect of how privacy is experienced; namely through the social conventions that are deployed to experience privacy. This approach does not suggest that one way of studying

privacy is better or more correct than the other, but that with a multifaceted phenomenon it is important to have multiple approaches that can account for the depth and detail of the subject.

11 Conclusion of Literature Review

As this research has shown throughout this literature review, privacy can be brought into array through acknowledging that there are many different facets of privacy. This literature review introduced historical and contemporary conceptualisations of privacy and how these tend to observe instances of breach. The literature review has recognised that these approaches can be useful when critically examining some facets of privacy studies, but that it is important to examine the breadth and depth of privacy. Therefore it brought privacy into array by examining social privacy, and in particular how the experience of social privacy with online social networking services is affected by an individual's perceptions of veillance, relationships, and space. These facets must be understood in unison, not just separation. The literature review has ended with a novel framework for understanding the experience of privacy before instances of breach. This research will go on to conclude that socially experienced privacy is influenced by an individual's simultaneous perception of space, relationships, veillance and emotion. It is the individuals' attitudes and desires towards these that determine if they are able to experience the

privacy that they desire and how they manage the privacy they are experiencing.

The research further concludes that individuals do not always construct their perceptions of privacy through instances of breach. But rather perceptions of privacy are constructed constantly through interaction with other groups and individuals with whom they are immediately associated.

The next chapter will critically examine the methodology used to test this framework. As previously considered, privacy is an emotional experience. Therefore the methodology chapter will address how this emotional experience can be effectively studied.

12 METHODOLOGY

12.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss the ethnographic-derived methods selected to address the research question as established; how is social privacy before instances of breach perceived whilst engaging with online social networking services?

The next section will start by examining the research aim and objectives that were discussed in the introduction chapter and how the literature examined in the literature review assists in understanding how the aim and objectives were formulated.

An account of the research method will then be presented. The research will start by showing why sociological interviews using Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (that also allows for the interpretation of the research subjects affect display) are an appropriate methodological approach. This research will show how ethnographic derived methods in the form of an epoché of the researcher will be used to provide a full reflective account of the research and help understand the interpretation of the interviews.

To triangulate the findings, this study will show how the use of a visual, phenomenological method adds rigour to the research findings and suggests a path for further study beyond the aim and objectives of this research.

12.2 The Aims and Objectives

In order to address the research question (how is social privacy before instances of breach perceived whilst engaging with online social networking services?) presented in the literature review, the main aim of this research will be to investigate varying forms of social and asocial interaction with online social networking services that afford the perceived experience of privacy.

Once this aim is broken down into objectives, a clear line of enquiry is formed. Addressing the gaps identified in research, the context of the study, and using the dominant discourse of online social networking services, privacy will be examined socially as Steeves (2012: 192-208) suggests.

Secondly, understanding the reasons why some individuals in the Anglo-American culture choose to socialise through online social networking services will indicate what it is that the presence of online social networking services affords. The literature review highlighted

five key areas to address when studying privacy, and it is these that will influence the motivations. The five key aspects are listed below as:

1. In order to study privacy for this study it was considered that it exists before instances of breach. This has been examined in the literature review and will be present throughout the methodology and analysis where discussion of instances of breach of privacy will be largely absent.
2. In order to study privacy for this study it was considered that it is an emotional experience. This was examined in the selection of the methodological approach. (See section 13)
3. In order to study privacy for this study it was considered that it is subjective. This was examined in the methodological approach (see section 13) and the approach to the analysis and findings of the research (see section 18 to 22).
4. In order to study privacy for this study it was considered that it is experienced socially. This has been examined throughout the literature review and was examined throughout the analysis process (see sections 18 to 22).
5. In order to study privacy for this study it was considered that it is contextual. The broad context was established as with online social networking services (see section 8.2) and this was examined throughout the analysis process (see sections 18 to 22).

Thirdly, understanding the social conventions around and with online social networking services will indicate how this experience of privacy is inherently social.

Fourthly, understanding how the social aspect of privacy with online social networking services are experienced through the perceptions of the veillance relationships and space, will lead to a new concept of privacy that addresses the identified gaps in research.

Therefore, this study broadly hypothesises that privacy is a varied experience dependent on the situation that an individual is in.

With this aim and objective established, a method was identified to address the key research question in the best possible way. The literature review established that privacy is an emotional, social experience. The next section will highlight how the literature review was conducted.

12.3 How the Literature Review was Conducted

As previously established, the literature review followed a chronological path that developed the underlying conceptual and thematic debates surrounding privacy studies, which led to a narrative literature review (Booth et al, 2012:26). Broadly, the literature review was conducted using the approach set out by

Lawrence Machi and Brenda McEvoy (2012). After the initial selection of topic, the researcher was mindful of bias in the selection of literature. This ensures that the literature selected was not just chosen due to researcher interest, but to relevance of the thesis (Machi & McEvoy, 2012:18-21). The literature review was split into two parts. The first part adhered quite strictly to the narrative review, providing a chronological critique of debates surrounding privacy. Throughout the literature search, common themes were identified and then mapped (Machi & McEvoy, 2012:55). The mapping process was done using specialist software, Endnote. Source texts were assigned to separate databases based on theme. The themes assigned can be seen in Figure 1; this diagram also shows the process of narrative mapping. The common themes were then explained and critiqued in the first part of the literature review. The first part of the literature review identified a core text written by Alan Westin called *Privacy and Freedom*. This text was identified as core due to the high frequency of citations it received from across the other themes identified. This would seemingly indicate that a structured literature review where sources were selected based on their volume of citations would be possible, however given the research question this proved to be a problematic approach.

The second part of the literature review set out to critique literature exploring three facets of privacy, relationships, veillance and space. As Alan Westin's *Privacy and Freedom* was identified as a core

source, the second part of the literature review used this as a start set for snowballing. Sources that cited Westin (1967) were selected, then the relevant sections were snowballed for other texts to cite until no new sources were found. The inclusion and exclusion criteria were the relevancy to the three identified facets; veillance, relationships and space. While extensive, due to the nature of the study, it was deemed that this approach was not exhaustive. The identified facet of social privacy was identified as underdeveloped in terms of research. Therefore, adhering to a strict approach would not have allowed for the necessary exploration required to add rigor to the study. Instead, the approach used also allowed for further exploratory literature search within the identified facets of privacy. The inclusion criteria were that the source discussed privacy and the respective facet. These sources were then mapped and catalogued into Endnote databases. They were then selected and critiqued for inclusion based on relevancy to the literature previously identified for inclusion.

The next section will highlight how the research methods were selected to answer the research question

13 Selection of First Method

The method selected was designed to suggest that there are shortcomings of the current way that ideas of privacy are constructed. Namely that there are multiple facets of privacy that cannot be generalised, but rather must be studied in detail and this method addressed this. To do this, ethnographic-derived methods were adapted.

Natalie Underberg and Elayne Zorn (2013: 17-27) advocate the adoption of ethnographic methods to study the use of computing technology. This study therefore uses ethnographic methods to explore the research question (how is social privacy before instances of breach perceived whilst engaging with online social networking services).

Traditional ethnographic methods have been used to some extent in new media, often by transferring a non-digital method into the new area with some success (for example, Kozinets (2010), Turkle (2011), Wang et al. (2011)). Despite this, Underberg and Zorn (2013: 17-27) suggest that the success has been limited by the absence of new collaborative methodologies designed specifically for approaching digital media. This study takes an existing ethnographic

method and applies it to study the use of computing technology and in doing so, creates a new collaborative methodology.

A grounded approach is important for the original approach of this research in which there are few pre-existing theories, as it allows for exploration to form around the data collected (Charmaz, 2006: 13-41, Robson, 2011: 24% [Kindle Edition]). Some privacy scholars as identified by Colin Bennett (2011: 485-496) present a conceptualisation of privacy as a “straw man”. Therefore a grounded approach provides greater rigour to any new conceptualisations arising through the continuous adaptation and interrogation of the theory influencing it.

Whilst some privacy scholars use a quantifiable approach to studies of privacy (Backes et al., 2015, Cunningham et al., 2010: 26-40, Gandy, 2002, Gavison, 1980, Nissenbaum, 2010, Qualman, 2012, Room, 2007, Shokri et al., 2011: 247-262, Tsan-Sheng et al., 2002, Weisburd et al., 2006: 549-592, Zhou et al., 2011: 1-8, Zywicki and Danowski, 2008: 1-34), there is an indication that quantifiable methods are misleading the debate surrounding privacy through a process of over-reporting (Harper et al., 2013:175-190, Jensen et al. 2005: 203-227). Instead Carlos Jensen et al. (2005: 203-227) suggest that in-depth ethnographic methods provide more accurate findings as many users have inaccurate perceptions of their own ideas of privacy. There are some privacy scholars who approach

studies of privacy ethnographically (Brin, 1998: 3-114, Greenfield, 2006: 26, Jensen et al., 2005, Jourard, 1971, Westin, 1967) and to contextualise the ethnography in online social networking services, observation techniques from the study of online communities are often used (Andrews, 2012, Bloor, 2010: 147-158, Grimmelmann, 2010, Wittkower, 2010). In addition to this, some academics seek to provide an overview of academic and media discourse of privacy in the socially networked age (Andrews, 2012, Boyd, 2008: 13-20, Condella, 2010: 111-122, Custers et al., 2013: 3-26, Mayer-Schönberger, 2009: 11). Therefore, the ethnographic derived approach will allow this research to build off the pre-existing approaches to studies of privacy in the grounded manner.

This approach will account for the need to consider that privacy is something experienced before instances of breach, by allowing for methodological exploration. The next section will examine the role that the researcher will have in creating this account of privacy with online social networking services.

13.1 Addressing the Subjectivity of Privacy

As previously identified, in order to investigate privacy in this study, it must be considered that it is subjective. This level of subjectivity will go beyond the research subjects and also affect the researcher, who

had their own changing subjective perception of privacy throughout the research.

The literature review identified that research into privacy is often determined by the culture in which the researcher is contextualised. In this instance the researcher broadly identifies himself as English, educated and middle class. However broad categorisation without further interrogation does not provide enough in-depth analysis as it veers towards the auto-ethnographical style of some privacy scholars (such as Jourard (1971) and Westin (1967)). However, Petronio (2002: 40-42) and Steeves (2012: 192-208) position privacy within social interaction based on disclosure and negotiation respectively, inheriting social convention at the core of their concepts. This approach places the sociality of the individual at the centre of the research, and accounts for the influence that others have on the negotiation of their social disclosure. Thus contextualising the researcher is not an isolated auto-ethnographical process, but a process by which the researcher creates knowledge with those socially close to him. The researcher becomes instrumental in the creation and interpretation of knowledge.

A phenomenological approach highlighted the cultural context of the researcher through openly acknowledging the influence that the researcher has had in creating the knowledge and ensuring a thick account. This phenomenological approach facilitated the inductive

nature of grounded theory and through accepting that stories are a product of personal interpretation and individual reconstruction, it sought a subjective understanding of lived experience, (Seale 2012: 447-456), highlighting that the research subjects thoughts and feelings are privileged over the researcher's. Clive Seale (2012: 447-456) suggests that Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) is of particular use when investigating a phenomenon that appears to be contra to dominant discourses. In this instance, the literature review suggests that online social networking services are 'anti-privacy' (see section 23). The examination of stories created by individuals through the phenomenological method allows the researcher to "process authentically the subjective and the value-laden from a small, purposeful, non-representative sample group" (Bednall, 2006:126), facilitating the understanding of the lived experience of privacy and removing the difficulties in obtaining reliable data from other methods previously highlighted. As the researcher is instrumental, it was necessary to formulate an epoché statement (Bednall, 2006: 123-138, Seale, 2012: 449) allowing the reader insight into the pre-existing judgements of the researcher.

13.2 Phenomenological Perception

As previously identified, to study privacy for this study it was considered that privacy is an emotional experience. Phenomenology

not only accounts for the subjectivity of privacy, but also helps us understand emotional bodily experiences (Svanæs, 2013: 8). This section will examine how phenomenology can be used to understand online social networking services as an emotional experience.

13.2.1 The ‘Lemoniness’ of Online Social Networking Services.

In the book titled *World of Perception*, Merleau-Ponty and Davis (2004:location 588) pose the question, what is a lemon? The visual experience of a lemon can be characterised by its physical properties, the yellow skin, the dimples on the surface, the shape. The flavour and acidity of a lemon when eaten give it other properties that go towards what the qualities of the lemon are. To separate all these qualities out into a form of dataset does not begin to fully describe or explain what a lemon is. In a dataset, no piece of data would be given importance or ranking. It is not satisfactory as it is unclear what quantities of each quality are required to make a lemon, or what qualities are bound to one another as the essential make up of a lemon. Essentially this makes the data separate qualities of the one thing: the lemon becomes a list of parameters that make up a lemon. There is more to how we experience the lemon than a dataset can show. As separate data, there is not much that this can show us about the lemon. The lemon is “a unified entity of which all these various qualities are merely different manifestations” (Merleau-

Ponty and Davis, 2004: location 588). It is therefore impossible to address what the lemon is by simply looking at its separate qualities, or how these qualities manifest in only one sense (for example, touch, taste, vision).

The visual experience of the lemon gives rise to expectation in other senses. It is our familiar experience of eating lemons that brings about expectations of its flavour and acidity. When we see a lemon, we begin to expect the flavour and acidity. Through familiarity we have begun to experience the qualities of the lemon in unity. It is impossible to separate one part of the experience from another. The taste of a lemon cannot be separated from its smell, or its visual experience. Jean-Paul Sartre writes that “The lemon is extended throughout its qualities, and each of its qualities is extended throughout each of the others. It is the sourness of the lemon that is yellow, it is the yellow of the lemon that is sour. We eat the colour of a cake, and the taste of this cake, and the taste of this cake is instrument which reveals it’s shape and it’s colour to what may be called the alimentary intuition” (Sartre, 2003:186). Merleau-Ponty interprets this by saying “The things of this world are not simply neutral objects which stand before us for our contemplation. Each one of them symbolises or recalls a particular way of behaving, provoking in us reactions that are either favourable or unfavourable. This is why people’s tastes, character, and the attitude they adopt to the world and to particular things can be deciphered from the objects

with which they choose to surround themselves, their preferences for certain colours or the places where they like to go” (Merleau-Ponty and Davis 2004:631). The lemon is indescribable. It is a perceptual experience that indicates to us something deeper about the individual experiencing it.

Online social networking services are perceptual. In exactly the same way that this research has just spoken about lemons, this research can speak of specific online social networking services. Using the example of Twitter, you could initially seek to define its qualities in a dataset form, visually the blue cartoon bird logo, the typeface, and the colours. The experience of touch, the interface, the feel of a touch screen or keyboard, the weight of the computer in your hand or lap. Not knowing the ratio of each quality prevents us from defining what Twitter is. It too is a perceptual experience. The experience of privacy on Twitter adds further complexity, as it too, is indescribable in this form.

As Merleau-Ponty and Davis (2004: location 588) said with objects, this research argues that through the individuals’ experience, when presented with an online social networking service they will be provoked into a particular way of behaving. Understanding what online social networking services individuals choose to surround themselves with gives us a deeper insight into their experience. Subsequently, their deeper understandings of privacy can be

deciphered through their perceptions of the online social networking services they use. It is impossible to disconnect the online social networking service from the object on which it is being viewed, as it is still part of the perception and the experience. Our understanding of the experience can come from the objects that surround it.

It is necessary to consider this indescribable nature of an experience. Specific aspects of it can be addressed and a partial picture of what the experience is can be built, but it can never fully be described. However, through examining what surrounds it, this research can build greater understanding. So while this research is acknowledging that privacy is an emotional experience, to fully understand what this means, this research is seeking to understand what surrounds it. In this case, perceptions of veillance, relationships, and space. Therefore to gain appropriate insight into how privacy is experienced with online social networking services, a phenomenological method was implemented. This will be discussed in the next section.

14 Implementation

This section will discuss the two fold approach to the method. Firstly this study will discuss the implementation of a pilot study that used sociological interviews. Then this study will discuss how the

grounded approach influenced the implementation of these interviews as the primary research method.

As previously mentioned, this method was implemented initially as a pilot study using open-ended interviews. Four interviews of individuals socially close to the researcher were conducted in order to provide a fuller reflective account of how the researcher's preconceptions may be influenced by his social connections. This will also allow the researcher to build off the aforementioned auto-ethnographic style present within the discipline of privacy studies in a rigorous way.

The interviews were conducted in the respective homes of each interviewee on the 20th, 21st and with two on the 26th of August 2013, each lasting on average 28 minutes. Audio recordings of the interviews were made and transcribed to hard copy the day following each interview. The individual transcripts were first close read, described, interpreted and finally crossed with the other cases according to the stages set out by Jonathan Smith et al. (Smith, 2007: 52-80, Smith et al., 2003: 51-80). The first three stages were conducted twice to ensure adequate depth of interpretation (Seale, 2012: 452) once two days after each interview and a second time on the 29th of August. The final stage was then conducted on the 30th of August, and the findings of this stage are discussed later in section 14.1.

The interviews were analysed beyond the traditional approach of ethnographic research provided by Christine Hine (2000: 1-15) and incorporated the participant-observer techniques of Boyd (2007a: 119-142), observing that not only are the motivations for the answers given important to study, but also how the context of the interview and the researcher's relationship with the interviewee affected the meaning (Kozinets, 2010: 177-196, Seale, 2012). The very nature of privacy could be used as an argument against this method, as those socially close may not wish to reveal certain things to the researcher (Petronio, 2002: 2). However the performativity of the interview was accounted for and the social conventions (as highlighted earlier through the works of (Goffman, 1972, Goffman, 1990, Steeves, 2012, Westin, 1967)) were analysed and interpreted to gain meaning from the interviewees' preliminal, social and preconscious affect (Watkins, 2010: 269-287), that is to say the interpretation of the interviewees' emotional display. This way, any instance of embarrassment, joy, etc. was used to interpret the social function of emotional display (Niedenthal and Brauer, 2012: 259-285) and construct the grounded approach for the latter methods.

As the literature highlights, one online social networking service frequently studied is Facebook, therefore Facebook provided an appropriate discussion point for all interview questions in order to build off pre-existing knowledge. Acknowledging that the approach to

the questions was broad and primarily concerned with the affordances of using Facebook, further understanding was sought through the open-ended nature of the questions. The findings of these interviews have influenced the choice of method for the further enquiry in latter objectives, which can be seen in the next section.

14.1 Pilot Study Findings

The pilot study has identified that the interviewees use Facebook to interact with those socially distant in a way that they otherwise could not. It also allowed them to feel as though they were growing up and moving on from the 'creativity' and 'silliness' that another online social networking service, MySpace, had to offer. A presumed inevitability that one has to move on, led all interviewees to express that they too believed that they were about to move on from Facebook.

The grounded approach can take these findings to formulate a method that addresses the second objective. Taking into account the inherent performativity of those socially close to the researcher (Petronio, 2002: 1-37), further phenomenological interviews will be required with a new sample of those socially removed from the researcher. With the first method used in part to form and influence an epoché statement, the latter interpretations of interviews must be

understood now from the researcher's social relationship and position with the interviewees (Bednall, 2006: 123-138). The sample was limited in size to ensure the greater depth of analysis required for this approach (Lester, 1999: 1-4, Seale, 2012: 450). Thomas Groenewald (2004: 5) takes influence from Welman et al. (1999: 198) and suggests the use of purposive sampling that accounts for the judgements of the researcher as to who is relevant for study. By taking into consideration the researcher's beliefs, this approach can be useful to consider future trends that may become apparent (Seale, 2012: 447-456), especially relevant for this study due to indications already made by the interviewees relating to their moving on from Facebook. This approach can be used in future studies to investigate the applicability of theory across various platforms, websites, and technologies.

The following section consists of an epoché statement and a discussion of the findings of the pilot study that influenced the statement and the formation of the first and second method.

14.1.1 Epoché Statement

The practice of providing an epoché statement in this research is not an attempt to become neutral to judgement and interpretation, but rather to draw attention to how the presence of a researcher will

affect the interpretation of the accounts provided (Bednall, 2006: 123-138, Smith, 2007: 553-571).

To form an epoché statement is to remove judgements about the physical experience, so that the perceived lived experience can become the object of study. This process has ensured only literature that helps understand social nuances influencing experience will be used to provide a path into greater understanding of how privacy is experienced. This attitude highlights the researcher's educational background and subsequently the account this research provides will be within the reflexive process of English academic tradition and the culture it provides. For example, much like the sample selected for the methodologies, the researcher has also experienced an alteration in use and attitudes towards online social networking services.

14.1.2 Contextualising the Researcher

This section discusses the findings of an IPA on the four interview transcripts and recordings from the pilot study. As previously identified, the individual transcripts were analysed according to the stages set out by Jonathan Smith et al. (Smith, 2007: 52-80, Smith et al., 2003: 51-80). What this discussion will show are the findings of

the latter stage, the crossing, or unification of findings from all cases and will structure them into their distinct themes.

14.1.2.1 The Inevitability of Using Facebook

The inevitability of using Facebook was one recurring theme from all respondents in this phase of the research. When probing as to the reason why they joined Facebook the response was usually one of “I think everyone seemed to be joining it” (Interviewee 2). The respondents looked visibly shocked to be asked this question, as though the reasons should be obvious, that they had to join Facebook, with the decision being taken from them and placed within social peer pressure and a need to feel a ‘belonging’. This latter sentiment was of particular importance for interviewee 1 who believed that Facebook was only for university students. This suggests that the context is not asocial as it could be interpreted with the previously examined use of Westin (1967), but rather, the decision to join was socially motivated. The decision to join was not made in isolation but rather negotiated within a relationship. This indicates that there is scope to study a social concept of privacy.

14.1.2.2 Sociality

When listing the types of people they have as 'Facebook friends' on Facebook all respondents gave a clear distinction between their relationship types and listed "actual friends" (interviewee 4) first, reiterating the closeness of that relationship through the speed at which they answered. From this point it became difficult for the respondents to provide further categories, with the slow speed at which they answered reflecting the difficulty in providing further categorisations. With further thought the respondent's categories were school friends, work colleagues, and family coming later in the list.

This idea that close friends were of more importance is reflected in other discussion, with the interviewees using examples of interaction with close friends in their accounts. Despite this, it was the contact with those socially distant, or perceived as being removed that were often stated as the most enjoyable aspect of Facebook. Interviewee 3 and 4 appreciated the ability to "stalk" people (observe their profiles in a voyeuristic manner) on Facebook, with all subjects enjoying the subsequent gossip and insight into other people's lives that they otherwise would not have social access to. It removes the awkwardness of face-to-face conversation with those socially distant and replaces it with a new social convention where it is acceptable and enjoyable to have a non-direct communicative relationship.

Interviewee 4 backed up this sentiment by stating “even though you don’t speak to each other you get to see each other, you get to see what they’re up to its kind of a, kind of like a conversation without words.”

Again, there are social motivations for using Facebook, and these social motivations have conventions forming around them. For example, if an interviewee felt a Facebook friend was breaking social convention, they will try to manage it, through removing ‘Facebook friends’ from their contacts list, or only responding to communications in a certain way. Interviewee 1 for example says her friends “know not to” write on her Facebook wall, apart from on her birthday, when it is acceptable for congratulatory sentiments.

14.1.2.3 Growing Up

“Really thrilling reasons to join! I’m 18 - let’s join Facebook!” -
Interviewee 1

Though presented sarcastically, the sentiments that Facebook was an inevitable part of growing up were apparent. The interviewees constructed narratives that placed Facebook as something which came after MySpace. No cross over period between the two is described and the catalyst for altering which online social networking service they chose to use was as a result of an alteration in social

situation. MySpace is presented as though it was a social tool that was relevant for secondary school, with Facebook as the mature online social networking service for university students. Interviewee 3 places the creativity of editing a MySpace profile as something that is acceptable for a younger person, but as she aged, using it would have been embarrassing.

The interviewees again presented an account in which they were conforming to social conventions as an attempt to remain social. However this time the social conventions went beyond how they used the online social networking services, but instead influenced which online social networking service they were using. Again, indicating that the decisions they were making about privacy were within social contexts.

14.1.2.4 Leaving Facebook

Out of the four interviewees, interviewee 1 was the only person to have deleted Facebook citing;

“The main reason was like I didn’t wanna see [ex-love interest] that I had been going, that I had a thing for, have a new girlfriend. Every time I saw a picture of him with a girl I wanted to throw up, so I was like “right, remove yourself from the ability to see these sorts of pictures.” (Interviewee 1)

With interviewee 1, the reason she cited for enjoying Facebook was the ability to view content from those socially distant from her. Yet the motivation for her to delete her Facebook account was due to a socially close relationship becoming socially distant. Facebook became a platform in which the negative affordances outweighed the positive. A boundary was crossed from objectively viewing to the viewing causing actual psychological harm. Though they didn't delete their Facebook accounts, the other subjects do present a similar narrative. They were active Facebook users at the beginning of their accounts and gradually throughout their university career and subsequent graduation they were using its features less frequently "until it still exists but I just don't use it anymore" - interviewee 4. Interpreting this indicates that the social needs of the interviewees have changed from when they first started to use Facebook, and whilst it did initially fulfil a social function, this has altered. This alteration has influenced the grounded approach and will be accounted for in the reflective periodical nature of the first method.

14.2 Conclusion of Pilot Study

The pilot study has proven the usefulness of phenomenological interviews to gain a greater understanding of how privacy is experienced with online social networking services. The context of

the researcher it has provided will inform reflective practice. This will be seen in greater detail in section 16.

15 Interviews

The literature reviewed and the pilot study highlighted the usefulness of sociological interviews and Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis as a method for addressing the research aims and objectives. Reflection upon these has indicated some areas where the method will be improved upon. This section will start by discussing the improvements made to the sampling. It will then go on to discuss the difference in implementation of the method.

15.1 Sampling

Trottier (2012: 61-84) identifies online social networking services have been particularly useful for the needs of young adults transitioning into university life, allowing the individual to create new close ties, while also maintaining relationships over a longer distance; suggesting that there is a new flexible model of community building where geographical proximity is not as important.

University students have been the subjects of studies about online social networking services (Chou, 2012: 15-117, Kross et al., 2013, Zywicka and Danowski, 2008: 1-34). As a particular community of usage, they provide a unique perspective with online social networking services as university presents a significant alteration in an individual's sociality. In addition to this, the inevitability of using online social networking services and eventually adapting the use to something considered more "grown up" was a key theme from the first method. The sample chosen also reflected individuals from this stage of life. The first method conducted showed that the ways in which Facebook was used altered throughout the interviewees' time at university. As the interviewees matured throughout university and eventually came to leave education to seek gainful employment, Facebook did not feel 'grown-up' enough to fulfil their social needs. The interviewees then went through a period of altering how they interacted on it.

By using a sample that could be interviewed periodically throughout the stages of a university term, provided an in-depth, rich analysis that can follow any alterations in use of online social networking services. Contextualised in the English university culture, interviewees from varying stages in a bachelor's degree were required to participate in four interviews spread periodically over one term. This structure follows the phenomenological tradition of reflection for both the interviewee and the researcher, presenting

greater opportunity for both to make meaning together (Seale, 2012: 453). Structuring the method over four interviews also allowed greater opportunity for the grounded approach, as the questions asked in each interview can alter depending on the answers and reflections from the interview before. This provided rich data outlining the alteration in the way the interviewee is using online social networking services to form social convention and experience social privacy through perceptions of veillance, relationships, and space.

15.2 Structure

The practical implementation of this method required participants from varying stages of a bachelor's degree who were obtained using a volunteer sampling technique. In this instance the research subjects were invited to be participants after being briefly introduced to the nature of the research topic, though without the use of the word privacy. All research subjects were selected from one English university (for anonymity, the name of the university cannot be revealed). Whilst the inherent drawback of this technique is the tendency to attract interested participants, Seale (2012: 447-456) suggests that these participants may have particularly interesting insights, which for this study indicates that the sample it gains will be more inclined to reflect upon interviews and willing to be interviewed multiple times.

As previously indicated, the volunteers will be interviewed four times over one term (see Figure 2). The interviews will be spread periodically over the term to allow time for the interviewees and the researcher to reflect. The interviews gained a large data sample that was designed to produce serendipity. Serendipity allows for details to be examined that weren't originally thought of in the interview question formulation. The figure below outlines the word counts for each interview. This table shows how throughout the process the interviews would become more in-depth and produce a larger amount of data to analyse with a total of 158362 words of transcriptions to analyse.

The next two pages consist of figure 2 and figure 3.

Subject	Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	Interview 4	Totals
1	3244	7093	6681	10061	27079
2	2949	5095	8355	14520	30919
3	4416	6562	11558	10217	32753
4	6234	6793	11527	12083	36637
5	3138	7380	9674	10782	30974
Totals	19981	32923	47795	57663	158362

Figure 2: The first method: Interview transcription word count.

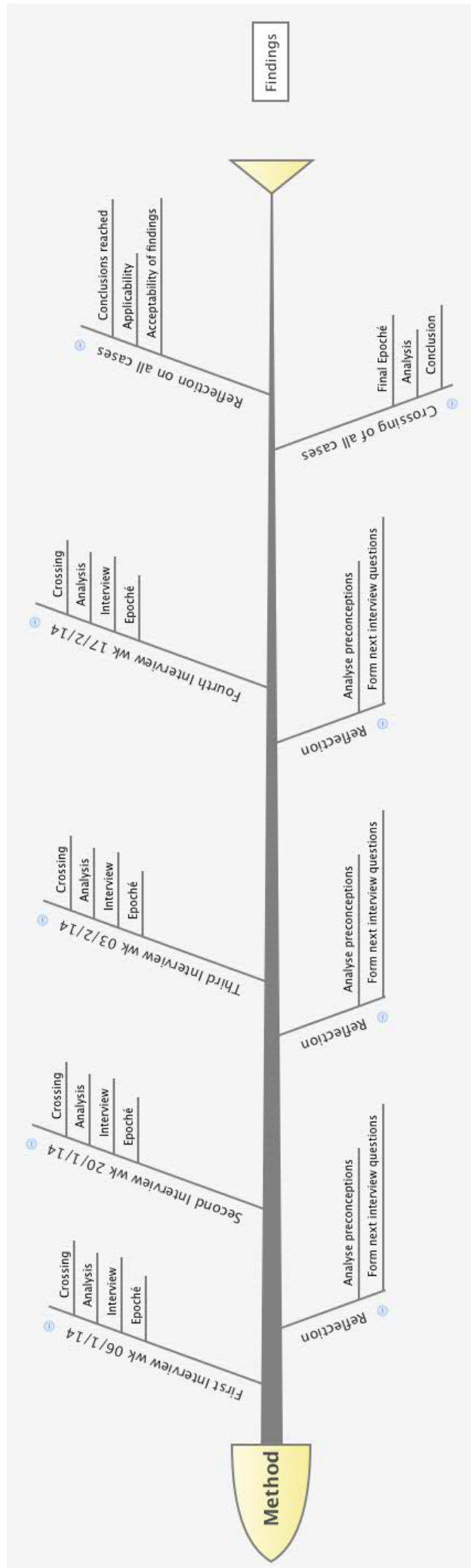


Figure 3: Flow timetable of the first method.

A series of four interviews were formulated (see Figure 3), any more than four and the research risked losing the interest of the research participants and any less than four would not allow enough time to gain in-depth insight and serendipity. The interviews were conducted two weeks apart, allowing for time in between for reflective practice and formulation of questions for the next stage of interviews. The first interviews took place the week commencing the 6th of January 2014 and followed the open-ended style of the first method, again using the structure of analysis set out by Smith et al. (2003: 51-80), but allowing more time to conduct each stage. An excerpt of the analysis process is available in appendix 3 and shows the coding and reflective process of the IPA structure.

The process allowed one week with each transcript for close reading to be conducted so that in-depth hand written coding and notes could be made. Then a further week was allowed in which the transcripts could be described and interpreted twice, taking into account the reflection that a week of close reading had provided. The final stage of crossing with other cases was two fold. Firstly the interviewee's transcripts from each individual were crossed with each other, and then these findings were further crossed with the other transcripts from previous interviews.

The accounts this method generates were then reflected upon and used to explore the research objective. Any gaps in the account, or

areas of interest were then identified and used to form the questions for the next round of open-ended interviews.

Six interviewees were required in total, as this sample would create enough depth for adequate examination of the research aim and objectives. However one research subject opted to discontinue participating in the research after their first interview and their responses have not been included in the analysis. As this research is time dependent an additional research subject could not be found, so the total sample used in the analysis is of five students.

Five research subjects provided a great depth of data for interpretation and analysis. Reflective practice was put into the creation of questions and how the questions were asked. The next two sections examine the role of the researcher as instrument in this method.

15.3 Formulating Questions

As stated in the previous section, the research subjects provided a great depth of data for analysis. The subjectivity of the researcher will influence the findings of the analysis.

The “interviewee is not an object, but a subject with agency, history, and his or her own idiosyncratic command of story. Interviewer and interviewee are in partnership and dialogue as they construct memory, meaning, and experience together.” Madison (2012:28). It is not the sole responsibility of either the interviewee or the interviewer to make meaning, but it is instead something that is done in partnership and praxis. This differs slightly from traditional enquiry of much social science, as its primary concern is not with the validity and substantiation of facts, but rather the deeper meanings behind the complexity and subjectivity of human experience. As Madison (2012:28) wrote, “The interview is a window to individual subjectivity and collective belonging: I am because we are, and we are because I am.” This shows us that while being mindful of the epistemological approach using phenomenology, questions must be formulated that allow for the insight required, but still allow for the interaction with the interviewer. To effectively do this, a model must be formulated as a guide.

15.3.1 The Patton Model

The model that this research adapted was the Patton model. The Patton model was formulated by Michael Patton (2001: 348-352) and is useful due to its non-prescriptive guide-like approach. This method was intended to be exploratory, and thus the questions asked must

be fluid and responsive to the environment that the interview creates. Using this model will not stifle this; it instead provided an indication of where the general question areas should be sought in the pre-interview planning stages. It does this by providing six categories of question types that help gain the in-depth insight that this research requires. These six categories will be discussed below.

1. Behaviour and experience questions: while initially appearing like two separate things, behaviour and experience have influence over one another. Behaviour is the action of doing, the way someone acts, or the way someone conducts himself or herself. Experience is the meaning that the behaviour has for the interviewee.
2. Opinion or value questions: these two categories seek to understand the beliefs or judgements that an individual has. While these two categories could potentially be confused, they remain separate in that opinions are generally regarded as individualistic and more rational in the interviewees mind, while values are influenced by the interviewees' social setting, through inherited conventions or guiding principles.
3. Feeling questions: these questions are asked to seek the emotional response that an interviewee has to a particular phenomenon.

4. Knowledge questions: these questions address where and what the interviewee has learned about the phenomenon.
5. Sensory questions: the questions address how the human body reacts to a phenomenon; how it is physically perceived, be that through taste, touch, sight and so on.
6. Background/demographic questions: these questions address the practical questions surrounding the interviewees' experience of a phenomenon, the factual information about themselves or their experience.

By using this model as a guide during the reflective practice between different interviews, a variety of interview questions were sought to aid the exploratory nature of this method (the interview questions asked can be seen in appendix 1).

The next section will discuss the epoché statements that the researcher created as the research progressed.

16 Epoché

16.1 Introduction

A phenomenological approach highlights the cultural context of the researcher through openly acknowledging the influence that the researcher has had in creating the knowledge and ensuring a thick account. This phenomenological approach will facilitate the inductive nature of grounded theory and through accepting that stories are a product of personal interpretation and individual reconstruction, will seek a subjective understanding of lived experience (Seale, 2012: 447-456). As noted previously, Clive Seale (2012: 447-456) suggests that Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) is of particular use when investigating a phenomenon that appears to be contra to dominant discourses. In this instance, the literature review suggests that online social networking services are 'anti-privacy' (see section 6.1). The examination of stories created by individuals through the phenomenological method allows the researcher to "process authentically the subjective and the value-laden from a small, purposeful, non-representative sample group" (Bednall, 2006:126). This facilitates the understanding of the lived experience of social privacy and removes the difficulties in obtaining reliable data from other methods previously highlighted. As the researcher is instrumental, it is necessary to formulate an epoché statement

(Bednall, 2006: 123-138, Seale, 2012: 449) allowing the reader insight into the pre-existing judgments of the researcher.

The following section provides the context of the researcher in the form of an epoché statement. The practice of providing an epoché statement in this research is not an attempt to become neutral to judgment and interpretation, but rather draw attention to how the presence of a researcher will affect the interpretation of the accounts provided (Bednall, 2006: 123-138, Smith, 2007: 553-571).

This process has ensured only literature that helps understand social nuances influencing experience, will be used to provide a path into greater understanding of how social privacy is experienced. This attitude highlights the researcher's educational background. Subsequently the account this research provides will be within the reflexive process of English academic tradition and the culture it provides (which is also the culture of the research subjects). Thus a statement was created before each interview and as such the researcher used a mixture of past, present, and future tenses. The statements are presented with the mixture of tenses to reflect the thought process and reflective practice openly. The first epoché was conducted on the 5th of January 2014.

16.2 Interview 1 Epoché

Whilst it is recognised that an epoché is an important part of thoughtful practice, it is often treated as though it is separate from the actual research, like a precursor that shows the analysis of the research is not biased. However, it can be brought closer to the research and become even more efficient through treating the interview questions as the stimulus for the epoché. This way the researcher is aware of the bias they bring to the study specifically.

This does however present an ethical dilemma in which the researcher is required to link by name the answers to the interview questions, thus waving anonymity. This process will create accounts similar to the auto ethnographical style of Jourard (1971: 3-24), but addressing the open-ended structure of interview questions. This approach will not only allow for the researcher to account for their own attitudes towards the questions, but also what they believe the research subjects will answer with, thus creating an epoché that is two fold.

16.2.1 The Statement

I believe that I am in a minority when considering the online social networking services that I use. I have a strict distinction

between name linked and non-name linked online social networking services. The name linked online social networking services I use are Twitter.com, Academia.edu, and Meetup.com, while the non-name linked ones I use are Reddit.com and Xbox Live. I also consider that I have a MySpace account that has not been used since 2006, for which I no longer have the password and cannot delete, something which I would do as I believe the information is out of date and it gives me an embarrassed uneasy feeling that it is still available to access. I feel that within my social group that I am somewhat ostracised for not using Facebook.com. Facebook.com is the only online social networking service that I have deleted, because it was taking up too much of my time and I was no longer enjoying my time spent on it. This was partly due to an alteration in friendship groups causing me to want to cut off contact with some individuals. However, simply removing them as “friends” would have caused a social rift and broken with convention. The only socially acceptable option to me was to delete my Facebook account.

Using the categories, name linked and non-name linked; I believe that I use online social networking services that belong to these categories differently. The non-name linked online social networking services are used primarily for fun and escapism. Xbox Live, accessed via an Xbox360 console in my

living room is used as a way to share entertainment with friends, not as a direct communication tool, however I use it infrequently and only to play games with a close friend whom I infrequently see face-to-face. Reddit.com is my most frequently used online social network for which I dedicate approximately three hours a day to browsing using a iOS app and interacting with people whom I believe I have never seen face to face. Though I am aware of three close friends who use it, I am unaware of their user names. This time is split across the day with half an hour to an hour spent browsing in bed before I sleep and immediately after I wake. At other times it serves as a time filler when waiting in a queue, or as a short break from work and sometimes at the same time as consuming other media such as television or film.

The name linked online social networking services tend to fulfil a social function that exists outside of the online social network, in my face-to-face social life. Twitter is used primarily to follow academics of interest and cause groups so that I feel as though I am kept up to date with contemporary privacy research. Academia.edu is used to network with other academics and as a way to disseminate my own research. Meetup.com provides an opportunity for me to take part in various events and meet new people with a shared interest.

All three of the last mentioned online social networking services are accessed infrequently through web browsers.

As memory serves, all online social networking services I have joined have been due to peer pressure or recommendation by a friend in a face-to-face context, apart from Meetup.com, which was recommended by another user of reddit.com. I believe the first online social network I used was Friendster. I have minimal recollection of using this online social network and hold no nostalgia for it. However it is only upon reflection that I say Friendster, as my initial reaction would have been to talk about MySpace. MySpace had more impact on my life, as it was the first social experience online of collecting friends and socialising online.

Though I have presented my experiences with online social networking services with strong opinions, my preconceptions about online social networking service usage are that I am in the minority and that other individuals are more likely to be predisposed to sharing. This is in part experiential on my behalf, but it is also the argument often presented in journalistic discourse. As well as my own attitudes, the pilot study has indicated that there is nostalgia associated with MySpace. This nostalgia offers a changing attitude over time.

16.2.2 Post Research Reflection

Since writing this epoché statement and implementing all methods for this research, I have altered the way I use online social networking services. I have joined Facebook.com as a tool to communicate with those socially close to me and I have started to use Reddit.com less frequently, limiting my access by deleting the iOS application. This is of importance to note, as the analysis section will show (see section 20.3) the research subjects expressed similar negative emotions surrounding their use of online social networking services, wanting to only use online social networking services that serve a purpose for them. The ongoing reflective practice has led to an alteration of use.

16.3 Interview 2 Epoché

This epoché was conducted on the 19th of January 2014. The following section contains the statement as written on this date, edited only for spelling and grammar.

16.3.1 The Statement

The analysis from the first set of interviews revealed some common areas of interest; namely the role that the different

technologies used to access online social networking services can have an affect on how they are experienced and how the structure of the online social network affects the feelings a user will have about it. Therefore the second stage of the interviews will seek to ask questions about these particular topics.

Firstly this epoché will deal with the researcher's preconceptions regarding mobile phones and the affect they have with online social network experience. The researcher currently owns an iPhone 5, paid for with his money and signed for with a contract under his own name, thus he feels ownership of the object. The researcher feels relatively possessive of his mobile phone and would expect others to be the same with their respective devices. Installed on his mobile phone are two apps for online social networking services, Reddit.com and Meetup.com. The primary method of consumption for Reddit.com is through this app, daily. This method of accessing Reddit.com is preferred due to the more personal feeling it creates. Both the size of the screen and the portability of the device allow an immersion into reddit.com, as though the experience is tailor made.

The researcher is rarely away from his mobile phone. It is on his bedside table at night, in his pocket when out of the house

and on the floor next to his sofa when in his home. The researcher does not share his mobile phone with other people and would be reluctant to give his phone to someone else to use, though intimate partners have been trusted to play games on his phone in the past, for reasons not apparent to the researcher at this point. The researcher has a preconception that smartphones are cheap and available to all, though according to his friends this is not accurate. There is the belief that smartphones are the norm and that accessing the Internet is now almost exclusively through a mobile phone except in cases of work where a laptop becomes a more appropriate device.

When considering the second line of questioning regarding language, the researcher feels less familiar and struggles to preconceive answers. This is likely due to the researcher self-identifying as not being a user of Facebook or Twitter and therefore not understanding the language used. The researcher built preconceptions of Twitter from the 140-character limit of tweets, which indicates that the style must be informal and short and therefore informal.

16.3.2 Post Research Reflection

As previously stated, the researcher no longer accesses Reddit.com via smartphone. When reflecting upon the use of online social networking services, the researcher determined that Reddit.com was no longer fulfilling the needs it once did. With the Reddit.com iOS application now deleted, the researcher feels less possessive over his smartphone and would now freely consider opting for a cheaper device in the future. The researcher has also started to use Facebook.com and Twitter.com as these fit his social and professional requirements respectively.

16.4 Interview 3 Epoché

This epoché was conducted on the 2nd of February 2014. The following section contains the statement as written on this date, edited only for spelling and grammar.

16.4.1 The Statement

The questions being asked in interview three are not set as they were in the previous two interviews. They are written as discussion points. I am aware that this provides some difficulty in the preconceptions that it will present. This interview aims to

ask about emotions involved with the subjects' use of online social networking services. This in itself is a preconception that there are emotions involved in the use of online social networking services. Though the second interview went some way to examine this, it has now formed as a preconception that this is the case.

The researcher experiences a large range of emotions when using online social networking services. While negative emotions have been felt, the use of online social networking services has always been in an attempt to feel positive emotions of self-affirmation and happiness. While this is not always forthcoming, it has not prevented the researcher from exploring many online social networking services to gain the feeling. This is why the researcher believes they had settled on the use of Reddit.com, because it allowed self-affirmation from other users up-voting the researcher's submitted content and happiness from exploring new things and new humour.

The idea of "shoulder surfing" (looking over someone's shoulder to see their mobile phone or laptop screen) was present in the previous interview. The researcher's initial reaction when reflecting upon shoulder surfing was the recall of a previous methodological idea, to shoulder surf and record the reactions of the mobile device user. The researcher is not

completely clear what this means, only that there is an awareness that it is breaking some forms of social convention, albeit a reactionary one.

This epoché has come with some difficulty to write and summarise. The researcher is experiencing much confusion regarding the interview process and is having some difficulty with the depth and richness of data that the method is providing. The researcher must embrace this, but also be mindful not to pass on this confusion to the interview subjects.

16.4.2 Post Research Reflection

This epoché shows the reflection surrounding emotions and the perceptions of veillance, relationships, and space beginning to form into an analytical model, which this study will discuss in a later section (see section 18.3). The richness and depth of the data, while at the time confusing, became an advantage of the method.

16.5 Interview 4 Epoché

This epoché was conducted on the 16th of February 2014. The following section contains the statement as written on this date, edited only for spelling and grammar.

16.5.1 The Statement

Some clear patterns are emerging. There appear to be three main areas that influence the way the research subjects experience privacy, emotion and the perception of veillance, relationships, and space. Preconceptions about all three have formed over the time of these interviews and the subjects must be examined further.

Veillance: when thinking about veillance and privacy, the research has found it difficult to separate the linguistic negativity with which veillance has been presented by academic works. The discussions from the research subjects so far have indicated that being subjected to veillance and subjecting others to veillance is actually a positive enjoyable aspect of using online social networking services. The researcher should be wary of this and ensure that they respect this feeling of the research subjects and they should not treat veillance as only being negative.

Relationships: central to many discussions were relationships. There are a huge variety of relationships and many were spoken of with things presupposed about the type of relationship it was, as though the researcher should automatically know what each type of relationship should

entail. This must be another type of social convention. It is expected that a certain relationship type will be a certain way. The researcher must be wary of this as it may not be the case. The relationship type must be probed.

Space: when thinking about space and privacy the researcher automatically thinks of academic works that have already covered the issue. Many have discussed space as though it were an ideal thing to strive for, in that an individual seeks out a space to call his own. The idea of private and public space is prevalent in academic discourse, though the researcher does not necessarily agree with the statement. The preconception the researcher has about space is that it is an indicator to an individual on how they should act. Space helps inform the individual what social convention they should be adhering to at any given time. The interviews have shown though that online social networking services have been spoken of spatially. Therefore a preconception that is forming in the researcher's mind is one where the online social networking services also act as indicators as to what social convention should be deployed.

Emotion: the majority of the previous interview discussed emotion. The interview subjects were very muddled in explaining their feeling regarding certain online social

networking services and the emotions they caused. Somewhat surprisingly for the researcher was the prevalence of negative emotions involved in using these online social networking services, as though they felt they had no choice but to keep using them as ultimately there would be a higher reward for perseverance. The preconception may have been somewhat confirmed that the research subjects felt that talking about emotions when using online social networking services was somewhat silly and not a normal thing for them to be talking about. The researcher must be wary of this so that they do not accidentally insult the subjects feelings.

Again, this is something that has been probed in previous interviews, but from a perspective that it has been overarching everything (the perceptions of veillance, relationships, and space), it has not been considered separately. The researcher must be wary that emotion, while necessary to probe as though it is separate, may not be as this in itself is a preconception that the researcher has drawn. Perhaps it is more pertinent to ask questions about different life stages of the interviewees to see how attitudes towards online social networking services have changed. From these questions an emotional influence may be garnered.

16.6 Crossing of all Epoché Statements

When producing the epoché statements the researcher chose to treat them in a similar fashion to the interviews. One interview influenced the ones that followed it, so subsequently one epoché would influence the ones that followed. The epoché for interview 4 would have been a culmination of all previous interview epoché statements.

The final epoché produced should provide a reflection over the entire process and method to understand the researcher's preconceptions and thoughts about the study in general. It should not be read in separation of previous epoché statements and it is recommended to re-read it at the end of the study as well to provide a full understanding of the reflective practice that has influenced the findings of this study.

16.6.1 The Statement

Through implementing the method, the researcher has begun to believe in the validity of his findings. This is to say that the researcher believes that the method is fit for purpose and good to answer the key research question. The researcher

feels closer to understanding how privacy is experienced with online social networking services.

The researcher is wary of how this information needs to be transferred. That is to say that the researcher is wary of their role as instrument in the findings of the study and does not want to present a disingenuous account. The researcher is instrumental due to the nature of the study. He is responsible for interpreting the accounts given to him by the research subjects and in turn the researcher is creating yet another account that requires some level of interpretation by the reader of this thesis.

This research is therefore required to be open and honest with the reader, allowing the reader to perform a meaningful critique of the researcher's interpretation. One way this could be done is to provide the annotated transcripts of the interviews in full, however this would not be ethically acceptable. Instead, providing lengthy full excerpts from the transcripts is a compromise. The researcher considers that this will also allow for the reader to draw different conclusions, but this is an important aspect of phenomenology. The depth of the research allows for multiple facets of the lived experience to be observed.

While this study chose to observe a very specific facet of privacy in the lived experience from the beginning, the study soon progressed to observe and inspect three areas of privacy, space, relationships, veillance and emotions. Upon reflection the researcher fears that they may have been caught up in the excitement of making what he feels was a breakthrough and that other equally interesting aspects of privacy may have been overlooked. However, this does not diminish the importance of what has been discovered. Providing the interview data in lengthy excerpts will only further the credibility of the discovery as it will allow others to inspect some of the other equally interesting aspects of online social network usage, that this study could not.

The researcher has set out to provide an in-depth, thick account of how privacy is experienced with online social networking services. In doing so the researcher has openly considered their role as instrument of this research.

16.7 Conclusion of Epoché

The epoché has provided some interesting points of reflection from the researcher. It is recommended that it be read together with the

analysis chapter in order to give the reader a full appreciation for the account being given. While the epoché has highlighted some areas where the researcher must be wary of influencing the research subjects, the post research reflection has demonstrated that the process of the research subjects influencing the researcher to use online social networking services differently.

In the final epoché that the researcher has reflected upon the aspects to consider when studying privacy. The first method has gone some way to examine these aspects in separation and together, but further rigour is needed to understand how the aspects are experienced simultaneously. Therefore a second method is needed. This will be discussed in section 17, but first this research will establish the education process of the researcher in order to provide a full account.

16.8 Information About the Researcher

As established in section 16.1, the researcher is central to the findings of this research. While the epoché statement briefly accounts for the educational and academic traditions in which the researcher was trained, it does not account for the training and development that the research went through in the process of this research. This section will outline the various activities undertaken in an honest, open way.

16.8.1 Research Training Courses

Throughout this research, several courses were attended to develop the skills of the researcher. These courses were attended with peers from across a range of disciplines, and were conducted as a formal part of the education process. The following courses were attended to develop each skill respectively;

- Introduction to Learning Resources Centre
- Introduction to Teaching and Learning
- Starting your PhD
- Programme Approval and Introduction to Ethics
- Personal Development Planning workshop
- Self Organisation and Personal Improvement
- Introduction to Research Methods
- Academic Writing
- Ethics and Research Conduct

16.8.2 Presentations, Workshops and Conferences

Throughout the research process, the researcher attended various academic events. In the early stages of research, The CRISP (Centre for Research into Information, Surveillance and Privacy) launch event on 20/09/12 provided an opportunity to informally

discuss the intentions of the research with academics, law enforcement agents and staff and interested members of the public.

Work was presented at the Political Studies Association, Media and Politics Group Annual Conference in November 2012 titled *Privacy as data control: user attitudes of government and private data mining online*. This peer reviewed conference allowed for the development of the research away from the binary of private/not private as it highlighted the subjective nature of attitudes and how the attitudes depended on relationships.

The University of Bedfordshire organise an annual series of research seminars open to members of staff and students. The research presented a seminar in October 2012 titled *Deconceptualising privacy: a condition of social negotiation*. This research seminar was based on the literature review of this research and provided an opportunity for feedback. As well as presenting the research seminars, the researcher also invited guest speakers, including the Journalist Tom Scott and Dr David Barnard-Wills from Cranfield University, to discuss their research into privacy.

16.8.3 Student Supervisor Relationship

Supervisions were formally conducted adhering to university guidelines. The supervisor conducted supervisory sessions using a

highly dialectical Socratic method, in which assumptions made by the researcher were questioned in order to tease out prospective lines of critical thinking that could help the further development of the hypothesis and highlight assumptions and contradictions in the literature. This method helped the researcher form his own dialectical line of enquiry when conducting the epoché statements, as the challenging of assumptions became imperative to the success of the statements.

17 Selection of Second Method: Triangulation

17.1 Introduction

The first method provided a large amount of in-depth examination into the phenomena of privacy with online social networking services and yielded good findings on the experience of the key aspects of privacy this study identified. It went some way to show how the five key aspects of privacy can interact. However, there has been difficulty in fully understanding the ways in which the research subjects envisioned these key aspects and left the researcher with preconceptions about the interactions that require interrogating. To overcome this, a second method was used to triangulate the findings of the first method and address the researcher's preconceptions. It will do so by critically examining how emotions, perceptions of

veillance, relationships, and space are experienced simultaneously and can be considered in unison when studying this study's facet of privacy.

If the first method aimed to understand how privacy is experienced with online social networking services, this second method will aim to understand how individuals can envision this experience and it will clarify how the aspects of privacy can all be experienced simultaneously.

This section will start by examining methods that create visual artefacts with the research subject and examine in more depth how asking a research subject to produce an image can provide a greater insight into complex phenomena. Ultimately this section will show how this method was implemented and how the findings it produced are useful to triangulate the findings of the first method and interrogate the preconceptions of the researcher, but also to help explore the research question (how is social privacy before instances of breach perceived whilst engaging with online social networking services?).

17.2 The Benefits of Drawing a Picture to Understand Complex Phenomena

This section will examine how visual methods can be used to examine complex phenomena. It is an extremely useful tool for understanding complex phenomena such as social privacy. There is a rich history of advocacy for visual methods for understanding, from mind maps (Buzan, 1990, Buzan, 2005) to the contemporary infographic movement (Krauss, 2012, Lankow et al., Smiciklas, 2012) and visual methods in education (Budd, 2004: 35-46, Noonan, 2013), all of which highlight the usefulness in organising and understanding a complex issue in a visual way. As the literature review and the analysis of the first method has shown, the facets of social privacy this thesis is examining is an extremely complex phenomenon. The first method succeeded in gaining the depth required for examination of the facets, namely the examination of perceptions of veillance, relationships, and space. However, the first method could not provide all of the depth and non-linear manner required to adequately study the complexities of the interaction of all three of these aspects. It is this that the second method addresses.

According to Zweifela and Van Wezemaela (2012:0) "Drawing allows an in-depth and less linear insight into complex situations if compared to speech alone. As such, having interviewees draw models of their setting allows them and the researcher to develop a

new, multiscale and more complex understanding and thus to harness the complexity of real-life situations differently". The complexities of the phenomena being studied so far require an approach to triangulation that removes the linear, syntactical and semantic aspects of speech. Asking a research subject to create a picture to explain the complex phenomena of privacy can allow greater insight, as noted above, than speech and writing alone.

There has been a tradition of using drawings as a research method in the form of Rich Pictures. While Rich Picture methods have been used to obtain insight into complex phenomena and perceptions surrounding technology, (Berg and Pooley, 2013: 361-376, Williams, 1998: 55-59), they tend to be primarily used to understand organisational issues within group based studies and are useful for exploring social issues.

It is this aspect of the Rich Picture that will be useful for this study. "By introducing drawing as an activity... we also give the interviewees the chance to escape the linearity of the spoken or written word. Moreover, drawings are a good tool for gathering information about situations, as they allow the simultaneous perception of different actors and relationships, making complex strings of effects visible and tangible." (Zweifela and Van Wezemaela, 2012:2).

This study has shown that privacy, as experienced with online social networking services, is a complex subjective topic. Through the interview method this study has examined the five main aspects of privacy. Asking research subjects to create a drawing showed how these five aspects of privacy can be perceived in unison, not separation, as “one’s own perception of a complex system cannot be explained either simply or linearly... [Instead we can use] the action of drawing or sketching to make these perceptions visible.”(Zweifela and Van Wezemaela, 2012:4).

Drawings will help to reveal relationships between the five aspects of privacy that require further examination to add rigour to the findings of the first method. The key reason for choosing this method is that it allowed for the research subjects to identify things that they could not explicitly verbalise in an interview method, it becomes easier for the research subjects to explain “relationships and processes, to remember all the present actors and to explain reasons for certain actions when they visualise them.” (Zweifela and Van Wezemaela, 2012:10). Therefore, this method will account for one thing that the first method was not able to fully, the ways in which the identified aspects of privacy can be considered in unison.

As this research has shown, using the creation of visual artefacts is an extremely useful research tool for understanding complex phenomena. However, it was established how the researcher will

interpret the artefacts after they have been created. This research will examine this in the next section.

17.3 Interpreting the Drawings

As previously stated at the beginning of this methodology chapter, to address the subjectivity of privacy, a phenomenological paradigm was selected. It has been argued thus far that phenomenology is the best way to interpret accounts given by the research subjects while providing an account of the influence that the researcher has on the findings of the study. Therefore, the second method must also utilise the strengths of phenomenology.

As previously established when discussing the lemonsiness of online social networking services (see section 13.2), the indescribable nature of ones perception of the online social network creates some difficulty in reducing the experience to words. This method will face a similar difficulty in reducing the experience to pictures, pictures that will also require interpretation by the researcher.

Much academic literature on understanding and interpreting images come from the study of art (Barrett, 1994, Reavey and Johnson, 2012, Rose, 2012, Whitehead, 2011). Though useful, it must be established if the research participants have been asked to create 'art' and therefore, if this literature applied is useful. Zweifel and Van

Wezemaela (2012: 0-15) reiterate a useful point here. It is not just the drawing that is being analysed, but also the explanation that goes with it. The drawing allows the research subject to express what cannot be expressed by words alone. Therefore the textual elements of this method can be interpreted in a similar way to the first method.

It is acknowledged at this point that the researcher's preconceptions are also central to this method. As expressed in the first method, the researcher's preconceptions altered throughout the interview process, thus the preconception brought to this method will be different from the one brought to the first. The preconceptions for the researcher prior to this method are expressed in the crossing of all epoché statements (see section 16.6).

The graphical elements must be interpreted also, to give additional meaning to the textual elements. Levin (2005: 3-31) argue that phenomenologists can be caught in an academic tendency to over intellectualise perception of images. He uses the example of a picture of a smiling face saying "we do not first experience planes and surfaces moving before our eyes and then judge those phenomena to constitute a smiling face. No, to the contrary, we experience the smile immediately and can subsequently try to contemplate the particular sensuousness of a given smile or wonder what motive lie behind such a smile."(Levin, 2005:12), meaning that the perception comes first. Considering the drawings created in this

context, the researcher seeks out the initial perception without comment on the aesthetics of the image.

Gillian Rose (2012: 12) suggests that there are three criteria when performing critical visual methodology. Firstly, the researcher must take the images seriously, even though the task being performed by the research subjects may not be taken seriously, the artefacts it produces should. This is where the phenomenological approach of bracketing preconceptions can be utilised and the deeper meaning of the artefacts can be sought. Secondly, the researcher must account for the social conditions and the effects they have on the artefact, not only in terms of the social conditions of the research subject, but also that of the researcher. This is considered in the first method where a sample was chosen within the researcher's own broad cultural definition. This can be repeated in the second method, while acknowledging that the researcher can also still bracket preconceptions. Thirdly, the researcher should consider that the researcher would have a particular way of looking at images. Rose (2012: 1-27) suggests reflective practice when interpreting images, as this will allow for the researcher to express why they reached a certain interpretation. This again accounts for the researcher as instrument and the reflective practice of the epoché can be extended.

As this research has shown, the researcher will have their own particular way of looking at and interpreting images. To account for

this, the researcher will use reflective practice when analysing the artefacts created by the research subjects. The analysis (see section 22) shows the open honest interpretations of the researcher. Thus this research serves to examine the preconception that the researcher had going into this method, that the identified aspects of privacy occurred simultaneously. This method will serve to interrogate this preconception and provide triangulation and rigour to the findings of the first method. The next section will examine how the second method was implemented.

17.4 Practical Implementation

This method was implemented over the course of the 27th of April 2015. The researcher asked individuals in the same geographical location as the university used in the first method to take part. While the individuals were not given a set time in which they were asked to complete the task, they were asked to start completing the task upon agreeing to undertake it to ensure that it was the instant perception that they drew.

The sample was obtained by asking individuals in two social settings to complete the task. Initially subjects were asked in a local park between the times of 16:30 and 17:30, however this yielded a low response rate. Out of six subjects approached, only two agreed to

participate. The sample was then collected from a local public house between the times 18:00 and 19:30, where a much larger response rate was obtained. Out of 17 people approached, only one declined to participate. The geographical setting was chosen to be in the same area as the university in the first method.

In order to be approachable, the researcher wore smart clothes and had his university identification badge clearly visible on their person. The informed consent forms clearly stated the research intentions and the contact details of the university, should the research participant need to contact for any reason.

To add further rigour to this research, the sample for this method was selected to be different from the sample for the first method. In the first method, students at any stage in an undergraduate degree were selected using voluntary purposive sampling for their particular insight into the phenomena. As this method is seeking to triangulate the findings of the first method, it will account for some of the identified drawbacks in the sampling for the previous method. A random sample of individuals were approached in various social settings and asked to participate in the research. The only demographic data collected was through a single question on the ethical release form asking if they were not currently studying for a university degree (see appendix 3). All other demographic criteria came incidentally through the geographical area in which the

research was conducted. No other demographic information was collected about the individuals, as this was not deemed relevant due to the life stage of university being as an important influence on attitudes. By asking individuals who were not at any stage in a university degree, rigour has been added to the study so that it can ensure its findings are not just specific for a small section of the population.

A form was developed with a brief question that asked the research participant to draw what they think privacy is (see appendix 2), and then annotate it. As this research was seeking to examine the identified aspects of privacy, a sentence asked the individuals to think about space, emotion and relationships when drawing privacy. This covers four key aspects of social privacy identified in the first method. The aspect of privacy existing before instances of breach was observed in the drawings generally without prompt as it would be too complex and leading to explain this to the research subjects. The question was formulated to interrogate the preconceptions of the researcher. By asking these questions the research subjects were given the opportunity to challenge the researcher's preconceptions about the findings of the first method, adding rigour to the researcher's interpretation of the first methods findings.

Once completed, the research subjects placed the form anonymously in an envelope, where they remained for one week.

This was to ensure as much anonymity for the research subjects as possible. After one week, the images were analysed according to the framework outlined in the previous sections, allowing for close reading, interpretation, then ultimately crossing and reflection with the interpretation of the other images. The findings of this method can be seen in section 22.

17.5 Conclusion

As this research shows, asking research subjects to use images to explain a complex phenomenon can be useful as it allows the research participants to express things that they could not do so easily using speech. Reflective practice has been important throughout both the methodologies used and has informed the interpretation of the data. The findings and analysis of the second method helped triangulate the findings of the first and led to a greater understanding of how social privacy is experienced with online social networking services.

The following section will highlight the ethical considerations that were taken into account throughout this research.

17.6 Research Ethics

This research was conducted under the ethical guidelines set out by the University of Bedfordshire and as such, prior approval was sought from an internal ethics committee before collecting any data. Much consideration was given to the well being of the research subjects. For the first part of the method, the sample was chosen from university students, ensuring that the respondents have had no prior contact with the researcher.

The research examined and collected three data sets from sociological interview conditions:

- 1) Orally expressed information from interviews, digitally recorded, transcribed and analysed.
- 2) Permission-granted access information. This information included, but was not necessarily limited to oral reports of Social Network Status updates restricted by privacy settings.
- 3) Observation of research participant's emotional affect through analogue recordings.

Express permission was sought by creating interview conditions and informed consent forms. Consent forms were obtained from all subjects of research allowing for their data to be used (see appendix 2). The informed consent form stated the intentions of the research and outlined the methods of data storage. The informed consent form took into account the need for dissemination, and indicated the

researcher's name and website where the findings of the research will be published after the researcher's PhD has been awarded.

The participants were made aware that no identifiable (name linked) personal data hard copies would be made. Instead data was kept anonymously (name replacement for numerical alternative) on the researcher's computer, subject to the Data Protection act of 1988 until the end of the project, at which time the audio recordings were destroyed. Identifiable data (name linked) was only stored on the hard copy informed consent form; this is limited to the contents of the form, a participant's signature and the written date. Digital audio recordings were made of the interviews that were initially stored on the dictaphone. As soon as possible after the interview the recording was transferred to a password protected computer with an additional copy held on a password protected external hard drive, with the copy held on the dictaphone destroyed. After analysis and transcription, all recordings were destroyed.

Transcripts were held on a password-protected computer and password protected external hard drive. Only transcribed data deemed relevant to the study was used in this research.

If the researcher had come across any illegal activity, or activity violating the source sites terms and conditions, appropriate action

within the source sites policy would be taken to report any activity. However, no such activity was reported.

Participants were not put under and physical or mental stress by the study. If they wished to opt out at any point then they could do so by request, or by ceasing their responses. One research subject withdrew from the research after the first interview, but indicated this was due to time constraints and not for any ethical issues.

Ethical permissions were sought for the second method in a similar way. Initially, it was expected that digital audio recordings would be taken for the second method, however upon doing a pilot it was determined that this data collection was unnecessary and therefore no audio recordings were made. Instead only the notes of the research subjects were collected. These were done anonymously (non name linked), with the express permission through informed consent forms (see appendix 2).

The next chapter will show the findings of both of these methodologies and the analysis and reflective practice that they generated.

18 ANALYSIS

18.1 Introduction

This chapter will present the findings and analysis from the first and second methods outlined in the previous chapter (see section 12 to 18). This chapter will analyse the findings of both methods in light of the findings of the literature review together.

In order to address the research question (how is social privacy before instances of breach perceived whilst engaging with online social networking services?) presented in the literature review, the main aim of this chapter will be to investigate varying forms of social and asocial interaction with online social networking services presented by the research subjects and participants that afford the perceived experience of privacy.

This chapter will present the findings of the research through examining how social privacy with online social networking services are experienced through the perceptions of veillance, relationships, and space. The chapter will present an individualised account of these perceptions.

This chapter will then address each aspect of this facet of socially experienced privacy separately using the analysis of the first method, then together using the analysis of the second method. The next section will examine in more depth how this analysis chapter is structured.

18.2 Structure

As previously mentioned, this chapter will analyse the findings of the first and second methods. This chapter is split into five sections. The first section is the introduction. The introduction aims to provide an understanding of how the analysis should be read and understood. It will provide an analytical diagram that demonstrates how the aspects of socially experienced privacy can be analysed separately, but still be understood as occurring simultaneously.

The second section will analyse the first method, seeking to understand veillance. Veillance was identified in the literature review as the desire an individual may have to be subjected to, or subject others to veillance activities (see section 8). The aim of this section is to provide evidence and examination of the veillance that occurs with online social networking services for the research sample. As with all analysis sections from the first method, there are large verbatim

quotes presented from the interviews. While occasionally difficult to read, they are all interpreted and unpacked fully.

The third section will analyse the first method, seeking to understand relationships. Relationships were defined in the literature review as social connections a human has with other humans. This research did not use a specific relationship typology, as this would hinder the study. Therefore each research subject was free to describe and define their own relationships how they saw best (see section 9). The aim of this section is to provide evidence and examination of the relationships that occur with online social networking services for the research sample.

The fourth section will analyse the first method, seeking to understand the role of physical and metaphorical space in social privacy. Space was defined in the literature review using Bauman (1995). Space is where relationships can or cannot occur (see section 10). Space is also a metaphor used to understand privacy (see section 10.4). The aim of this section is to provide evidence and examination of the space and spatial metaphors that occur with online social networking services for the research sample.

The second, third and fourth sections of this chapter will provide, sometimes large, excerpts from the interviews in the first method. This is intentional as it gives the fullest possible account within the

limitations of an analysis. It also aids the reader in understanding the reflective process that the research went through. It also gives a fuller, honest account if the reader is able to understand the quotations of the research subjects in context. As the reader, this gives the opportunity to bracket your own preconceptions and effectively critique the account that the researcher gives. As will be seen, there is a large amount of serendipity present in the interview process. Providing large excerpts of the interview text will not only show this, but it will also show the process of managing the serendipity. Far from being a limitation of this method, the serendipity allowed for examination of areas not considered in the hypothesis process showing that the interview process was not something linear, but rather a broad examination accounting for intricate details. The excerpts will use bold text for the researcher's quotes and italic for the interviewee.

The fifth and final section will analyse the second method. This section will triangulate the findings of the first method. This section will show how, even though they have been examined separately in previous sections, perceptions of veillance, relationships, and space are all experienced simultaneously. This section will present the drawings that the research participant undertook (see section 22). The drawings will be presented in full, and analysed individually. This is intentional, as it will provide a full account of the research. It will also give the reader the opportunity to bracket his or her own

preconceptions and effectively critique the account that the researcher gives.

As previously mentioned, the analysis seeks to ultimately understand how the aspects of social privacy are experienced. To aid with the understanding of this and to illustrate the process of analysis, the next section will introduce and explain an analytical diagram that can be referenced by the reader throughout the rest of this research.

18.3 Explanatory Analytical Diagram

As previously mentioned, there are four aspects of this facet of socially experienced privacy. Perceptions of veillance, relationships, and space account for aspects. The fourth is that this facet of privacy is an emotional experience. To better aid understanding of this an analytical diagram is provided below (see Figure 4). This diagram presents these four aspects of privacy interacting with each other. It is intended that this diagram can be used to aid the understanding of the findings of the literature review and the subsequent structure of the analysis. Conceptually, this diagram serves to remind the reader that the identified aspects are interacting, though it is possible to analyse them separately before analysing them together.

In the diagram, perceptions of veillance, relationships, and space are all contained within emotions. Emotions represent the experience of this facet of privacy. Veillance, relationships and space are all influenced by emotions and in turn they influence emotions. Socially experienced privacy is experienced emotionally. As emotions are key to understanding socially experienced privacy, the research method used examined emotions therefore the analysis will consistently account for emotions, as emotions are always present.

Veillance, relationships and space are presented in a Venn diagram style. While the Venn diagram suggests that there may be instances where not all three will interact, this is not the intention of the diagram, instead the diagram is illustrating an instance where one or two aspects of socially experienced privacy may be less present than the others, or where the individual has chosen to withdraw from one or more aspects of socially experienced privacy.

This chapter will analyse perceptions of veillance, relationships, and space in turn, then the final section will look at this diagram and analyse it as one. The conclusion chapter of this research (see section 23) will use this diagram to show how socially experienced privacy can be better understood and suggest future use for the diagram.

The next section will present the findings from the analysis of
veillance in the first method.

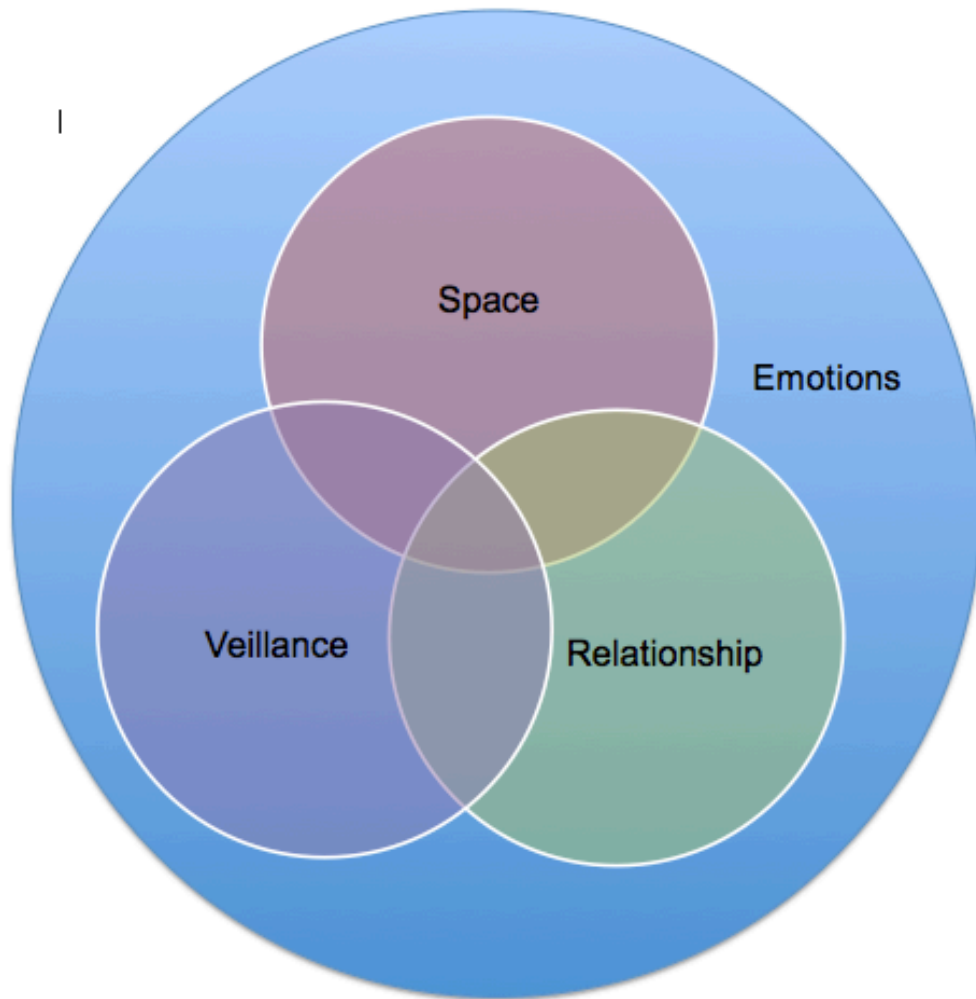


Figure 4 – Analytical Diagram.

19 Analysis Part 1: Veillance

As previously established in the literature review (see section 11), in order to study privacy it was considered that it is a subjective experience. The literature review went some way to establish the individual as an object of veillance. This is to say that the individual is both watched by other individuals and watches other individuals. Specifically it established that the individual will at times desire to be subjected to surveillance and to withdraw from veillance at other times in order to experience their desired social privacy. Likewise the individual will have a desire to subject other individuals to veillance at certain times, while having the desire to remove their gaze from them at others. The following sections will examine how the research subjects negotiate their veillance activities.

19.1 Analytical Diagram

As previously mentioned, an analytical diagram (see figure 4) will aid the understanding of this analysis chapter. This section will look at the veillance aspect of socially experienced privacy. It can be seen on the diagram that this it is influenced constantly by emotions, and by space and relationships depending on the situation. While the diagram demonstrates that it is interacting with these other aspects of socially experienced privacy, this section will seek to understand

veillance in separation. Though, as this section will demonstrate it is difficult to separate the aspects of socially experienced privacy.

As with all sections of this analysis chapter, this section will use large excerpts from the interview transcripts in order to provide an open and full account. The next section will discuss the praxis of human observation.

19.2 The Praxis of Human Observation

As the literature review established (see section 8.4), the individuals will subject themselves to veillance and subject others to veillance. They may do this for a variety of reasons that are examined in this section. As with all analysis sections from the first method, verbatim quotes will be presented from the interview process. Though they are sometimes difficult to read it is necessary to present them as fully as possible to provide an open account. All quotes used will be fully unpacked and analysed after they are presented. This section starts with Subject 3 who discusses subjecting individuals to veillance on Twitter.

“So the people that you are following from college, do you er, do you have direct communication with them? Do you do direct tweets?”

Only to a few, only really to my close friends but I suppose its just to be nosy.

So the majority of stuff you write there are general tweets?

Yeah

Okay, so when you say nosy how do you mean? Why do you like to be nosy?

I mean like it's a strange thing. There's some people I follow that I haven't spoken to since college, but I know their profiles are on lock so if I unfollow them I'll, uh, I can't see what they're saying anymore. But I think it's just purely to be nosy. But I'm not even that interested. But I don't know I suppose it's just keeping up with things that are going on at home as well.

So, if one of those people were to remove you from their list so that you could no longer follow them...

I don't think it would bother me, but I don't think I'd even notice, 'cause, I think ah I'll unfollow them but ah what if they say something interesting? But I don't think I'd even notice really. I think its just a conscious thing where they're there so I'll keep it.

How frequently do these people say something interesting?

Not very often not very often I mean I'm just trying to think of things, that I know um someone that I knew at college a couple of weeks ago was ill and people kept writing about it on

Twitter and I thought oh what a horrible thing to say, but at the that same time was like I hope they're alright. If you know what I mean but whereas I wouldn't have known 'cause I don't speak to them but again it wouldn't effect my life 'cause I don't know them anymore but I still know about it.

Do you like still knowing about it?

I suppose, but again it's a really horrible thing to think but it wouldn't have effected me in any way but I just suppose I don't know. I hope they're alright but at the same time I thought why would you write that on Twitter? It's a horrible thing to do in a way."

Subject 3 expresses that they undertake little direct communication, they just compose general tweets. They maintain the links with people from college simply to be kept in the know, almost as though there is a fear that they might miss out on something if they do not keep following them. But they say this isn't really a conscious decision. In order to benefit from being able to subject other individuals to veillance, Subject 3 has also had to subject herself to veillance. Part of the process through which the individual perceives their experience of social privacy is through veillance and in this instance the perception is that there is desire to be able to subject others to veillance, thus the individual has adjusted their own desires to be subjected to veillance to account for this; varying her experience of social privacy.

As this research has shown, Subject 3 tells the story of a friend who is ill and having messages on Twitter written about it. Even though Subject 3 does not find a non-restricted Twitter as an appropriate medium on which to share this information, as it is a public space, she has still expressed interest in knowing this information. What this shows is the complexity of veillance with online social networking services. In order to subject someone to veillance, the individual has had to allow him or herself to be subjected. One effect of this is that Subject 3 has been exposed to a veillance that they did not want to be. In this case they have been forced to participate in the veillance of an individual whom they feel it is inappropriate to in the context. In order to manage the veillance the research subjects socially negotiate the boundaries of veillance as seen with Subject 4 below.

“Which ones do you use?”

Er Twitter, Facebook, Instagram is sort of social networking I think really. Er I watch videos on Vine again that’s social networking I think, you comment and stuff. Er, that’s, I said Facebook? I used to have a MySpace account when I was about 16 er, which is actually still active we looked at it today. Looking at lovely old embarrassing photos er, that’s quite nostalgic actually. That’s quite fun.”

MySpace was an online social networking service subject 4 used to use but no longer does. However, they then say they logged in

earlier that day to show friends old photos, an experience that was nostalgic and subject 4 was animated when discussing, choosing to laugh and actively finding the embarrassment of old photos enjoyable. She actively wanted her friends in this context to subject her to veillance and in order to negotiate this boundary; she sought out a situation where she could force the veillance upon herself. Similarly, the research subjects seek out situations in which they can force veillance upon others. The spatial context has an affect on the research subject's veillance desires. Here subject 5 is discussing shoulder surfing.

“How about if you were to look over someone else's shoulder and see their phone?”

Oh I feel a bit nosy for doing that, especially if they were to text or something then I feel a bit too nosy, I try not to but it's like on the train, if it's like a glare or something then sometimes you just look over to see what's going on and then I just feel bad for doing that. I thought, I think for anything like if it was a newspaper or book, feel a bit bad to just look over their shoulder 'cause it's just their alone time sort of thing and they don't want other people to ... interrupt.” – Subject 5, Interview 3.

When placing herself as the onlooker, her concern isn't that she will be exposed to something that she doesn't want to be or that the person she is looking at will be embarrassed by the onlooker, it is more that she has awareness, or more likely a feeling that what she is doing is socially unacceptable. This backs Trottier's (2012: 61-84) observations of interpersonal veillance forming a system of peer review where an individual has a heightened awareness of the perception of others (see section 8.4).

However, she still has the curiosity to see what the other individual is doing, despite ultimately feeling bad for intruding upon what she identifies as their 'alone time'. What this illustrates is that the veillance desires are not viewed in separation from the other aspects of privacy that this research has established. This example shows how space and relationships also influence her actions (this will be examined more in section 22). It has also been shown that veillance has an affect on what the research subjects will reveal when subjected to veillance. This will be examined in the next section.

Moving on from this, the next example examines an instance where a research subject withdrew herself from veillance by restricting their tweets after a period of reflective practice.

“So what was it like for the six days? How did you feel?”

Um I wouldn't say it bothered me that much, but when like something happens like I remember, um [inaudible 00:02:44] was dropped during that time, and it kind of sucked because like I wanted to tweet to that person but if they don't follow me they can't see it.

So did you tweet about that even though they couldn't see it?

Um yeah I think I did, but I'm not, I, I probably did mention them.

Did you say you probably did mention them?

Yeah I think I did.

Why would you mention them if you knew they couldn't see it?

Yeah I know. That's why I think I don't care, because um, my sister used to have her tweets protected and she'd still mention the people, and I didn't get why she'd do it, but I guess it's so like her followers know who she's talking about maybe.

Why did you do it then?

It might be out of habit. I'm just used to mentioning that." -

Subject 2

Here, subject 2 is describing a time where she protected her tweets on Twitter for six days. She did this because she became increasingly reflective over the course of the interview process and

questioned why she was using Twitter in the way she was. This research shows throughout this chapter that this research subject uses Twitter primarily for contacting celebrities. By doing this she desires to be subjected to veillance, particularly the veillance of the celebrity whom she is contacting. She does this despite not knowing the celebrity in a face-to-face context, but rather sees them as a pseudo neighbour (see section 9.5). The pseudo neighbour will be discussed further in section 20.5.

When protecting tweets on Twitter, the user cannot contact someone who does not follow them. Despite this, in the six days Subject 2 had her tweets protected, she still mentioned celebrities in her tweets, though she did not find it enjoyable and actively disliked it saying it 'sucked'. She is showing a struggle here with her veillance desires. She protected her tweets so she could restrict the veillance of others on her, but as a result could not undertake an activity she enjoys. The desire to be subjected to the veillance of the celebrities outweighed her desire to restrict the veillance, so she stopped protecting her tweets. This shows how veillance can be both a positive and negative thing for this research subject, it is something desired to varying degrees as established in section 8.5.

After reflective practice, all of the research subjects experienced desires to alter their veillance. Below is a large excerpt from the final interview with Subject 3.

“I’ve been thinking about deleting my Facebook.

Right?

Because I keep going through and deleting things, which is like “oh, it’s just gonna be easier to just delete it”. Well, I mean I think I might make a new one but I think I wanna delete it as well because I went through all my Facebook friends the other day and I’ve got like 800 and something Facebook friends and I was just clicking through and I was like “remove, remove, remove” and then once I’d finished, it was like, I had 400, I was like “oh my God, I’ve deleted half” and the other people that I didn’t want to delete, was because I didn’t want, in case they went on my profile to think “oh, she’s deleted me, what’s that about?”, So I thought if I just remove it and then do a new one, then if people add me, I can just ignore it and just leave it.

Mm. What would the difference be with them seeing the new profile compared to seeing you remove your old profile?

Well, if I delete it or de-activate it ‘cause you can’t delete it, then I won’t come up if they type my name in anyway ... er, but if I have my old, the one I’ve got now and delete them off it, I don’t know, I’d feel a bit like, in case someone that I might

not speak to as much but I deleted them off and they're "why would you delete me?" I'd be like "er," I'd feel a bit awkward.

If you were to see them face-to-face?

Yeah, yeah. But I am considering it, but I'm just thinking like oh I've got all my photos on there and whatever but if I back all that up, then I think I might just delete it and do a new one. Because I've got, on my er, I think I've got about 70 er, photo albums on there but I've put them all as private now so only, they're all, they're only mine so no-one can see them anyway, so if I just back it all up then it won't really make that much difference if I delete it.

How long have you been thinking about this for?

Since we started doing this. [Laughs]

What was it about this that made you think about it?

I think because once we spoke about like what you use Facebook for, er, and things like that and I started looking back at old Facebook statuses and things like that, I just thought "oh" and I'm deleting them one by one anyway, I just thought "oh I might just", that's why I want to delete it and just make a fresh one and even then, that'll only be really for Facebook events, er, because I've been invited to my friend's birthday next week and I saw her on Sunday, er, and she said "I'll put it on Facebook and then you'll have all the details" and I was like "oh, if I didn't have Facebook then ..", I've got her number but it's just easier for it to be put on there for everyone

else so ... I think I'll make another one really just for that but I won't really use it for what I used to.

So how do you think your close friends or distant friends even would feel about you doing that?

I don't think it would really bother them like because I, I'll delete er, I'll delete the one I've got and then add all my closest friends again, er, ... but then yeah, I, I don't think it'll bother them, I don't think it will make much difference.

What will you tell them if they asked you why?

I'll just be like, "I'm just trying to get rid of all the old rubbish that was on there and it was easier doing it that way".

Why do you want to get rid of all the old rubbish, as you put it?

Er, some of it, like I said in the past meetings, some of it I just look back on it and I cringe, just delete it, but that's the thing, I know no-one really will go to the trouble of looking down it but it's just that I know it's there and I just want to get rid of it 'cause that's like who I was four, five years ago, it's not really who I am now.

So why's that important to get rid of?

I don't know because I suppose ... it's like, I suppose in a way it's like looking at old text messages, like sometimes you might look from an old text message from a few years ago and you'd be like "oh, why did I say that?" and whatever and just want to delete it because you don't want to re-read it.

Just because you don't want to re-read it?

Mm. I doubt anyone would go to the trouble of look- of looking but I don't want to re-read it!

What if they did go to the trouble of looking?

I think I'd be ... I think I'd cringe a lot! [Laughs].” - Subject 3

Here subject 3 is discussing the possibility of deleting her Facebook account in the future. She has already gone through a process of removing approximately 400 contacts from her friends list, but feels this may not be enough. She wants to restrict some of her contact's veillance of her. Specifically, she is concerned about content that she added to her Facebook profile in the past that she no longer feels is a representation of who she is. A person consuming this information, she feels, has the potential to cause her embarrassment. As she has been removing these contacts from her friends list she has become aware of what she feels is a social issue. The issue that she believes that if anyone finds out that she has removed them, then they will be offended and this will eventually have social ramifications so she is allowing the continued veillance of individuals whom she would rather not have veillance over her. For this reason, deleting her whole Facebook account would be socially easier. Ideally, Subject 3 would want to maintain the veillance of some of her contacts on Facebook. However, the social ramifications potentially outweigh her veillance desires. The concerns over the content and information she had added to Facebook are personal in nature; she does not like the content and information anymore. Without the ability to easily remove

this, she feels deleting Facebook altogether is the better option. After further questioning, she reveals what is stopping her from deleting it. Again, this is a lengthy excerpt.

“What’s stopping you from doing it?”

I don't know. I keep like thinking, I'm like “right, yeah, yeah, I'll do it, I'll do it” and then I just think oh, if I don't back up all the photos or something and I want to find them, like oh I'll have to reactivate it and then, yeah, I mean I should, I keep going to do it and then I'm like “Oh no, just leave it” because I suppose in a bit of a niggly way, it's 'cause I'm nosy and what if something happens with someone that I'm friends with, that I'm not then friends with on the new one? Not anything- but that's the thing, it's not ... anything important as such, I mean my er, flatmate has got a new boyfriend, er, er, and I didn't realise, I had his brother on Facebook and I don't know him and I said to her, I was like “oh, I've got him on Facebook” because I remember something popping up and she was like “oh, well you know, maybe when we go out you might meet him or whatever” and I was like, that's weird that I've got someone on Facebook that I might then meet in the future, that if she wasn't, if she wasn't going out with him, I would of never met but I don't know who added who. It's just been on my Facebook for a long time and I just thought that's really strange. But even then like if I'd have deleted him, he'd have,

if I met him in the future, he might have added me back on anyway or I added him, it's just I find it very odd that I've got someone on Facebook who I haven't met and that's the thing, like now, if I get a friend request with someone I don't know, I'd ignore it whereas I think when I was younger, I'd just accept anyone on there.

Why do you think your attitude towards that has changed?

Er, because I'm not bothered really about ... I mean if I don't know someone then I'm not really bothered about what they're gonna put online, whereas before, like when I was younger, I'd just, I don't know, I think I'd just accept anyone whereas now it doesn't really matter to me.

Why did it matter?

Er, I think it was the whole thing of the, er, like MSN era, where you know, you'd just strike up a conversation and obviously someone would need your email but then on Facebook, you wouldn't need someone's email, you could just click their button, like click the add button and then you were friends with them on Facebook. Er, and maybe like meet new people but... I don't think I did meet anyone new early, er, like I remember er, when I first got my BlackBerry and you have the BlackBerry messenger, I remember someone adding my PIN number thing and it just had two initials and I just accepted it and I was like, then they was like "hi, how are

you?" I went "who is this?", whereas now, I'd, if, if I'd got something like that, I'd just be like "oh I don't know who it is", so I'd ignore it, whereas before it was, I think it was just ... to strike up a conversation I suppose.

Have you still got them on your...?

Well I know who it is now and I'm actually like, I, I knew who they were anyway but just because it was their initials, I was like "I don't know who it is", so I just accepted it and then I was like "who's this?" and then they said "oh it's [name redacted]", I was like "oh yeah". [Laughs] But ...

But now you wouldn't accept someone if it was just their initials?

No, no.

What's changed?

I don't know. I think I've just ... become more aware of ... you know, not to just accept anyone on the Internet I suppose. Like I er, I got a Facebook friend request a couple of weeks ago, er, and I had one mutual friend and that friend is someone I haven't seen in three years, er, but I've known her my whole life, er, and it was like one of her friends and I just thought "there's no way on earth I'd have met you, why are you adding me on Facebook?" So I just ignored it, whereas before I might have accepted it. I don't know." – Subject 3

Subject 3 is expressing something similar that was mentioned in the pilot study and reflected in the choice of sample. She believes that with maturity and age has come a changing attitude towards the veillance that she desires. There was a time where she desired veillance of others so she would add content and information to her various online social networking services. However, now she does not feel the same way. She still desires subjecting other people to veillance, which is one reason why she has not deleted her Facebook account. She has also highlighted the convenience that Facebook has brought. It has given her the ability to easily store photographs that she wants to access and there is a nostalgic factor involved in looking over past content.

She explains that she was a lot more open to being subjected to veillance when she was younger, accepting friend requests on various online social networking services from anyone who would request them. This was fulfilling a need to be subjected to veillance and a desire to share part of her back stage (see section 8.5). She feels with age that she has become more cautious to the point where she no longer understands why she was the way she was when she was younger. For these reasons, she removed 400 contacts, which when probed for further information, she said;

“So you got rid of about 400 people...?”

Yeah.

... From your friends list. How did you decide who to get rid of?

Most of them, didn't even know who they were so I was like, "right, remove", so I just, like, and that happens sometimes when I'm scrolling on my newsfeed, someone will put a Facebook status up and I just think "who is that?", so I just delete them, er, ... but yeah I think most of it, obviously I got it, Facebook, when I was 16 and most of it was people like either in a couple of years older than me, younger than me, that I'd never spoke to and never have, er, adding me on Facebook and then I just thought "I don't know you".

Have you ever gone through and deleted people before?

Yeah, but not as, I've not purposely gone down my friends list, like I've just done it if it's on my timeline, whereas I went on my friends list, scrolled down everyone and just removed...

How long did it take?

Probably about 10 minutes 'cause it's, it was just click off kind of thing, so down the whole list, they've got like a little icon so just, yeah, so about 10 minutes I reckon, maybe 15/20.

And the 400 odd people that are left?

Mm.

Do you know all of them?

Probably not. Well, obviously not.

So what did they, why did they, why did you keep them?

I think er, some of them, er, I'm just nosy I think and like so like there's girls from my school who makes the area I so I come from really bad but there's quite a few er, girls in my year that have all had kids now and I think it was just ... being nosy to see how their life differs from mine in a way, that we're the same age but ... they've, their life is so, so completely different and I think it's, it's quite interesting actually.

In what way?

That ... I don't, I mean there's nothing wrong with having kids young if you can support them or whatever, I suppose but most of them don't and some of them look like quite good parents, whereas others will put up pictures from their weekend where they've, you know, been at the pub and whatever and yeah, I just think "you've got a 2 year old, you're doing maybe what I'd be doing", whereas you know, "who's looking after your kid?" and like I don't know, I think it's quite, I mean in a way ... when er,, when we get together, like me and my friends, like, we'll sit together and be like "Oh, have you heard about so and so's had a baby?" and I think it's just keeping in the loop really." – Subject 3

Again, this just further illustrates the differing desires of veillance. Her desire to subject others to veillance outweighs her desire to not be subjected to the veillance of others. Veillance is a praxis. The desire to be subjected to veillance, the desire to subject others to veillance,

the desire not to subject others to veillance and the desire to not be subjected to veillance all occur simultaneously. In order to attempt to achieve all of these desires, the individual compromises. This compromise is part of the process through which social privacy is experienced.

19.3 The Individual in Praxis

The literature review (see section 8.5) used the work of Goffman (Goffman, 1972, Goffman, 1990), specifically his dramaturgical framework and work on masks to understand that an individual will remove their masks dependent on the veillance that they are currently being subjected to. This section will examine how the research subjects managed this process. Starting with Subject 3, who said:

“Okay, so are there certain things you wouldn’t write on Twitter?”

Er, I mean, it’s a horrible thing to say and bring up, but I remember a couple of years ago er, a friend well kind of a friend that I had at school were not really close anymore but her brother died and the first thing she did that day was write a Facebook status about it and I thought oh I wouldn’t do that.

But she said people needed to sort of know and I thought is Facebook the appropriate way to do it?

Er, do you mind if we talk about that?

No not at all.

Okay, so did you have a conversation with her about what she wrote?

Yeah I said I did say to her why did you put it on Facebook and she was like well no one knew about it, you know. I thought people should know but there was things she wrote that I didn't think were appropriate like she said he died and whatnot but then she did another Facebook status a couple of days later when she'd visited her brother in the morgue and she was like he died and he's still as blue as ever and I thought aww, surely that's not appropriate, surely that personal and should be kept or whatever. But I suppose its everyone's different way of dealing with things or whatever like that."

Here, Subject 3 appreciated that there were legitimate reasons of wanting support and help from friends, she felt this was not the way to do it, perhaps because it broke social convention of how someone should cope with the grieving process, but also because of the perceptions of the personal nature of the brother's death. She perceives this as showing too much of the back stage and would not do something similar herself on Facebook. This shows that the veillance is managed in this instance by selecting what online social

networking service to use, or to not use. For subject 3, not using an online social networking service at all would have been the more appropriate course of action to effectively manage her front and back stages. In this research can find a critique of the work by Gavison (1980) (see section 6.4) as the research subject does not have a desire to subject her friend to veillance. This shows that social privacy is not a binary (privacy vs. not-privacy) situation. There are moments when it is engaged with and then there is a social retreat.

Subject 4 expresses similar feelings regarding the appropriateness of revealing the back stage with online social networking services using the example of her friend whom she identifies as a “MySpace whore”.

“What’s a MySpace whore?”

[Laugh] oh my God er, basically someone who has about 100,000 followers takes 1 million photos of themselves and sort of advertises themselves as a popular celebrity person on the Internet. And one of my friends actually was one of these people when I was 16 and it was very embarrassing and there were people actually imitating her on line. There were so many fake profiles of her and people were making YouTube videos of like her pictures and stuff it was sort of creepy.”

Subject 4 uses a friend as a specific example, yet concentrated mainly on how the friend was a fake representation of themselves online, making statements about how they used make-up and Photoshop to create a following in the emo sub-culture. When speaking, Subject 4 was clearly not impressed by this behaviour as though she could not comprehend the reasons why she would choose to behave this way. Subject 4 does not like people whom she deems to share too much and this is reflected in the derogatory term, 'MySpace Whore'. Subject 4 goes on to discuss her friend in more depth.

“Was your motivation to use MySpace very different to hers?”

Yeah I think that I kind of I just think it was sort of like a nosy thing I want to see what other people were doing like posting pictures then you want other people to see what you were doing, I think I think I remember very little I was 14, I think. Was kind of just it. It was a fun thing 'cause I think I sort of when I had MySpace you could make your profile to be more like you, you could change the background and have your music and your things playing on your profile and stuff like that. So it was sort of like your identity online and I suppose her my friend I think that for her she kind of 'cause she wasn't very confident in herself in real life she wore a lot of make-up 'cause she had scarring from spots and things like that and they was her confidence online so it was sort of like an alter

ego. She still dressed like that in normal day but it was a massive confidence boost for her.

Are you still friends with her?

Er, I haven't spoken to her for a couple of years and then she lives well lived in the same town as me then last year she got together with a couple of people for drinks and she was moving and I went down and had a bit of a catch up. Her personality hasn't changed since she was younger which was a bit odd but she had toned down the make-up and everything. I vaguely say hi or whatever but I don't keep in contact with her.

Is she a friend on any other social network?

Probably Facebook yeah, on that. Because I use Facebook for keeping up with old friends. Yeah.”

Subject 4 has shown here that a reason for using MySpace and Facebook has been to subject other individuals to veillance. She does this because it is an enjoyable experience and something she desires to participate in. She uses the example of her friend whom she identifies as a MySpace whore, to show how an individual can be subjected to veillance on an online social networking service in order to gain something that they otherwise would not be able to in face-to-face contexts (See Mashek and Aron (2004) and Bauman (1993) in section 9.5). When asked if she has this friend on any other online social networking service, she says ‘probably Facebook’,

indicating she is not actually sure of her answer, but that she is sure of her reasons for using Facebook: for keeping up with old friends. She will later describe her usage of Instagram in a similar way. In order for her to be subjected to veillance and gain a fan-like following for her photographic artwork. This will be discussed below.

The research subjects have also considered the veillance that other individuals want to be subjected to, and how this influences their lives. Here subject 4 discussing other people wanting to be subjected to veillance on Instagram. This excerpt is lengthy.

“Um, I’ve been looking at my Instagram usage recently, and kind of like who I follow and wondering why I follow them, um, and how long it takes me to upload a photo and decide whether I like that photo, if I want people to see that, if that’s a good representation of my work or me in general. Um, er, I’m not sure what else.

Shall we go into a bit more depth about that first point, who you follow and why you follow them. What sort of thoughts have you had about that?

Um, well I was thinking, compared to some people that follow celebrities, they want to see what they’re wearing or things like that, I, I mean the only person that I follow like that is [celebrity name redacted] from [band redacted], but that’s because I find him hilarious and obviously fan girling [sounds like], you know. Um, but er, yes, the rest of the people that I follow, I mean I

obviously have like uni friends, but I mean some of them I follow.

Um, but it's interesting when I see some of the stuff that I'm just like scrolling through, and the majority of it are really, you know, I do genuinely like um, but then some pictures I'll look at it and think why am I looking at a picture of your bedroom, you know, it doesn't make sense, but um...

Why are you looking at a picture of their bedroom?

Because they found it interesting enough to tell the world. Um, I think it's probably just an old friend that I've had and they're one of those people that will Instagram pictures of their food constantly, and then um, it was probably one of those things where when I first joined, it kind of, not automatically made me follow everyone, but it was like these people and you just click on it, yeah, yeah, okay, okay then steadily over time I've like either unfollowed them or just forgotten about it, and clearly that's one person I've just forgotten about um, and just been like oh alright, and just keep scrolling. It's not really any point. Um, um...

So they want to show the world their room?

Yeah.

Why do you want to see it?

Um, it's not, I don't think it's a case that I want to see it. Its just laziness of not being bothered to delete them, um, or unfollow. Um, although I suppose a part of it, I am kind of

looking at it like ooh, okay, those are your bed sheets, alright, a bit nosy, um. I think everyone's got a bit of nosiness about them, especially with, when it comes to the Internet. Um, 'cause it is interesting to a certain degree to be like, you know, to have that kind of er, you know, just nosiness about yourself, be like okay, well that's, that's where you live, that's the food you eat. Okay.

Don't know why it is at all relevant to my life or why, how it would have any impact upon me, but um, I'm grateful it's not to a level where I must know, I must know every day, Snapchat me all the time and all that stuff. Um, yeah. I haven't really thought of it any further than that really.

What do you get out of it?

Nothing really. Just kind of, it's one of those ones you just scroll down. It's not, I think it's just a one or two people, like my friend, um, [name redacted] who just, I think he's away working in [location redacted] or something at the moment, and he put a picture up of his hotel room, um, and again I looked at it like okay, cool. It didn't really make me think what an interesting, you know, didn't really um, er, didn't really challenge me as a photo, um, 'cause I prefer Instagram to be a piece of, a work of photography, you know, a mode of that, you know. I don't really, I can't really be bothered to see people, pictures of people's food and stuff, so um, but then that is just a case of just scrolling down. It's just laziness of

unfollowing them. Um yeah. The table has a life of its own now.

So you've remembered the picture of the room, his...

Yeah.

...Hotel room.

Yeah.

So has it impacted your life in some way?

Not really. I think it's just because obviously I'm thinking of, I'm more actively remembering things and thinking of things because of this interview, um, because it would stand out more to me because it's not something I would usually see, um, because I'm more used to seeing, you know, the photographer's work or um, you know, things like that. That's more sort of frequent on my, I think it's a timeline or you know, when I scroll, so that would stand out more to me 'cause it's not something I see very often, um, but no, it's not really impacted me. It's just, I don't know, popped into my head.

Going back to the second point you said about Instagram the time it takes between you, to get a photo for you to [overtalking 00:06:46]...

Yeah, yeah.

...Online and the thought process, do you want to just talk me through that?

Um, well I think it's interesting. Because I, I'll debate whether to, you know, which photo to use because my uploaded recent

photography that I have, I take far too many pictures, and a lot of them are very similar, so I'm sitting there for about a good five, 10 minutes thinking is that one better than that one? It's very similar. No one else would notice the difference, but you are your own worst, you know, critic, um, and then debating whether it would look better with a filter or not a filter.

I'm very proud of the fact I don't have to use a filter because my work is good enough to not need the filter, but then sometimes it does look okay, because it would be the same as if I was editing it on Photoshop, to then put it up. It's just easier to use the Instagram filter. Um.

But I think it is, yeah, it's another, 'cause it's another form of me kind of showing people that's my work, I'm very aware of the fact that I need it to be like one of the very good pictures that goes up so that if anyone was to Google my name or something because they wanted me to take photos of their band or something, I'd want them to see the best examples of my work, because obviously I don't want to put up every single picture, and obviously I'm aware that I don't, 'cause I don't watermark the pictures that are on Instagram, which I probably should do because they own those pictures now, but um, yeah I'm just aware of the fact that I want people to see the best of my work, um so that's why it would take me a bit longer as well. Um. I think that's it really." – Subject 4

Here, subject 4 is discussing the content of others that she has seen on Instagram. She says that putting content on Instagram is 'telling the world', thus it can be interpreted that she views Instagram as open to everyone. The conversation centres on an account she follows which posted an image of a hotel bedroom they were staying in. She finds the content people add to Instagram interesting as she questions if all of it is noteworthy to share with what she perceives to be a worldwide audience. She appreciates that each person posting images to Instagram is doing so because they wish to be subjected to veillance. Despite that, she herself posts images to Instagram so that she may be subjected to veillance. She questions why others would wish to do the same. In the instance of the image of the bedroom, she is not particularly obliging to subject the photographer to veillance, though she finds aspects of the photograph fulfil her veillance desire. What this shows is, even when wanting to be the subject of veillance, it is not always achievable as it may be ignored or ridiculed.

She goes on to discuss the process she goes through when adding photographs to Instagram, describing the great detail and attention she pays to what photographs to publish. This is a process she goes through to ensure that she is subjected to as much veillance as possible. She wants other people to see her photographs and follow her Instagram account. She desires being subjected to veillance in this situation. The insights from Goffman (Goffman, 1972, Goffman,

1990), can be seen here, where she is aware of her masks, ensuring that she is presenting what she feels is the best one of herself, to fulfil her veillance desires. The research subjects do however struggle with expressing the different masks that they use, as illustrated below with Subject 4.

“[Laughs] Er, oh my gosh, er, oh the er, ... people create new personas because they’re unhappy with their own lives, I look at, sorry online personas because they feel safe behind keyboards ‘cause it’s not that, they’re not having to physically face a person and insult them, like with [politician redacted] first tweet and everyone calling him a wanker ‘cause they weren’t having to physically say it to his face, they might not have done that in person, some people probably have done that in person, er, but yeah, they, they feel safe at home ‘cause there’s not the physical connection there, it’s just a computer, I mean not just a computer to them but er,, well that was what I found with keyboard warriors at least, er, ... yeah!
[Laughs]

Do you believe that?

I do believe because it’s er, ... it’s kind of like they put up a front as though they’re, they feel like they’re a more confident person and they haven’t got the fear of being punched in the face or something, you know, they are safe at home and er, ... and because kind of, ‘cause Twitter and that, they don’t have,

they can't really do much because of like freedom of speech and everything so ... er, yeah, I definitely think that, I agree with the fact that they feel safe behind their keyboards, er, ... yeah.

Who's "they"?

The keyboard warriors! I don't know who they are, just anyone who does cyber bullying or ... er, Internet trolls, like that.

So this only applies for people who are partaking in quite negative communication?

Well no I sup- yeah it would apply to others as well, people that you know, play World of Warcraft and that if they want to create better versions of themselves, er, ...

Does it apply to you?

I don't really have, I'm kind of the same online as I am in person although I don't really ... no, I suppose no I'm not actually, I'm more quiet online and I'm more ... mm, I'm gon- I can't really, might use the word professional if I'm talking about my photography, er, ... 'cause I don't, I don't go round, I mean in person I don't go round like bashing politicians or anyone like that and I don't, I w-, I don't do that online either so ... but I would say I'm, I'm more quiet online 'cause I'm more, I want to talk to people face to face, er, ... yeah, yeah."

– Subject 4

The statement that Subject 4 agrees with here is one concerning location. She feels that the space of an individual can alter how they perceive what is and isn't acceptable to do. The location she is using here is in fact a digital one as she is describing Twitter as a physical location, and thus experiencing it as one (this will be discussed more in section 21).

She has identified the veillance is conditional on space and that the conditions determine the masks that the individuals use. She believes that when a person is using Twitter they will use a different mask to when they are not. This is the reason why she believes a person would call the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom a 'wanker' when writing a tweet, but not when seeing him in a face-to-face context. Despite this, she goes on to say that she believes she always conducts herself with the same 'persona'. Though, after saying her online persona is not different to how she is, she backtracks and says it is professional. She appears to have some difficulty in separating her different online social networking service profiles, despite indicating that they are all used to indulge different interests. This highlights the personal nature of the online social networking service; they all make up part of her veillance, allowing her to subject herself to veillance and subject others to veillance depending on her desires at the time. This is echoed in comments from Subject 2, who says

“Well I think when people are online they sort of do like change a little, because it’s just, it’s them and their keyboard, they can write what they like. Like especially if you don’t know that person.” – Subject 2

Here Subject 2 is attempting to look at the usage of online social networking services objectively and is discussing instances where people use the internet to say negative things or to bully other people. However she is discussing this because she believes she should, not necessarily because she experiences it this way. She mentions earlier in the interview that she believes cyber bullying is a serious issue that requires attention and intervention from governments, despite acknowledging that she has never experienced it or seen it happening. In her own experience however, as the quote shows below, she seeks out online social networking services in order to indulge an interest or subject herself to veillance, thus she may be ‘different’ in differing contexts.

“...When it’s on Twitter I feel like they get it more because it’s like the same level, like, like um how do I explain it? Like as a fan you’re on the same level, like you’ll listen to the music like every day, you’ll buy the album, you go to the concert and stuff, but with friends, um if they don’t like the same music, then it’s, like they’re not going to go to the concert with you.

So like if they just don't feel the same way about that person, then it's just, it doesn't, it's not as meaningful, 'cause it's kind of like just talking to a brick wall 'cause they're, they don't really have interest in it. But like for TV and stuff, like that's better with friends.

Why with TV?

Because with my friends we do watch the same things. I think music is what like sets us apart.”

Here, Subject 2 is showing one reason she uses Twitter is to indulge the interests that she cannot indulge with her face-to-face friends. This is something expressed by all research subjects, that the online social networking services provide a way for them to indulge interests that they otherwise could not in their face-to-face social contexts. These interests varied from music and film on Twitter to professional interests on LinkedIn. In order for these interests to be examined all research subjects were subjecting themselves to veillance. Though this was of key importance to the research subjects, it did not always meet their needs, as this study will show below.

When reflecting upon her use of online social networking services, and in particular veillance, Subject 5 presented an account that she found difficult to discuss and she displayed visible distress while talking. Subject 5 started by discussing a feeling of stress that they

had when using Twitter, so the researcher asked the origins of this stress. The excerpt is presented below.

“What’s the stress come from?”

Er, uni work and it’s just people I think in general, like I said before, it’s just the little like fandom fights and, and just normal Twitter again and, I don't know, stuff like that, I didn't really ...

So what are the fandom fights?

Well it’s, well like they just talk about or they just go against each other and facts and I don't know, it’s, it’s just stupid stuff, I don't really think about anymore but, well I try not to think, get into it anymore so that’s why, that’s another reason why I don't want to be on Twitter as much, ‘cause of that.

So it was actually stressing you out, seeing the arguments that people are having...?

Mm, yeah.

What sort of, how would you describe the stress?

Well I just take everything personally so ... yeah, it ... say if it’s something like they offended someone, like a fan because of something then I take offence and be like myself, if that makes sense and I don't know, it’s just ... a general people because of what they tweet, obviously it’s something, their opinions and they’re more open so have to be more cautious, just in case.

So is it if someone has the same opinion as you that’s getting attacked, you feel...?

Yeah.

You feel bad?

Yeah, or if they're like, yeah if they've similar interests as me, then yeah.

So why do you think that is, that you feel, that you feel so strongly?

I don't know, I'm just so, I'm an emotional person really but like yeah, I just, I don't know why I take things personally, I think because I'm so like devoted, like if, if someone's like offending my favourite celebrity or something then I'll be like offended as well and I think it's because I'm so devoted to them and I ... care about them sort of like, yeah.

So do you ever, have you ever sort of defended them?

Er, yeah! [Laughs] I don't, I mean I don't usually, if it's like they're not, someone talking to me directly, I don't usually say it directly back, there was this one time that I did ... like stress out about it a lot and then I did, like you know, retaliate and did say something afterwards and after that, I kinda just didn't want to go on the website again! [Laughs] 'Cause I didn't want to see- 'cause it was just like completely all the haters and it was just me saying something, just one person so I didn't really want to look.

Do you remember what you said?

I can't remember but er, back in the time when I was like a huge [celebrity name redacted] fan, like they did her new

music video or something and I can't remember but some- like every, there was like these comments 'cause it was like they saw an article websites thing and they were saying stuff and then I said, I don't know, I was just defending her and her image and then I just didn't want to go back.

So you didn't go back to see the comments?

I didn't go onto that particular page but I, I didn't go on that website for a while and then I came back on the website but I didn't go on, on my comment again, no. But it's the same with the YouTube, like if I ever ... like answered someone that just annoyed me then I don't go back to it or don't look in the comments.

Why is that, you don't go back?

Well it's just, I d-, I'm, I don't know how to ... respond again and they'll just keep, it's like a vicious cycle of there's no point in keep doing it, I just said what, you know I said enough or sometimes like yeah, I do like delete it after a while 'cause I'm just too, I don't say scared but like I don't want to ... you know, start a fight and stuff, it just carries on, it doesn't stop, I think."

- Subject 5

Here, subject 5 is discussing what she calls fandom fights. One of the motivations Subject 5 has for using online social networking services is to indulge her interests in television, film and music. She does this through seeking out relationships with strangers (this will be

examined more in section 20.5). As it can be seen in this excerpt, part of this is subjecting herself to veillance so that her opinion or thoughts may be seen. A side affect of which is that her opinion or thought is not always met with kind comments by the veillance of those she is subjecting herself to. This can cause her to be offended and distressed, even when the comments are not directed towards her, but just directed against her 'fandom' in general. She has used a number of methods to ensure that her veillance desires are being met. Firstly, she will seek out relationships in which she feels comfortable being the subject of veillance. Secondly, when her veillance desires are not met she will move on to another online social networking service, or create a new account on an online social networking service. In previous interviews, subject 5 has revealed that she operates several different Tumblr accounts for this reason. When one account is receiving too many negative comments about her 'fandom', she moves on to another one. As the above excerpt has illustrated, to ensure that her opinion or thoughts are subjected to veillance in fitting with her desires, she will even post comments without checking to see if there are any replies. This way she has ensured she has been subjected to veillance, but that she has not received any negative comments.

19.4 Conclusion

As this section has shown, the individual is an object of veillance. They seek out situations in which they can both subject, not subject, be subjected and not be subjected to veillance. The individual is a social being and in order to undertake veillance activities on others, they must also allow themselves to be subjected to veillance. This is part of the requirements for participation in social groups. Veillance can be perceived as a desired state for the individual to be in. As discussed in the literature review (see section 8.5) with reference to Goffman's (1990) work on front stage and back stage, veillance allows the individual to examine situations in which they can reveal different levels or aspects of their front or back stage; it allows for self expression. Perceiving the veillance they are in, allows the individual to identify if they desire to withdraw into the veillance of another individual. The management of veillance desires is part of the process through which the individual perceives their experience of privacy. If they are in the condition of veillance that they desire, then part of their desired experience of social privacy will have been afforded. The other parts that they seek are relationships and space which are examined in sections 20 and 21. Veillance also allows the individual to negotiate boundaries and examine relationships. Without veillance, there would be no relationships. The next section will examine relationships as an aspect of the identified aspect of privacy.

This section illustrates the interconnected nature of the identified aspects of privacy. This research cannot simply view them in separation; they must be viewed as one. This will be done in section 22. The next section will seek to understand relationships as an aspect of privacy.

20 Analysis Part 2: Relationships

As previously established in the literature review (see section 9.7), in order to explore privacy for this study this research is examining it as a social experience. This means that privacy happens socially within human relationships. The literature review established that there are different ways to define relationships, but in the context in which this study was established (see section 9.3), this study is seeking to examine the perceived relationship between one human being and another human being or group of human beings and the role this has on the experience of social privacy. This section will analyse, using examples, the responses to the interviews from the first method. It will follow the same structure as the corresponding sections of the literature review (see sections 9.1 to 9.7), firstly examining social and asocial privacy. This section goes on to examine the effects of mediating relationships on an individuals perception of privacy, building on the literature review that mediating relationships provides an opportunity for the individual to embrace and eschew strangers in order to fulfil their own needs.

20.1 Analytical Diagram

As previously mentioned, an analytical diagram (see Figure 4) will aid the understanding of this analysis chapter. This section will look

at the relationship aspect of socially experienced privacy. It can be seen on the diagram that it is influenced constantly by emotions, and by space and veillance depending on the situation. While the diagram demonstrates that it is interacting with these other aspects of socially experienced privacy, this section will seek to understand relationships in separation. Though, as this section will demonstrate it is difficult to separate the aspects of socially experienced privacy.

As with all sections of this analysis chapter, this section will use large excerpts from the interview transcripts in order to provide an open and full account. The next section will discuss social relationships.

20.2 Social Relationships

This section will examine the research subject's perceptions of social conventions that are dependent on their perception of the relationship that they are experiencing in context. As the literature review established (see section 9.2) the individual will have varying desires to participate or not participate in relationships. This section will examine the desire to participate and how this supports their perception of privacy.

Here, this study will show subject 3 discussing their motivations for using different online social networking services. They state that they

do not see Twitter as personal despite being an environment in which they don't hold back. They also state that Facebook has a very specific use, which they see as being more about personal information.

“When you said with Twitter that you don't hold back sort of thing, but at the same time you say you don't tweet personal stuff, so what is it you're not holding back if it's not personal?”

Er, I don't know its just its weird 'cause like I think its 'cause on Facebook, like none of my friends really like my type of music like not on the same level, its like if I was to watch the same TV, and like I've said before on Facebook its just a status per day and on Twitter you can do loads.”

Here Subject 3 is discussing a convention formed, which dictates what is acceptable to share amongst friends. She desires the specific participation of sharing her thoughts about music and television in which she is interested. However, she does not view it as acceptable to share this with people she perceives as being friends (This research will discuss this in the section 20.5 in more depth). Her friendship group has formed a clear convention that she does not want to break for what she later establishes as social reasons.

Her desire to participate has led her to compartmentalise her interests onto different online social networking services based on what is acceptable to share within her differently perceived relationship types. In a later interview Subject 3 revealed that sharing her interests on Twitter with perceived strangers had less meaning than sharing with her perceived friends, as the ramifications of judgement were stronger from their perceived friends. As previously established in the literature review when discussing Steeves (2012: 192-208) (see section 9.2), boundaries of disclosure are negotiated socially. Subject 3 would reveal to her perceived friends her interests, but only after the boundaries of disclosure have been negotiated. Twitter, for Subject 3, provides an opportunity for her to fulfil her desire to participate without the need to negotiate boundaries in the same way they do with their perceived friends. When discussing their motivations for using online social networking services, the research subjects responded by citing social motivations;

“So when you were using it more, why were you using it so much then?”

Er I think it I kind of felt like I had [laugh] sounds so bad had more stuff to say and more stuff going on [laugh] like yeah I know yeah ‘cause I think the main time that I think I was using it ‘cause it was at the beginning of uni had a boyfriend at the time and he’s on the same course as me and it think it was like he uses Twitter a lot so I’d retweet him.” – Subject 4

Here, Subject 4 is discussing that they felt they had to use Twitter in part because they were more sociable in general, far from taking depth away from relationships as discussed in the literature review using the work of Boyd (2007b: 121), Subject 4 is expressing that using Twitter added to their relationships. They presented a narrative in which they felt the need to retweet their partner's tweets, therefore it could be interpreted that Twitter had its main use to assist an intimate relationship (see literature discussed in section 9.4). When discussing her motivations to use Facebook, Subject 3 also responds with purely social reasons;

“Right okay, why did you start using it then?”

I started using it 'cause I had a party for my birthday and everyone said I should get Facebook to sign up and look at all the pictures that was going up. So I signed up to look at these pictures.

Oh, okay, so it was your friends that were telling you to go on and have a look at these pictures.

Yeah

Was it worth it?

No I wish I'd never signed up [laugh]

At that moment in time did you enjoy seeing the pictures?

Yeah

So why do you wish you'd never signed up?

I don't use it anymore but I feel like I can delete it. 'Cause then I think oh if someone puts an event on there I'll miss out 'cause I'm not on there anymore. But I wish it had never been invented really 'cause its like an addiction 'cause I cant stop looking at it." – Subject 3

Subject 3 was encouraged by friends in a face-to-face context to use Facebook so that they could socially participate in the consumption of photographs of Subject 3's 18th Birthday party. In this instance, there was a negotiation between Subject 3 and her perceived friends. The negotiation led to disclosure of photographs of Subject 3 on Facebook, that if subject 3 wished to access, she would have to join Facebook. Subject 3's desire to participate in the consumption of this imagery is what led her to join Facebook.

However, Subject 3 jokingly says they wish they'd never joined Facebook indicating a change in attitude over time. Although they still enjoy it, the time it takes up they feel is irritating, yet Facebook still has its useful function of maintaining contact with perceived friends and storing photographs. The desire to participate has led Subject 3 to believe that they can't stop looking at Facebook, they feel compelled to check even though they believe they may not wish to. This is a common occurrence with all the research subjects, who all at some point have described contexts where they believe that they have to check their online social networking services so that

they do not miss out on participation (see section 9.2). When asked why they can't stop checking their online social networking services, Subject 3 describes this by saying;

“I think I would just, miss, because everything at the moment like ‘cause everyone’s, all my friends are now turning 21 no one sends out invitations anymore if you haven’t got a Facebook invite then you don’t know anything about it so I think that’s what I’d miss

Okay, have there been instances then where someone hasn’t used Facebook to organise an event?

Er, not that I know of I mean like, when I have my 18th party I put the event on Facebook to determine who to give invites too ‘cause if they said they were going I’d give them an invite apart from that I dunno. I did have invites but only if they said they would go on Facebook.” – Subject 3

Subject 3 does not want to miss out on face-to-face social interaction as a direct result of leaving Facebook. For Subject 3, Facebook is the convention now when it comes to invites to events and if they were not using Facebook, their desire to participate would not be fulfilled. This desire to participate and compartmentalise what is shared across different online social networking services can also be seen when the research subjects discuss family relationships. Some research subjects prevent their family members from participating as

this study will show in the next section, while some alter the way they use an online social networking service to account for the conventions of the relationship. Subject 1 illustrates this by saying;

“How far into using Facebook did your mother join you as a friend. Did she send you a request?”

Yes I think she was the one who sent the address.

Did you accept?

Yes of course. I have nothing to hide.

Do you mean that generally or on Facebook?

On Facebook, generally. I don't feel uncomfortable by that, having my mum on Facebook.” – Subject 1, Interview 3

Subject 1 is initially defensive of this line of questioning, as though he is indicating that his attitude towards having his mother on Facebook is somehow different to what is socially normal. By saying he has nothing to hide, he seems to want to convey that he doesn't do anything that would have negative social ramifications for him and his mother. He goes on to say;

Do you like having your parents on Facebook?

First of all I'm very close with my parents, I'm really attached to them and I've always shared things with them. I do feel as if I have to, how can I say, manufacture my usage in a way that it wouldn't, I don't know, reveal anything that I don't want to be revealed. So yes, I don't mind it.

Do they ever reveal anything on Facebook that you would rather have not known about?

No.

So that sort of relationship goes both ways, you think?

Yes.” - Subject 1 interview 3

Here he cites the close nature of the relationship that he has with his family as a reason not to hide. However after reflection the researcher didn't believe this is what he meant. He is defining his relationship with his mother based off a perceived stereotype that people don't have their mother on Facebook. When in actuality, he wants his mother on his Facebook and actively enjoys her presence. Later interviews will reveal that he finds it is a useful communication tool for him to communicate with her and he would not wish to lose it as a communication method. He has a desire to participate with her on Facebook. He does not, however, have her on any of his other online social networking services. He even reveals that the activity he does on other online social networking services is different due to the varying contextual and relationship conventions present (see section 9.2).

As this research has shown, the desire to participate leads the research subjects to join and use online social networking services. The variation in perceived relationship types leads them to use different online social networking services to participate in different

relationships. The final excerpt this study will examine comes from the final interview with Subject 2. In it, she discusses her desire to participate in celebrity culture on Twitter and how she perceives it as having a negative impact on her life. She described in the previous interview that she was going to cut down on her Twitter usage and had protected her tweets to prevent strangers from accessing them and prevent her from using it as much. The following exchange, while lengthy, is important to read in full before analysing.

“Last interview you were talking about how you’ve cut down your Twitter use.

[Laughs]. I feel like I’ve gone back to how I was before. Right I remember I said to you like after speaking to you during the interview, I felt like I’m protecting my tweets, and like for a few days I was like yeah it’s fine, and like I thought I wouldn’t actually unprotect them until like it started to bother me a little. So on Sunday I cracked, well Monday, because on Sunday I went to a concert and I really wanted to tweet about it, and um, it’s really rare for me to go to a concert and enjoy the supporting act as much as the headliner, so like I wanted to tweet to them and like share my pictures I took that night, so I unprotected my tweets. Sorry [laughs]. I actually thought about you as I did it [both laugh].

Well when you say you actually thought about me, what do you mean?

Like when I unprotected my tweets, 'cause I thought it might mess up for the next interview.

So how long did you go with your tweets protected?

It must have been about, well since the, that interview, so that must have been on the Tuesday so, and I unprotected on the Monday so...

Six days.

Yeah.

Right, and was it at the concert that you...?

Um I think it was after.

Right, and now they're not protected anymore.

No.

So just walk me through those six days whilst they were protected.

Um I think I tweeted more to like friends or I just wouldn't really mention anyone else because they wouldn't see it if they don't follow me.

So what was it like for the six days? How did you feel?

Um I wouldn't say it bothered me that much, but when like something happens like I remember, um [inaudible 00:02:44] was dropped during that time, and it kind of sucked because like I wanted to tweet to that person but if they don't follow me they can't see it.

So did you tweet about that even though they couldn't see it?

Um yeah I think I did, but I'm not, I, I probably did mention them.

Did you say you probably did mention them?

Yeah I think I did.

Why would you mention them if you knew they couldn't see it?

Yeah I know. That's why I think I don't care, because um, my sister used to have her tweets protected and she'd still mention the people, and I didn't get why she'd do it, but I guess it's so like her followers know who she's talking about maybe.

Why did you do it then?

It might be out of habit. I'm just used to mentioning that.

Do you think that could be that's just the done thing on Twitter, mentioning people?

Um yeah I guess. And like I had enough characters for it, so I might as well.

So what was it like in the lead up to making your tweets open again?

Um, so I went to the concert and the supporting act were really good, and I wanted to tweet to them about it, like say I had a good time, and like I got a retweet, and then like I posted a picture of them on stage and then that got a retweet as well.

So that was from the act themselves?

Yeah.

They retweeted what you tweeted, and alright, okay. What about the main act?

Um, I did tweet to them, but I wasn't really expecting a reply 'cause they have so many followers, but I'd still mention them.

Did they [inaudible 00:04:51]?

No.

Right, but you weren't expecting them to.

No.

Did you expect the supporting act to?

Well I only started following them after the concert so I'm not really, so I wasn't really sure if they'd reply to that and sort of retweet or anything.

So you just didn't know.

No.

So you made your tweets open again.

Yeah.

So that you could tweet, send tweets to these two acts...

Mm.

...One of which you didn't think you'd get a reply anyway...

Yeah.

...And the other one you just didn't know whether or not you'd get a reply.

Yeah 'cause I've only started following them.

So why unprotect your tweets in that instance, because you could have just kept them protected and mentioned them like you did with the other artists?

I think it's because I want, I wanted to see if they'd see it.

Why?

Because I had a really good night, and like it's something that I wanted to share and like they should know.

Why should they know?

Like because I didn't like go into the concert as a fan, but I left as one.

Why's that good for them?

Um they're building their fan base, 'cause I go, the concerts that I go to, their supporting acts don't really get a lot of love, because you're just waiting for the headliner to come on, but I enjoyed their set."

– Subject 2, Interview 4.

Subject 2 is describing an important dialectic struggle. She has a desire to participate and a desire to limit her participation happening simultaneously. Subject 2 had previously said she used Twitter for participation with celebrities and to attempt to get celebrities to retweet her or send her messages. However, after getting upset with minimal responses from celebrities and feeling that the participation was negatively impacting her life, she restricted her tweets so that only her followers could see them. After six days of this, she says

she “cracked”, implying that she found it difficult to have the tweets protected. There is a desire to participate that Subject 2 cannot satiate anywhere else, so she feels that she has to use Twitter (see section 9.2).

As discussed at the beginning of this section, Subject 3 also felt that she had interests that were only satisfied through the use of Twitter; Subject 4 has interests in photography that she can only satisfy through using Instagram; Subject 5 has interests in television that she can only satisfy through using Tumblr and Twitter; and Subject 1 feels that his professional interests are only satisfied on LinkedIn. All of these interests are things they feel they cannot share with their perceived friends; their desire to participate has led them to seek out situations where it is acceptable to share (we will discuss this in greater depth in section 9.5). The desire to participate is opposed to some conceptualisations of privacy that were discussed in the literature review (see section 9.2); far from contriving situations in which an individual can seek to hold information back, the research subjects are looking for situations where they can let information go. The desire to participate is described as greater than the desire to not participate. The research subjects (as shown above by Subject 2 reducing her use of Twitter and by subject 5, who attempted to reduce her use of Tumblr), find not participating difficult. The next section will examine the research subjects desire to not participate.

20.3 Asocial Relationships

Following on from the previous section, this section will examine the research subject's perceptions of social conventions that are dependent on their perception of the relationship that they are experiencing in context. As the literature review established (see section 9.2), the individual will have varying desires to participate or not participate. This section will examine the desire to not participate and how this affects their perception of privacy.

There are two main themes that occur with the research subjects surrounding the desire to not participate. Firstly, they desire to not participate with certain people because that relationship no longer affords them what they want and secondly, they desire not to participate with a certain online social networking service because it no longer affords them what they want. This section will start by examining the first theme using the example of family members already addressed in the previous section. It will examine instances where the research subjects have restricted participation. This research will start with Subject 4, who has restricted her mother from accessing her on Facebook.

"I refuse to accept my mum's friend request

Why?

[Laugh] she's never really on there and there may be things that she does not approve of that are on there from when I was younger that anyone else wouldn't think of, but again she would because she's a mother. And again maybe there's some old photos that I don't realise are on there that she may be like you were doing that or you wore that or something.

Would you like to see your mum's Facebook profile?

[Laughs] I can see her profile she doesn't really hide herself er, there's nothing on there she doesn't have any pictures.

So yours is restricted access?

Yes er, I cant remember whether she did try to add me or she joked about adding me but I cant really see much point anyway 'cause she never goes on it and she gets the notifications from my cousin who's added on it whenever she posts a status and my mum complains that she keeps getting these notifications and I'm like you can turn it off and she says no I like staying connected so I'm like well, stop complaining then." – Subject 4, Interview 1.

Subject 4 finds it funny that they refuse to accept their mum's friend request; something that was displayed by their body language when giving this response. They did not accept the request due to their photographic and posting history on Facebook causing a fear that her mother might not understand how Facebook works. She does not want to experience what she perceives as potential negative social

ramifications of having her mother as a friend on Facebook. Other research subjects have made similar sentiments. The following is a lengthy excerpt from Subject 3 talking about her father;

“I remember he tried to add me on Facebook when I was 16 and I was like, no dad. Then I said to him the other week, he was, oh I’ll tag so-and-so, my friend, in this photo so you can see it. I went, just add me on Facebook. He was like, no. Why?

Do you not know why he wouldn't add you on Facebook?

No, I’ve not got a clue. I went, all right, whatever. No, to be fair I think it’s because my dad has got Twitter as well and me and my friend, my friend was round and we was laughing when he come in once and he was like, what you laughing at, and we was like, we’re just looking at your tweets. And he was like, why, why, what’s wrong with them. And he was tweeting [celebrity name redacted] and [celebrity name redacted]; I’ve got this marvellous new idea about this and this. I went, dad, they’re not reading them. He was like, why it’s directly to them. I was like do you know how many tweets they must get on a day-to-day basis; they’re not reading it. And I think that was why, I think he got a bit upset that we was laughing.

So you haven't tried to add him on Facebook?

No, I was just like, all right, whatever, fine, that's fine. I've got my mum on Facebook?

How long?

At least a year, maybe a bit more.

Did she add you?

Yes.

Stick with your dad. He told you about some things you were saying on Facebook that I assume he told you ...

No, my friend told me that's got my dad on Facebook. Because when we did get burgled she texted me like, oh my God, what happened. I was like, how do you know, I haven't told anyone. She was like oh I saw your dad's Facebook. Oh for God's sake, okay. It's like we've swapped roles, like he's doing the things that, why would you write that on Facebook.

How long has he had Facebook for?

I know my mum got it in ... I think my mum got it about two years ago because I helped her set it up and I'm sure he did have it before her because I remember my mum went to add him on Facebook and she was like, why is your relationship single, and he was like well you're not on there for me to add you on there. For God's sake. Again, who cares?

So they had a conversation?

Yes. Why is it single, [name redacted]." – Subject 3, Interview 3.

“Do you follow your dad on Twitter?

No. It's too cringe.

Does he follow you or has he tried to follow you?

I think he tried to follow me when I first got it and I was like, no. Because he had it before me. I don't know, I'd let him follow me now, it wouldn't bother me but I don't know why, then I was just like, no you're not following me. I think it was more like just a bit of rebellion.” – Subject 3, Interview 3.

Subject 3 describes a situation where she originally wouldn't add her father on Facebook due to her desire to not participate with him. However, over time she asked to her father to add her on Facebook and he has refused. She is unsure of the reasons why but feels that there is now a role-reversal between her and her father, with her father posting things on Facebook that she perceives she has grown out of posting. Subject 3 desires to not participate with her father on Twitter due to her embarrassment of what he uses Twitter for. This desire to not participate is not only in the relationship in this context, but also with the online social networking service as their interests differ.

In later interviews she will go on to reveal that, despite being initially annoyed that her Father would not add her, she has now started to use Facebook less and communicate more with her father on Whatsapp, therefore her desire to participate is being fulfilled. The

boundaries here have been negotiated socially. While there was initial tension between Subject 3 and her father, they have both found ways to get around it and maintain their social relationship, reaching a context that Subject 3 is content with.

Subject 3 also mentions the influence that her friend has had on the negotiated boundaries between her and her father;

“Why is one of your friends, friends with him?”

I'm not sure. I think she's been like my good friend since we were about three and she's always ... like she come on holiday with us and things like that. I think it's more like she's not my friend; it's more like a family friend if you know what I mean. It's not like he's got my other friends on Facebook, he's only really got her and another one of my friends that I've been friends with for a really long time. But he hasn't got my boyfriend on there or anything like that, it's just more like friends of the family than my friends. Whereas my mum went out of her way to add some of my friends on Facebook. I was like, mum what are you doing. She was like, what, I know them. No you don't.

So you think you should know the people that you add on Facebook or they should?

Yes, if my dad started adding some of my other friends I'd think what are you doing, you don't know them. Why are you adding them on Facebook? Yes, because like my mum

added one of my other friends, [name redacted], on Facebook and I haven't seen him for a while. My mum doesn't comment on anything and he doesn't comment on anything of hers but I think at the time when she added him, we were all at college together and he'd been around my house a few times and I was just like, mum why are you adding him on Facebook? She was like, what, he's been around. I was like yes but you don't know him like a friend. Yes. I think it'd find that weird if I was doing that as well." – Subject 3, Interview 3.

As it can be seen, the negotiation of relationship goes beyond Subject 3 and the family member she is directly relating to. Subject 3 also wants to be present in the negotiation between her parents and people she perceives as friends, wanting the parents to refrain from participation with her mentioned friends with online social networking services. This is a form of desire to not participate by Subject 3 through the negotiation of her relationships, using what she sees as social conventions; namely, it is only acceptable for her parents to add people subject 3 perceives as family friends. This form of restricting participation is not always specific to an individual. The following example from Subject 4 backs up the discussion in the previous section about restricting tweets;

“Who follows you?”

Uni people and er, the company 'cause I did some work experience and went in every so often with a production

company in [redacted] called [redacted] they sort of followed me back and a couple of them the owners follow me but my Twitter is private now but the only people that request to follow me and bands. No. But when I become an actual real photographer I'll have my proper photography one 'cause this is like my personal one but I mean er, its not like I keep it private to kind of hide my tweets or anything 'cause I don't really say anything offensive to anyone and I don't really say anything bold and brash there's nothing really controversial on there.

Is that the only reason? What is the reason you hide tweets?

I don't know I think maybe if I was I don't know have a picture up there that isn't you know considered professional maybe because some clients that I might work for in the future may not consider it professional. For example a couple of months ago I recently had a new tattoo done and I put that up, well my friend put it up and I retweeted I think, so another potential client they googles my name and saw that they might not want to work with someone who got body modification or stuff like that. Er while I'm sort of like well I'm not going to work for someone who is like that narrow minded I'm still not going to give up a job opportunity just 'cause of that, I mean I don't show my arms anyway 'cause I'm not going to risk job opportunities 'cause I need money, need money to survive.

Some of my friends are quite silly like that they're like I'm going to get tattoos everywhere and I'm going to put it all over the internet I don't care who sees it, it's a little bit silly you have to be a bit reasonable about it. Not everyone's going to love it. You have to still earn money at the end of the day." - Subject 4, Interview 2.

Subject 4 presents a pragmatic reason for restricting her tweets. She is imagining a situation in the future where the content she has added to her Twitter account may prevent her from one day achieving gainful employment. She uses this to make a distinction between her future professional and her current personal Twitter accounts, in order to restrict participation she will create multiple Twitter accounts. By doing this she is not only ensuring that she can restrict participation, but that she can fulfil her different desires to participate by creating different contexts of participation.

Subject 4 perceives that there is a professional stigma attached to tattoos. Despite this, she has spoken about sharing images of her tattoos before. She uses Instagram freely to discuss and show tattoos, however she will not use Twitter and Facebook for the same interest. All interviews have shown that she has different people on different online social networking services and that these people are chosen due to sharing mutual interests with her. All research subjects have discussed this throughout the interviews. The online

social networking services are a way for the research subjects to manage their relationships while ensuring that their desires to participate and their desires to not participate are being met. Subject 2 provides an example of how this type of relationship management can occur:

“I remember I had Bebo ages ago like in school, but then I deactivated that.

Was that the first?

That was probably the first one I had.

Okay, can we talk about that for a little bit?

Yeah

Okay, so why did you start using Bebo?

I think it was just to add like school friends and that but er, I didn't really use it so I deactivated it.

How long would you say you used it for in total?

Probably for about a year, or I might of. It's probably that I had it for a year but I barely used it so I decided to deactivate it maybe a year later or something.

Right, so what sort of things did you do on Bebo?

Talk to like friends from school and that

So it was literally just your friends from school?

Yeah just school.” – Subject 2, Interview 1.

Subject 2 was not enthusiastic talking about Bebo and gave only short answers. However they did reveal they deactivated it because they weren't using it, which had minimal ramifications with friends as they were moving to using Facebook and MySpace instead. The desire to participate in the relationships with school friends meant that she perceived that she needed to cease using Bebo and start using Facebook and MySpace to fulfil her desires to participate. She then goes on to describe how, over time, her attitudes towards these relationships altered, which in turn altered how she used Facebook.

“So is there anything else you want to take off Facebook?”

I remember I took off quite a few friends.

Okay

‘Cause I thought I might like Facebook more if it was just close friends and like family

Yeah.

But er, it doesn't really interest me anymore.

How does it feel removing friends from Facebook?

Er, well it was like people I don't really talk to anymore. So...

When you say you don't talk to do you mean face to face?

Yeah face to face. I don't have their phone number, we're not really close friends.

So there were no social effects you felt by doing that?

Not really.

Do you think it's acceptable to remove friends?

Well, well yeah, because it is my Facebook, like I get, if I want to interact with them then I would have kept them and they're probably thinking the same thing if I came up in there news feed they'd be like oh not interested, that's that girl from school." - Subject 2, Interview 1.

Despite their initial desire to participate in relationships with school friends and Facebook becoming the online social networking service that her school friends were using, Subject 2 has altered the way she uses Facebook over time. She has presented a narrative of both changing interests and changing relationships. In this narrative, she begins to use Twitter more as she feels it best fits her desire to participate. This causes her to use Facebook less and interact less with the people she has as friends on it. Ultimately she removes some friends from Facebook, keeping mainly family members and those that she perceives she has face-to-face relationships with.

Subject 2 has revealed that those she interacts with on Twitter are people that she has not spoken to in face-to-face contexts and that this is enjoyable. Despite many of the people she has on her Facebook being the same, she felt the need to remove them. This is another example of relationship management. The desire to participate in certain interests has led her to seek out a diverse range of relationships, sometimes with strangers (see section 9.5).

Sometimes the management of these relationships can seem drastic, with Subject 4 describing how it can be more socially acceptable to stop using an online social networking service altogether:

“Do you remember when you started using Facebook?”

Well it was probably in college so, er, about maybe 2007 8 maybe, again terrible with years. But no it would have been ‘cause I remember I stopped using MySpace for quite a while probably and then people were on Facebook and I was like Facebook won’t take off and then I probably started using it and had some new friends on there and you kind of like I think, when you start using a new social network you kind of have a new slate and you don’t have to have the people you don’t want to be friends with from another site so I could only add the people I want.

So did you do the same thing when you switched to Twitter?

I think I did I mean er, I probably added the same people I’ve been friends with for years and stuff but a couple of people I probably like forgot about because I probably could - I don’t really talk to them or whatever. But I think with MySpace it was such a dramatic point like being a young teenager being like I don’t want to unfriend them and I don’t want to upset them. But with Facebook it was much more of a slate clean [sic] it doesn’t really matter anymore.” - Subject 4, Interview 1.

Subject 4 talks about how Facebook was an opportunity to manage friendships. They could have a 'new slate' meaning that they can choose who to be friends with on their new online social networking service, Facebook, and lose friends they no longer want contact with, by stopping using MySpace. It indicates that there is a certain convention involved in managing relationships. It is not socially acceptable to remove certain people from your MySpace friends list, but it was acceptable to start from new on a different online social networking service in order to fulfil the desires to participate or not.

As this research has shown, the research subjects will alter the way that they use online social networking services depending on their desires to participate and their desires to not participate. They will use the various online social networking services through time to manage their relationships and even to explore relationships with strangers. As the literature review identified (see section 9.5) there are motivations to withdraw from groups or relationships in order to seek out a need. The literature review identified that this need was privacy, however on the contrary this analysis has shown that there is a dynamic negotiation of relationships that allows the individual to have different experiences of privacy that they will desire, some of which are in the presence of other individuals as the next section will examine (see section 9.5).

20.4 Mediated Relationships

The literature review identified academics that have critiqued online relationships for their lack of depth and highlighted how adding an online element to pre-existing relationships is one method individuals use to find depth. While the literature review (see section 9.4) went on to critique this and argued that individuals may actively seek relationships without depth as they fulfil a need that the individual has, the research subjects have also spoken at length about the former argument. This research has shown in the previous two sections that the research subjects have sought an online element for face-to-face relationships, but have also sought to restrict them. This section will examine in-depth, how the research subjects have used online social networking services to mediate aspects of their relationships.

Subject 3, is describing how her use of online social networking services has altered over time. Here she is discussing a specific relationship with her boyfriend.

“So how long do you think it took for you to alter use of Twitter from that? Have you?”

I don't really think I have because I think looking on Facebook, I was looking at it like why have I sat and written this out on Facebook, and on Twitter I think ... on Facebook to me it

seemed like I was writing it so someone would comment back. Whereas on Twitter it doesn't feel like ... I just do it spur of the moment and I don't know, it's just impulsive just to do it there and there. Whereas on Facebook I think I was doing it to strike up a conversation." - Subject 3 interview 3

Depending on context she is altering what she is saying in turn based off the motivations for saying it. She's acknowledging that she perceives that Facebook is to gain attention from others while Twitter is more towards herself, as a form of expression.

So did you go through and look at someone else's?

I looked at ... there is a thing that you can do on there now where it says see friendship and you can see all the things that you've written on each others walls and I looked my boyfriend's wall because I was like, I wonder if there ... and I was looking and I was just ... it was majority me and I was like oh my God I look really desperate. We've been going out for like ... we did break up for a little while last year but we've been going out for about three years now and I was just looking at it when we was 18 and was looking at it like, why do I keep writing on your Facebook wall instead of texting you, as if other people want to read this. Just like, oh my text is going

through. And I just thought, why didn't I just ring him then?

Why did I write on his Facebook?

Why did you?

I don't know because in the last year there is nothing, only you've been tagged in this photo and you've been tagged in that photo, but in terms of writing on each other's wall, nothing. There was even things on there like happy birthday. I was going to see him that day, why did I feel the need to write it on his Facebook wall. I really don't know.

So now you don't interact at all on Facebook really?

No. Occasionally on Twitter.

But not ...

Not really, not to have a conversation.

Why do you think that is?

Because I'd just text him instead and I don't know why I'd write on his wall anyway. And considering when we started going out we were both living at home and he lives in the next road to me, I could have gone around the corner. Oh, my text isn't going through. Why didn't I just ring or go around the corner? But it's really strange because he does that ... like if I go to his house or I'm picking him up or something I'll knock on his front door. He'll never knock on mine, he'll always text, I'm outside."

– Subject 3, interview 3.

However, when looking at her own relationship she appears to be harder on herself, asking why she did certain things with disbelief and embarrassment. The retrospective aspects of time has an influence here, as at the time it does not appear as though she thought she was acting embarrassingly, but only upon reflection and time her attitude has changed.

Over time the contact on Facebook has altered as the relationship has developed. As the relationship has become intimate there is a need or desire to use Facebook for different means. Other mediums such as phone calls become more important for emotionally engaging interaction. It shows here that the influence of Facebook was initially positive. The online element of Subject 3's relationship with her boyfriend was important when she was younger. She has identified possible reasons for this was to establish the status of her relationship amongst other Facebook users, or the convenience of Facebook as a communication tool. Over time though, the online element has become less important. The argument that it can add depth to a face-to-face relationship may have been true, but the relationship has developed beyond this now.

Mediation again becomes about the desire to participate or the desire to not participate (as examined in sections 20.2 and 20.3). Subject 4 further adds to this argument when describing the different

online social networking services that she still believes she is active in using.

“In terms of ones where you are adding textual content is Twitter...”

Er I use it actually a lot less than I used to I don't really post a lot of statuses as I used to I sort of faded out of Facebook because I thought its not worth saying.

Why is that?

I don't know I think I kind of got to stage where I was like well if I want to tell someone something's happening I'll just tell them I don't really need to tell everyone I had some people that I had on Facebook that I didn't really talk to and I was like I can't be bothered to delete you. I sort of just go on Facebook now to check statuses, photos, and stuff er, or like events things like that er, but no I don't really tweet much now and if I do its either something random that's popped into my head or something I find funny I'll retweet someone.

When you say something random that pops into your head what do you mean?

Er. Oh God er, like I, I, it sounds so strange when you say it out loud but I commute from [Redacted] every day on the train, I got to the train station and 'cause I know my trains are always on platform one or two either one and they always go to [Redacted] sometimes they skip it and go to [Redacted] and I was like why its only two seconds why skip it there's no point.

So I got on the train without checking and I was on the train and I went ah I have not checked this and the train started moving and I was oh like ah darn it I'll tweet this I was really bored I don't know why I tweeted it. [laugh] I suppose you don't have to say things that are relevant you don't have to tweet this stuff.

Did anyone interact with that tweet?

Probably not. I don't really think so I think the things people interact with on Twitter is if I talk about uni[sic] or er, I don't know if there's a picture they like or something one of my pictures from Instagram maybe. Don't really know don't really keep track of it that much its Twitter okay" – Subject 4, interview 1

Twitter is presented as the online social networking service that has replaced Facebook, though both are still used in unison. Subject 4 reveals throughout the interviews that the people she interacts with on Facebook tend to be friends with whom she is less frequently in contact. Twitter is used for her own textual commentary on her experiences and comes across as though she feels it is a very personal thing for her. Subject 4 goes on to say that they will directly talk to people now instead of using an online social networking service, indicating that there was a time when Twitter was used for direct communication and now it is not. Despite this, they reveal that they have followers on Twitter that they have not met in a face-to-

face context. In the literature review, these individuals were described as strangers. The next section will examine how the research subjects are embracing the presence of strangers on their online social networking services.

20.5 Embracing Strangers

The previous sections of this part of the analysis have gone some way to examine and identify the multitude of relationships that the research subjects have self-reported. All the previous sections have shown how the research subjects deploy different strategies to manage their relationships in an online context; whether it is restricting family access, or inviting access from strangers. The following section will examine this latter point in more detail. Throughout the interview process, the research subjects all reported that a motivation for using online social networking services was to interact with strangers. As this has already been established in previous sections this section will look at it in more depth to establish the reasons why the research subjects will, at times, choose to interact with strangers over friends.

This research will start with the following dialogue from subject 1, who is explaining the very beginnings of his usage of Facebook:

“Okay, did you tell them face to face to start using it?”

I haven't, no. I remember one of my cousins asked me what type of website is that, what's the purpose?

And what did you say?

You know, its Facebook. It's a social network – of course it meant nothing to her. She had no direct experience whatsoever and then 6 months later Facebook exploded and everyone was on it.

Including your cousin?

Of course yeah. And now I have 800 friends, so you can see what major difference that make.

So the attitudes of the people that weren't using it when you started using it, what attitudes did they have towards you, towards Facebook?

Well I don't think they actually knew I was using it, so.

Right so you didn't tell anyone about it? So who were the 4 people that you had on it?

They were random [country redacted] people actually who requested friendship because I was [from country redacted]. But you know many people who I actually knew personally, and I kind of then created my network around people I actually know and I add, yeah. And I think this kind of chain like reaction happened. People started following each other.”

Subject 1 didn't discuss his Facebook usage much with friends and throughout the interview process he consistently says he does not

discuss his online social networking service usage with friends of family in a face-to-face context. Therefore, when he began using Facebook he did not tell his friends of family to use it, instead, he added strangers to his Facebook network. The initial strangers he added are presented as being similar to him in that they were also from the same country as him. He goes on to say:

“Okay, so how did you come into collecting 800 friends?”

So most of them are people I know so either I approached them or they approached me. And Facebook, you can actually see suggestions and stuff and that how you increase your friends you know even more.

Do you have anyone on there that has been a complete stranger to you when you accepted their friend request or you friend requested them?

I think so yeah.

Why did you, why did you accept...

(Interrupts) because they were friends of friends

Friends of friends?

Yeah and that's why.

Okay so what's the motivation to have a friend of a friend that you haven't met as your Facebook friend?

I think that's the same starting point, this person knows someone who I know so it kind of creates this line of getting to know people.”

Subject 1 has friends that they have never met in face-to-face contexts on Facebook. They have obtained these friends by looking at who Facebook suggests they should be friends with or through looking at who the friends of friends are. It is presented as a common occurrence that people they have never met add them and that they also add people they don't know. It appears that the assumption is that if they have friends in common then they will likely share the same interests and want to know each other. As the literature review (see section 9.5) established, individuals examine their own identity by seeking out relationships that challenge them. Subject 1 is using Facebook in this way. He was initially defensive of this strategy in an embarrassed way. Discussing friends appears to be embarrassing for Subject 1, even though he considers all of his 800 Facebook followers as friends, Subject 1 frequently avoids discussing face-to-face relationships, or relationships that are not geographically located in his home country.

“I do enjoy using Facebook because it helps me keep in contact with my friends.

Are they friends back home that you keep in contact with on Facebook?

Yeah

And friends from university?

Not necessarily, er, I do use Facebook for friends who live abroad.

So friends at university are then kept in contact with on Twitter as you said?

I think no, its more subjective I guess, but I do keep in touch with much more friends that don't go to this university here, but go somewhere else outside the UK."

Facebook seems to be reserved for contacting those whom he does not see in face-to-face contexts frequently, as though it provides reassurance to be able to read status updates frequently rather than interact frequently. Online social networking services gives Subject 1 an opportunity to examine relationships that he does not examine in face-to-face contexts. Interacting with strangers helps him to feel as though he is expanding his friendship group and exploring his interests that he otherwise cannot examine. Other research subjects have expressed similar sentiments. This research has previously discussed the interaction with celebrities that Subject 2, 3, 4, and 5 have revealed as a motivation for using Twitter. Here subject 2 discusses the beginnings of her Twitter usage.

"...Why did you start using Twitter?

I started using it 'cause my friend [laugh] was like I bet I can get more followers than you, but then I wasn't really bothered about that little competition its just 'cause in Facebook I feel like the celebrities and stuff, it's a way to actually talk to them

rather than try but on Facebook its more sort of like someone running that account not them its news straight from them.”

Subject 2 finds it funny that they started using Twitter as a bet, but presented this in a more nostalgic way, indicating that starting to use Twitter was an entertaining experience for them. Beyond this initial competition it was the subsequent following of celebrities that caused Subject 2 to continue using Twitter and they reported that they feel the interaction with celebrities is more authentic than on Facebook. In this case the interaction with celebrity is difficult to define in the same way as the interaction with a stranger as the celebrity is somewhat known to the Subject. But interaction with other individuals who are providing a form of entertainment may be considered as strangers. Subject 4 discusses her use of Vine below.

“So does anyone follow your Vine account?”

I think there’s er, like the people that follow everyone like they have thousands of followers an they follow thousands of people or the people that have no followers but follow loads of people there’s that. I think maybe [name redacted] follows me I think I have maybe 6 followers that’s it. I’ve no idea I don’t really check.

So do you revine?

No I don’t revine at all I just view

Why do you think they follow you then?

I've no idea maybe to show that they have lots of numbers maybe or maybe to get people to watch their videos so you see a lot of the comments in the videos are 'revine me and watch this or like win this iPad you know stuff like that er, I think that's probably the reason.'

It appears as though there are people using Vine that follow as many people as possible and these are the first people Subject 4 talks about, but does so with an annoyed tone and a sigh. They then say the same friend that introduced them to Vine follows them and 5 other friends, but they are unsure of this number, as they don't check. This indicates that the point of Vine for them is not to get followers but rather to consume the content of others for entertainment through the embrace of strangers (see section 9.5).

“So which one of those social networks do you spend most time on?”

I'd probably say Vine now actually oh no Vine and Instagram are probably tied Vine more probably I'd say 'cause your watching stuff and its funny. Instagram I suppose is to have a quick look though, no definitely Vine 'cause it's kind of like better than watching TV [laugh]...

Yeah. Probably, because like, I expected what people, like the photographers and stuff, like, that I do something follow some photographers on Twitter. I think with friends you expect what

they're gonna say or you know what they're gonna say or its stuff you know about if it's uni you know about that and er, so with like Vine and stuff and Instagram its new and its more I can sort of get ideas from it so when I like follow photographers, I think that's an interesting way to shoot that or I like that lens and I might have a go with that lens or something. Or with videos its sort of like going through YouTube to watch funny cat videos or whatever its just amusement really 'cause my friends they don't really post videos or stuff like that it is just another form of entertainment really.

Do you find yourself discussing Vines that you've seen face-to-face with friends?

Er with [Name Redacted] yeah because er, because she watches it and then like a couple of people she's said are funny so I'll watch their videos and then some people they'll if I'm link if I'm in a group of people and I hear they're talking about something and I'm like ah it's a Vine video or its something like that er, but no I don't really discuss it really its sort of like er, I suppose some people wouldn't if they've I dunno 'cause I was gonna say some people maybe wont discuss what they have watched on TV or film but they do. So I think that its maybe more of like a personal thing maybe in a way sort of its my own entertainment no one else knows

exactly what I'm watching if they do it 'cause I've liked it.

Scratch that.

Is that the way you feel though?

Kind of in a way its sort of in a way its weird its sort of like your own TV you're choosing what to watch I know you're choosing what to watch on television but its made by ordinary people and they're doing stupid slapstick stuff. I watch many videos that are just slapstick stuff. Like I mean I know that you know I I could go back and watch some Morecambe and Wise or you know er."

Despite not knowing anyone in a face-to-face context on Vine and Instagram, Subject 4 prefers them to Facebook and Twitter because they do not know what to expect in terms of content; friends make the experience boring as they already know what they will tweet or write on Facebook, whereas Vine and Instagram offer surprise and more personalised content because subject 4 controls who they follow completely, giving them the feeling that they are in control of their desire to participate or not through choosing to embrace strangers. Again research subjects are using an online social networking service to examine their own identity. The research subjects actively seek out relationships with strangers in order to fulfil a need that their existing relationships do not. Here this research has shown the comparison is drawn between Vine and TV expressing that Vine is like a personal TV channel. This again is an indication of

the intimacy that the research subjects feel towards the connections that they have with strangers on their online social networking services.

Subject 5 expresses this desire to interact with strangers throughout the interview process. She starts by explaining how moving from one online social networking service to another can increase the relationships she makes with strangers.

“Instead of switching to MySpace, why did you choose Bebo?”

Er it was before MySpace and so I had friends there already and er, I made friends on there and it was easy to make friends more easier to make friends on there rather than MySpace yeah and like my real friend and my online friends were on that one.

When you say it was easier to make friends how do you mean?

It was easier to find strangers. It sounds really bad. It was easier to find strangers that had the same interests as you er, on there.

What sort of er, how did you go about doing that? Finding these people?

Friends of friends I think.”

Subject 5 expresses that she found Bebo to be more fulfilling for their social needs, they already had friends on it and could easily make friends with strangers on it. This highlights the importance of Bebo for facilitating the embrace of strangers as it made the process straightforward. More risk was associated with switching sites.

“So when you made friends with strangers as you put it

[Laugh]

How did you start to interact with them?

Commenting like usually saying er, it's either them or me saying like thanks for the follow or adding me or stuff then we start doing general conversation like how are you then we start talking about general interests and stuff.

Right, okay, and er, people also add you that you didn't know

Er yeah but I usually didn't add them back if I wasn't interested back”

Subject 5 shows a convention for making friends with strangers and that the strangers also follow the same convention by not always accept a friend request. There must be a clear interest in common with the stranger in order to accept the request. She will not make a connection unless she is getting something from it. She later goes on to say that she uses Twitter for similar reasons, making the

distinction between her “online” and “real” friends. Twitter is used for her “online” friends. She says;

“But isn't the part of what you get from Twitter, sort of opening up to strangers?”

Yeah, it's ... it is complicated, it's like I think you pick the strangers you open up to or they don't know, you're like anonymous in a way 'cause er, the way, well it depends if you choose to but it's just because you show yourself in a certain way but when, in reality, it's different, like you can't hide certain things about you or something.

When you say you pick the strangers...

Yeah, that's your, who you're following.

Do you think that works both ways? Do you think that strangers also pick you?

Yeah, but I guess you could also like block them if you really don't like them! [Laughs] So yeah.” – subject 5, interview 3.

This shows that that the desire to interact with strangers is moderated. The interactions that she is having with strangers are different to the ones she has face-to-face. She is only expressing a certain part of herself, similar to Goffman's theory on masks (see section 9.2). There is a desire to interact with strangers. There is an active desire to share and interact to different ends within a variety of relationships.

As this section has shown, the research subjects actively seek to interact with strangers. They do this in order to indulge an interest that they otherwise could not in their face-to-face relationships with their current social resources. By doing this, they are giving themselves the opportunity to examine their own identity and their relationships. All research subjects have expressed how they may sometimes choose to reject a stranger's request for interaction. This research will examine this in the next section.

20.6 The Mediated Stranger

Understanding what the stranger is can be complex. The literature review identified that when online, the stranger is presented with certain metadata that can remove a certain unknowable element of 'strangeness'. This section will examine what affect this has for the research subjects, starting with Subject 3.

"I don't like tweeting to people that don't have a profile picture.

[Laugh] And I don't like following back.

Can you clarify that?

Just from the start I just don't like following someone who doesn't have a profile picture and like on Facebook I don't like

adding people I don't know even if there's like mutual friends I don't like want any.

Why is that?

'Cause I don't know them I don't want them to see what I post and stuff.

Why don't you want them to see what you post?

Its weird though 'cause on Twitter I'm fine with it but then I don't tweet personal stuff and I don't put stuff on Facebook, but I think for Facebook its more for like pictures and stuff. I used to have a lot on there."

With the mediated stranger there appears to be an authenticity issue. It is less apparent on Facebook where it is simply if they do not know them or recognise them the authenticity becomes less of an issue than knowing them. Having a profile picture on Twitter however appears to be enough to be an authentic Twitter user. The stranger on Twitter must appear to be human and must feel authentic, otherwise they are not deemed trustworthy. They want to embrace strangers, but only to a point. They must feel like they are getting something out of it and that the information that they have on the stranger is sufficient for them to no longer feel like a stranger. Subject 1 says something similar below.

"So with Twitter, you said you don't think it's so much for you. You think you know some other people have their

different spheres on Twitter, so these people that are forcing themselves into your sphere, does that ever concern you or do you have any thoughts about that?

It doesn't concern me 'cause I can see that they're from, they have er, sort of similar interests really 'cause you know all the names, er, you know the companies, descriptions, everything, so I think that's fine, yeah and I'm not, I'm not that active on Twitter anyway so I don't share anything sensitive.

Why do you think they're following you?

Well because of this networking thing that happens there or that people think it happens but [laughs] you know, you're just kind of ... associated with something which is, which you think you have something in common with, so I think that's the main reason." - Subject 1

Here, Subject 1 is illustrating this point explicitly in his answer. He is not concerned by the accounts that follow him on Twitter, or by sharing information with these accounts because he perceives that the metadata that comes with each account is enough to indicate that he can trust them. The stranger is no longer the stranger. He says that the information he shares on Twitter isn't 'sensitive', so he is also okay with the stranger seeing this (see section 9.5).

He goes on to talk about how Twitter encourages this through its structure and through being an online social networking service. This

is a slightly technologically determinist view, but previous interviews with Subject 1 have indicated that he does enjoy this aspect of Twitter which is why he uses it.

Contrary to these points, as previously seen, Subject 2 went through a process of protecting her tweets on Twitter. This shows this distrust of the stranger in what she says here.

“Oh actually wait. I, recently I’ve protected my tweets.

Oh right, okay.

Yeah.

Do you want to talk me through that?

Um, I don’t, it’s the whole like someone going on your page and like looking at your tweets but they don’t follow you, if you get what I mean, like if you want to see the tweets, you might as well just press the follow button and have it on your timeline.

Right okay. So you want them to follow you?

I just, yeah, well if they want to see your tweets, then why not...

Right okay, and would that go for anyone?

Well yeah I think so.” - Subject 2 interview 3

Initially here, she says she has done everything the same, yet this is not true. It takes a short moment of recall for her to divulge that she has gone from being completely open on Twitter to now protecting her tweets. This appears to be a major change from the usage that she presented in earlier interviews as Twitter was once a way for her to contact celebrities, but now with tweets protected, celebrities won't be able to contact her back.

While this initially looks like she is concerned about controlling access to her tweets, it appears as though some of the motivation is behind wanting followers almost as though she wants to have more reach through forcing people to follow her if they want to see what she has written.

She is experiencing an issue with the unknown. In previous interviews she said she did not like people following her who did not have their face as their profile picture, now this same dislike has extended to those who don't follow her. She wants to be able to see and know who is following her, but only on a profile level, not to know them in actuality, but just to know the metadata. She is inviting interaction with the stranger, but on her terms. She is aware that they are strangers and not neighbours, as it can be seen here.

“So does that mean you don't consider the followers on Twitter as friends?”

Well because I haven't met them, and it's not like I talk to them all the time, like a conversation might start like when a new song drops, and then you're like, you might tweet back like what do you think of the song?"

There is a distinction being made here; followers are accounts that she feels she can be more open with and act more like herself, whereas friends she feels she needs to be more reserved and tailor herself to them. It is because she has more invested in friendships and thus more convention has formed that she cannot break. Interacting with strangers cuts through this and allows her to indulge her interest that she does not feel she can indulge with her friends.

Despite the desire to interact, it does not always fulfil the Subject's need. As this study will show with Subject 5, opening herself up to strangers has caused some issues for her.

"Is that something that you're considering doing, just stopping [using online social networking services]?"

It's kind of like [laughs] quitting smoke- if you like to smoke, it's just really hard but I think cold turkey's a bit too hard for me but I'll, you know I'm slowly getting there, just, I guess it does help that I do have like all that unfollowers and ... like detaching myself from everyone, er, so, slowly getting there.

So what was the need to have followers, why is having people unfollow you, affected you?

Er, it's just losing friends, even though you're not like friends, friends with them but it feels that same sort of feeling like you just lost contact and lost friends, even though there are some people that you might not talk to, it's just because you know that it was possible that you could ... any time to talk to them but now it's like "oh is it something personal?", oh, I don't know, it's just like an insult if someone unfollows you and you don't know why.

Is that because if you were to unfollow someone else...?

Mm...

Would you do that from a sort of insulting, "I don't want to be your friend" perspective?

Er, I would only unfollow people if ... er, the things that they said are like insulting or if they're, you know bullying or I don't know, just stuff that they said is just not interesting to me but I wouldn't, like I don't personally, personally er, like some people do.

So why do you take it personally if someone unfollows you then?

I don't know! [Laughs] I think it's just, yeah, because it's your followers, it's like it's not, you know, a community thing, it's just your personal thing, they followed you because of the tweets er, you put down and obviously their personal tweet, I mean they're all personal, it's like a diary, like I said before

you say your thoughts out loud, yeah.” – Subject 5, interview

3.

Despite the difficulty she experiences there is something that is still keeping her on Twitter. She is unsure what this is currently. It appears as though there has been some personal investment in it, and also that there is still a form of indulgence being experienced (as examined in section 19), but she is having a negative emotional experience of losing followers on Twitter. Even though she identifies them as people she doesn't talk to or people she isn't a "real" friend with, she is upset when they 'unfollow' her as she feels like she is losing a connection with meaning.

It is the act of someone choosing to follow her that gave her some form of social validation. Losing this is upsetting to her. The emphasis on the 'your' indicates that she felt some form of ownership, though referring to herself in the third person does also serve to distance herself. The self-identification of Twitter as a diary adds a highly personal element to the online social networking service. She was seeking strangers to enjoy reading her personal thoughts and feelings, thus when the stranger 'unfollows' her, she is hurt. This shows she has embraced the stranger and the stranger has emotional affects on her.

As this research has identified in this section and the literature review (see section 9.4 to 9.6), Bauman's model is useful, but only when extended to account for this new, mediated stranger. This mediated stranger comes with metadata and perceived authenticity. Thus, the research subjects desire to keep the stranger at a distance, but desire to interact with, in particular frames, this mediated stranger. Doing so allows them to examine the reveal of part of, or all of their front stage and back stage (See section 8.5) showing the simultaneous experience of veillance and relationships. This again shows that a complete state of detachment is not the ideal state of privacy for the research subjects, but rather the opportunity to have varying experiences of privacy is of importance.

20.7 Conclusion

The role of relationships in socially experienced privacy with online social networks is concerned with the individual's desire to experience a variety of mediated social connections. The desires to experience these connections come from the individual's perceived desire to find outlets for their various interests and to maintain the perceived convention of connections.

An individual will have a variety of interests. Some examples from this research were specific recording artists, television programmes,

film franchises and professional development. The individual seeks online social networking services where they can form or maintain relationships that fulfil their desires to indulge their interests. They seek to indulge these desires socially as it provides an experience that they can find more fulfilling than passive indulgence. An individual may have made face-to-face relationships based on one shared interest, but have another interest where there is no opportunity to indulge it within the same face-to-face relationship. In these instances, the individual seeks relationships where they can indulge this interest. The research shows that online social networking services provide an opportunity to do this that the individuals perceive to be easy. The research shows that the individual will form relationships with strangers with online social networking services to indulge these interests. They are forming and maintaining an experience of social privacy with these strangers that excludes individuals who they consider as friends. This fills a gap that their face-to-face relationships do not fulfil, allowing the individual to distance themselves from their current social resources and seek out new perspectives (see section 9.5). It also allows an interest to be indulged that would not be appropriate to do so in pre-existing relationships. The individual is therefore embracing the stranger, in this mediated context to create and maintain one modality of their social privacy desires.

The individual perceives conventions surrounding relationships. As previously mentioned, these perceived conventions prevent the individual from indulging certain interests. Likewise there are perceived conventions that the individual adheres to, so as to not offend or harm anyone who they are socially connected to. The main occurrence of this was through the management of formal connection on their online social networking services. Using the example of Facebook, the individuals would consider if removing or not adding someone to their friends list, would have perceived social ramifications or perceived conflict with a perceived convention. The individuals would also not share certain opinions, or act a certain way if they also perceived this to impede convention. For this reason, the individual sought multiple online social networking services to manage the perceived conventions while simultaneously ensuring that they fulfil their desires and can indulge their interests. Rather than withdrawing into solitude to experience privacy, the individual was withdrawing from one relationship and into another to have a varied experience of privacy.

21 Analysis Part 3: Space

As previously identified in the literature review, in order to study the identified facet of privacy this study will consider that it is experienced spatially. Throughout the interview process, the research subjects would consistently provide contexts for their stories and explanations. Much of the contexts provided will be revisited throughout all the sections in the analysis. However, there was one particular tool that the research subjects used that will be analysed in-depth in this section, spatial context.

The common theme of space and how the individual was positioned within space was identified throughout each stage of the interview process. Space was used in varying ways when referring to the experience of privacy and thus, caution must be exercised when using terminology to ensure that the appropriate meaning of spatial influence over the experience of privacy is terminologically consistent.

21.1 Analytical Diagram

As previously mentioned, an analytical diagram (see section 4) will aid the understanding of this analysis chapter. This section will look at the space aspect of socially experienced privacy. It can be seen on the diagram this it is influenced constantly by emotions, and by

veillance and relationships depending on the situation. While the diagram demonstrates that it is interacting with these other aspects of socially experienced privacy, this section will seek to understand space in separation. Though, as this section will demonstrate it is difficult to separate the aspects of socially experienced privacy.

Within the research process, space was spoken of in two different ways. Firstly, it was used as a metaphor when explaining the feelings of using different online social networking services. Secondly it was used when discussing the different technologies used to access the online social networking services and where it was bodily acceptable to access the different online social networking services. The next two sections will examine these two areas respectively.

21.2 Spatial Metaphors

21.2.1 Introduction

Space was used in a metaphorical sense, both as a way to convey meaning to the interviewer and to rationalise the individual's reaction to certain situations or contexts. While there were obvious metaphorical rationalisations, as this study will show below with describing Twitter as a "bedroom", there were also less obvious ones, such as the metaphorical sense in which the online social

networking services themselves were presented as spaces (see section 10.4).

21.2.2 The Bedroom

“I don’t know why it is, but it’s just this natural thing, like it’s kind of like a bedroom, you’ve got nothing to hide in it but it’s your own private space, so it’s like private object.” - Interview 2 subject 5

Here, Subject 5 was describing an aspect of her weekly ritual of taking public transportation. The research subject said that this regular occurrence is often accompanied by the use of Twitter through the official mobile phone app for Apple iPhone. When on public transportation she has a heightened awareness of shoulder surfing (see section 10.2), something that leads her to have what she describes as a ‘natural’ reaction, to hide her mobile phone screen, or to cease use of her mobile phone altogether. The bedroom metaphor was used here because there is something about this situation that is inexplicable for her. An emotional reaction has determined how and when she uses her Twitter app. The metaphor is therefore an attempt by her to rationalise and provide a contextual simile for her emotion.

Bracketing preconceptions for this metaphor has its difficulties. Initially the researcher is drawn back to times of immaturity, when having a bedroom would have meant having a personal space away from family. Here, the preconception about Subject 5 is that they are in a state of arrested development as this metaphor can still apply. However, upon reflection it could be said that this emotion is something that Subject 5 actually strives to experience, thus they have found an outlet in Twitter that facilitates this. With the ambiguous nature of this metaphor, further clarification in later interviews was sought.

“I think it’s just the, like personal space on it, it’s, because it’s so personal and your bedroom is so personal, er, its kind of the same thing. Er, I guess you could say that for some other stuff but it just feels like that bec- for example, like when you're not allowed to, I can't remember, like you're not allowed to go to someone's bedroom and take pictures of someone's bedroom when you're visiting a house when you want to buy or something like that, it's kind of like, I don't know, I just heard it recently and I didn't know that, then I thought I guess it's because of the privacy, it's personal and it's your own and it's just the same thing as your phone.”

The metaphor was turned into a simile for her explanation here, further adding to the argument that there is an emotional similarity

that influences her choice of words. However, the added example of taking pictures suggests that there is an element of social convention; in that she has identified something that she believes to be a legal obligation in being “not allowed” to take photos of someone’s bedroom. She has identified a form of etiquette that is influenced by her emotional understanding. She wouldn’t take photo’s of someone else’s bedroom, so why would others? It is this attitude that provides one purpose for the metaphor, to aid in constructing appropriate social interaction, she wouldn’t let a stranger look in her bedroom, so why should she let them look at the phone?

Further difficulty with understanding this metaphor arises when considering the media that the mobile phone conveys. Previously, subject 5 has said that part of Twitter is sharing things with strangers; this conflicts with her wanting to keep her physical screen of her mobile phone hidden from strangers that are physically close to her. Asking questions about this was met with the following response.

“Then it feels like, yeah, well I mean like when you interact with people online, I, I don't know how else to say it, I don't know how to explain it, it just feels like if someone’s like ... I don't know, because they, everyone else has their own sort of bedroom so yeah, I don't know, I really don't know.”

It was initially difficult for her to answer this question. She required some clarification from the researcher. The metaphor was transported to other users of Twitter. She described them as though they too were in a bedroom. This suggested some level of detachment from others, something that she voluntarily spoke about when discussing what she felt were some negatives of using online social networking services.

“...How does the metaphor of the bedroom fit into that detachment?”

It's like the same thing, it's like when you go into your room and you close the door, then you, everyone else, kind of forgets about you, just walks past you but at the same time, they're still there and you can talk or put notes on their door or something or just talk through the door, it's kind of like that.”

She is describing being simultaneously being detached yet also connected, as though there is a point where the two can meet, with just a 'door' separating them. While this metaphor initially appeared to be one describing a positive feeling of having her own 'space', she described detachment as a negative. This suggests that while she wants to maintain the integrity of her metaphorical separation, it is in no way always a desirable or a good thing for her to have this experience. She wouldn't always want to be in her bedroom. But

similarly, she wouldn't want others to intrude on that space. The researcher asked further questions, saying;

“So where does the physical act of someone sitting on a bus looking over your shoulder and seeing your phone, come into that whole house/bedroom metaphor? Are they separate?”

I guess it would just feel like some stranger's at your door sort of thing, you don't know who they are and you don't know what they want and what their intentions of looking and so that's why it feels a bit ... awkward.”

The first part of her explanation is presented quite voyeuristically in an almost frightening manner, yet leads to her expressing that it's only 'awkward'. It suggests that it is more of a break in social convention. She has voluntarily chosen to bring her 'bedroom' close to other people; therefore it is not the same if the people had sought her 'bedroom' out. The metaphor has helped her make sense of the complex emotions surrounding her experience of privacy in this context. She can also extend the metaphor for use in other situations.

“...When we were talking about privacy at the end of the last interview, you said that the internet was the most open space out there.

Yeah. [Laughs]

Now, I'm interested in that statement, even more so now after talking about the metaphor of the bedroom because the bedroom is quite closed off. So how do those statements go together?

New [inaudible 01:00:53] house! [Laughs] Basically you have your own sort of internet space and it depends on you, about how big that bedroom is and then the rest of it is house or neighbourhood I think, maybe, I don't know, I think that's probably the best way to describe it."

Her overall Internet usage can be assigned different spatial metaphors depending on what it is she is doing. She feels that she has control over what her 'bedroom' is and who is allowed to communicate into it, but will also broaden her metaphor to account for her whole house, or even neighbourhood. This suggests that there are varying emotional experiences depending on her contact or situation in which the metaphor can be used that determines how she should interact.

21.2.3 Closed Sphere

Broad spatial metaphors were also present, with Subject 1 using the term closed sphere.

“Facebook wasn’t a professional thing for you?”

It’s much more private, yes, because first of all nobody can actually access your account if you haven’t allowed them, so it’s just like a closed sphere where you just communicate with people who you know and who are close to you. Whereas Twitter, everybody can go on Twitter and see your account, and for all your tweets like, your timeline, down to the moment where you joined. So I think that’s the main difference between both.”

The phrase ‘closed sphere’ is being used as a metaphor here. It is used to describe something as private, namely Facebook. The way he has described it, is by using a scale. He has described it as much more private, not as entirely private, all while using public as a binary. There is therefore no definitive sense of privacy for him; rather this is much more akin to a sense or feeling that something is private. The way this has been articulated is with the provision of a broad spatial metaphor. This spatial metaphor not only helps with his understanding of privacy, but also helps him convey his emotions. Spheres surround objects or subjects, and while he has made no mention of what it is surrounding, it is interpreted that he is using the metaphor to describe the sphere surrounding his self.

This is different to the previous metaphor of the bedroom (which determined for the research subject how they should act), in that it isn't indicating any convention associated with the space. Rather, this metaphor is indicating the control of veillance and relationships that the research subject feels they have. The sphere can be closed from the relationships and veillance they do not desire.

21.2.4 Conclusion

While this section provides the account of only two research subjects, it is important to include. It illustrates how the individual can use the perception of space in different ways to gain an understanding of the experience of privacy. In this instance, using a spatial metaphor has allowed one subject to understand the complexities of the privacy experience as a simile. The bedroom provides a certain experience of privacy for her. This experience is what she also wishes to get from an online social networking service. The closed sphere indicates a perception of control allowing the research subject to manage their veillance and relationships. Therefore understanding the perceived space as well as the bodily space can help us understand how privacy will be experienced in greater depth. This will be examined more fully in section 22.

This discussion of space was not only done through metaphor. Throughout this discussion, Subject 5 spoke clearly about her bodily space in terms of shoulder surfing. This is also the most common way in which the other research subjects would discuss context. The next section will examine bodily space and its affect on privacy experience with online social networking services.

21.3 Veillant Space

21.3.1 Introduction

Space was also discussed in the physical terms of bodily location of both the individual and the device through which they were accessing their various online social networking services. The only two ways of accessing discussed by all of the research subjects were mobile phones and personal computers.

This section will start by examining how the individual located their body while using their mobile phone, and how this subsequently influenced what online social networking service they accessed and what they did when using the online social networking service. This research will then go on to discuss the lesser-mentioned personal computer and space.

21.3.2 The Individual's Body in Space Using the Mobile Phone

When discussing bodily locations of usage with the interview subjects, a variety of situations and contexts were discussed where the research subject's body was geographically located when using the objects through which they access online social networking services. It is apparent that the location in which the subject is in, will affect what it is that they do on their online social networking services, or even which online social networking service they will access. Thus, far from being independent to anything else, the online social networking services are actually grounded in the physical locations of the users body;

“Yeah ‘cause that’s when I have the Wi-Fi [laugh] I can’t I mean I could do it on the train but I think if I’m on the train I’m kind of sub con self conscious ‘cause you don’t know what’s gonna happen so if you watch a Vine video and someone suddenly turns up half naked you don’t really want people thinking what the hell I’m looking at. Which again is odd ‘cause I don’t really necessarily totally care what people just think about me, but still at the same time I’m slightly too polite for my own good. I don’t want to hear other people being vulgar so I don’t want to offend other people like I don’t want to be offended. But yeah definitely at night before I go to bed. Just

something to do something to send me off to sleep, really” –

Subject 4 – Interview 1

Here, Subject 4 is discussing their use of the micro video blogging website, Vine. Vine is a site that she accesses primarily on her mobile phone and in bed before she goes to sleep, evoking images of extreme intimacy and safety associated with being in bed. While she initially presents very pragmatic reasoning for this, that she will be within Wi-Fi range, and here, there are some more social influences occurring.

Similarly to the section on spatial metaphors, there is something indescribable about her reasoning, an emotive response to not offend other people or break social norms of acceptability. This response could be grounded in the peculiarity of using Vine in a situation that is out of the environment of her bed.

Subject 2 also suggests that there is an acceptability of accessing certain online social networking services dependant on the bodily location. Using public transportation as an example (something also examined in section 10.2), Subject 2 explains how she created a folder on her phone to store screenshots of her favourite tweets so that she may look over them again to re-experience them without an Internet connection. When asked why she does this, her response was to cite public transportation.

“But like sometimes when you’re a bit bored, like at the bus, on the bus, at the bus stop, like I might go through them.” –

Subject 2 Interview 4

This act not only ensures that she can keep hold of certain memories, but it also ensures that the content she is consuming is known to her and will not be a surprise, thus avoiding the situation Subject 4 was describing being embarrassed by other people seeing the media that she was consuming.

Like Subject 4, Subject 5 also used the word ‘conscious’ to describe the way she acts in the similar situation of public transportation.

“When I’m on the train it [mobile phone] feels really open to see it, um, so I’m just more, I don’t know, I try to keep, I’m really conscious about it, like if I leave it out but yeah, I just, I’d only look at it a bit and then get rid of it, ‘cause I don’t really want anyone to see [inaudible 12:48].” – Subject 5 Interview 2.

The use of the word ‘conscious’ suggests that this is actually a situation in which there is awareness of how they are experiencing privacy, with the awareness very much placed around their own activity in the situation. It is primarily how their own action would affect their own experience of privacy in that situation, that the onus

is placed on their own action, not the actions of those around them. Even though this research has acknowledged in the literature review that privacy is experienced before instances of breach, this heightened awareness shows how the research subjects do think in terms of preventing instances of breach of privacy on occasions. This can be further understood through subject 5 explaining how altering her positioning within the space of a train carriage could alter her experience, thus allowing her to use her mobile phone.

“Say you’re on a train and you’re at the very back of the train...

Yeah.

...And there’s no one behind you...

Yeah.

...Or anything, would you use it then?

Er probably yeah, ‘cause I know there’s like a wall behind me.”

– Subject 5 Interview 2

This response was offered only upon a line of questioning that gave examples, thus it can be concluded that it is not a natural reaction for Subject 5 to seek out an alteration of situation within the space, but only that it could change her reaction if it were to occur by happenstance. In spite of this, it displays the importance of positioning within space, while simultaneously showing how space is not the only factor involved in the experience of privacy.

It is not only an alteration in how they may position themselves spatially in a certain situation, but also the alteration in what it is that they are consuming within that space, that assists them in experiencing the condition of privacy that they desire. Thus, grounding the online social networking service profiles in physical spaces. The research subjects were also discussing their mobile phones. Therefore, mobile phones become part of the context. This research will examine this in more depth in the next section.

21.3.3 The Mobile Phone Located in Bodily Space

As this research has shown in the previous section, the physical space in which the bodies of the research subjects were located, has an affect on how they experience privacy with online social networking services. This is not the only aspect of the context that affects their experience of online social networking services. They also discussed in-depth, the modes of access to their online social networking services. This section will examine how their experience of mobile phones affects their experience of privacy with online social networking services.

All but one research subject voluntarily expressed that mobile phones were their primary method of accessing online social

networking services. The nature of the mobile phone assists its portability. This is something that all subjects were aware of, initially with all subjects opting to ensure their mobile phone would be present with them at all times; sometimes in sight and sometimes out of sight. It became apparent that through the interview process some of the subjects chose to reflect on their mobile phone usage and subsequently started to alter how much exposure to the device they had.

In the second interview the subjects were asked a series of questions regarding where their mobile phone was located, starting with where it was currently located, then discussion would lead on naturally to where it was located at other times based from what activities the subjects had indicated that they did.

When asking the subjects where their mobile phone was currently located, all indicated that it was in a pocket of their clothing. The subjects also chose to either have their mobile phone in their bed or close by their bed while sleeping. However, the conversations about at what times and where it is when out of the pocket when not sleeping varied.

“With that phone that you have at the minute, where do you normally keep it?”

In my pocket. Yeah.

When you go to sleep where is it normally?

On my desk.

Which is about how far from you?

It's, it's pretty far away from me. Well...

In the same room?

[Laughs] My room is not that big but it's like probably three metres away. Yeah. 'Cause I don't like keeping it just right next to me because that's not very healthy. Yeah." – Subject 1 Interview 2

Subject 1 is influenced by what he believes is healthy for where he keeps his mobile phone at night. It is not clear what he means by healthy and he never clarifies this statement, though he does go on to say that the phone is kept on loud all night to use the alarm.

"So people call you in the middle of the night and send texts that wake you up?

Oh no they don't, they don't no, it's just that my alarm clock wakes me up in the morning. That's it.

So people know not to call you at two o'clock in the morning.

Yes. Well I think that's pretty reasonable. [Laughs]"

The health argument would therefore appear to be one of wanting to have some distance from electronic objects, but not one of wanting

to disconnect as he is ensuring through having his phone on loud that he can be contacted, even in his sleep. He is relying on what he perceived social convention to be that affords him the opportunity to disconnect. He is experiencing some desired condition of solitude by knowing others will not contact him, not through limiting others from contacting him. This is another example of where veillance space and relationships are all experienced simultaneously (see section 22 for an examination of this).

With further questioning, it became apparent that he, like other subjects believed that he could place some distance between himself and his mobile phone, provided that he could still see it.

“If I were to ask you to go and put your mobile phone on that chair outside and leave it there for the remainder of the interview, do you think you could do that?”

I think so, yeah. Well yeah, I can see it from here so...

How about if you were to have your Smartphone again, do you think you'd feel the same way?

Probably not because it's more expensive and you, you know, when you, when you pay more money for something you tend to be more careful with it and do try to keep it as safe as possible.”

However, this statement has the provision of value of the object. He has claimed that his current mobile phone that he uses at university does not cost a great deal of money to replace. Though he has a second mobile phone, which he claims to use while at home, that he keeps closer to him. With Subject 1, connectivity of the object does not appear to be a concern for him, either staying connected through leaving his phone on loud at night, or though losing his connection should his phone be taken. The monetary value of the object appears to be a bigger concern for him, yet later questioning will indicate that he does not like to be disconnected from friends and family.

“So where is your phone at the moment?”

In my pocket.

Is that usually where it is?

Yes or on the table next to me.

In what context would you put it on the table?

Maybe if I'm just here at uni.

With a group of people?

Yes, but I always try not to be on my phone whilst I'm in a group, but it always ends up happening, everyone has their phone out.

Is that why you take it out of your pocket, because other people have got their phones out as well?

Not always it's just where I prefer to have it.” – Subject 2

While subject 2 initially said her phone was in her pocket, it is apparent that this is not the preferred location for it to be. She likes to be able to physically see her mobile phone by having it on a table in front of her. Despite saying that this is what she prefers, it is clear that she finds using her phone tempting and to an extent undesirable in certain situations, such as when she is with her friends or as this study will show later, when trying to work. The phone in these situations is placed in a specific way to limit damage to it and to ensure she is connected as much as possible.

“Face up?

Yes.

So you could see if there are any calls or anything?

Yes and I'm always worried about getting my screen scratched.

So you keep it face up?

Yes.

What about if you were socialising, where would you keep your phone?

It would probably be on the side or in my pocket. If I was to get a text I would check it or I might ignore it, but it would be for a couple of minutes and then I'll go back to it...

...Whereabouts when you're asleep do you have it?

On the bedside.

How far away are you from it?

Really close.” - Subject 2

Again, there seems to be some concern for the monetary value of the mobile phone in that she likes to be able to take care of it to ensure it maintains its original quality. It is clear that possession of this phone is very important for subject 2. She keeps it near at all times ensuring that she can see it and have quick access to it.

“So if you were to take your phone, you know, where would you be comfortable putting it in this room?”

Just on the table.

What if you were to put it outside on the floor?

I wouldn't be able to do it. I don't know what it is, I always have to have it near me. Even when it's on charge it will be next to me or across the room where I can see it.

So where do you end up charging it?

I end up charging it every day. So if it's at uni, the closest place where I put it on charge. I might be across the table from it but at home, I'll either be next to it or it will be across the room.

So you don't charge it overnight?

No, that's another thing. I don't like charging it when it's fully charged, I like to take it off straight away.

Why is that?

I think it's just a weird thing I do. I don't like leaving it on charge. It's the same with my laptop and I'm not sure if it's true but I've heard it's not good for the battery but I just like to take it off.

So you always make sure you're there when it's charging?

Well, I might leave the room. I don't have to take it with me.

So when you're at home and you need to charge it, what do you do?

Sometimes I'll be on it or be in the kitchen or listening to music on the laptop doing work. TV or something. " – Subject 2

Subject 2 carries her charger with her all day to ensure that it always has adequate battery, but will not charge it beyond a full battery in case the phone is damaged as a consequence. The emotions involved here were high and her answers felt almost defensive. It had the appearance of paranoia; that the researchers questions were revealing an aspect of her life that she was concerned about; namely leaving her mobile phone charging in places so that she can still see it. This locates her mobile phone usage with physical locations where she can use her phone charger. The only time that she may remove her ability to see the phone is if she is working at home where there is an appropriate location for her to leave it.

“It depends what I'm doing. If it's uni work and I'm in the zone, I'll just leave it, but because it flashes I'll have to turn it over, so that it doesn't distract me because it gets quite annoying so I won't look at it.

You said you don't put it face down because you want to protect the screen?

Yes I know, it'll be on the sofa, I can't do it on a hard surface.

So if there is flashing and there is soft surface somewhere you'll put it down?

It sounds really silly.

Why not just turn it off?

I guess I could but I don't know.

Do you ever turn your phone off?

I think recently the only time I've actually turned my phone off is to, I don't know, reset it or something, reboot.” - Subject 2

Other options such as leaving it in another room or in her pocket aren't mentioned. When asking about why she doesn't just turn it off she appeared to become embarrassed. This appears to be an extremely personal thing for her that she does not quite understand herself. This is something that she reflected upon and by the end of the 12 week interview process revealed that she had altered her usage.

“Now I’ll just leave my phone on charge in the other room, and I actually quite like it, like being without the phone.

Why did you start doing that?

Um I think before I liked to reply to people, like I don’t like to keep them like waiting for hours for a reply, and like when I’m watching TV or something, sometimes I just don’t like distractions. Like there’s some shows which I’m so into, like I just can’t have the distraction, and like when I have my phone next to me, it’ll flash when I have a text or something, so like I’ll have to end up turning it over ‘cause it gets quite annoying, so now I’m just, I’m cool with leaving it in another room.”

This is quite a drastic change from the previous statements. Whereas she liked to be connected in most spaces, she now likes to disconnect in certain situations. She uses the example of going out for a family meal and needing to find a map on her phone to explain this further.

“So you went out for a meal you say when you left your phone at home?”

Yeah. Well it was just like a drive-thru, so I wasn’t out for that long.

How long was it do you reckon?

Um, probably 20 minutes at the most.

And you couldn’t look up the map.

Yeah.

What did you do?

Um, I think, I think we just found the place.

Right. So what sort of reaction did you have when you realised your phone wasn't there?

I, well I was like oh I'll look for it, then I went through for my pocket and I was like okay, I don't have it, it's at home, and then I knew that someone else would be able to do it on their phone, but then I don't think they did. We just found where the place was.

What was the reaction of the people you were with when you said, "I don't have it, I don't have my phone"?

Um it wasn't like anything major, just like oh, okay, I'll have a look."

She downplays her alteration in usage as though she perhaps believes that I will view her alteration as a therapeutic achievement. There is difficulty in bracketing this, as the researcher believes it is apparent that she has overcome something that was an issue in her life and that the human reaction is to share in this as a celebration. However, taking this into account and using the researcher as instrument, it can be seen that she was initially distant with her thoughts and feeling surrounding her mobile phone usage and location, something that now she is not as guarded about, yet still feels silly talking about. This suggests that there is something she

found inexplicable about her feelings towards the phone. As though she did not like to trust her desire to be connected.

Again, with subject 3 there is a similar situation with keeping the mobile phone in the pocket. However in addition, this time there is information volunteered about misplacing the mobile phone.

“Where is your iPhone at the minute?”

In my coat pocket.

Okay. Is that usually where it is?

Yeah most of the time. I have a bit of a panic if it's not in there. If I've put it somewhere else.

When you say a bit of a panic...

Mm, I mean if it's not in the place where I can't, where I usually put it, I'm like oh my god, where is it? I've lost it.” –

Subject 3

This indicates that her feelings toward the mobile phone differ somewhat from the previous subject in that she is not so concerned about her mobile phone that she can misplace it. Despite this, she still panics and finds it an unpleasurable experience.

“Yeah. I never, I never put it in my bag. It's always in a pocket. So if I put it in my bag and it's not in my pocket, I'm like oh my God, where is it?”

What if you haven't got any pockets?

Then I will put it in my bag. And then I'll forget I've not got pockets and still have a panic anyway [laughs]." – Subject 3

It appears she finds this line of questioning amusing in a self-depreciating way. The location of the mobile phone seems to have some importance for her, but it is not so important that she has become attached to it like subject 2. When she sleeps however, she places her phone on her bed.

"Er on my bed with me on charge.

Actually on your bed?

Yeah.

Okay, why on your bed?

For the alarm. I'm a really deep sleeper.

Why not next to your bed?

Um, well at home I'll have it on my bed, but at uni I haven't got a table or anything, so I just keep it on the bed with me, because it's where the plug is." – Subject 3

She feels she must be tethered to a location in order to charge her phone. However even though there is no mention of any additional plug sockets in her room, the researcher has assumed that the plug socket next to the bed is not the only one. She maintains a close

distance to her phone, but says she would be happy further away from it in certain situations.

“So are you quite comfortable having it at that distance away from you?”

Yeah.

Okay. What if it was like all the way the other side of the room?”

As long as I could see it, my coat.

So if it was out of sight?”

Yeah I'd feel a bit nervous...

...Why would you be nervous if you couldn't see it?”

In case someone went through my pockets and took it, yeah...

...Why would it be a bad thing if someone took your phone?”

'Cause it's my phone [laughs]. Um, replacing it I suppose.

And it's got all like details and stuff on it and whatnot.

So you don't have a password?”

Yeah but I don't know. It's just got like all my banking stuff on there and it would just be a hassle to replace it.” – Subject 3

Subject 3 says that they only need to see their coat to be content that their phone is okay. If the coat were out of sight then they would fear that it has been stolen. They will go on to say that they would feel

socially cut off if they were to lose their phone and also talk about a sense of dread when losing things in general.

When at home it is possible for her to have her phone in another room charging while she does other things. Otherwise she will keep it next to her and turn it on to aeroplane mode to prevent distraction, unlike in the cinema when she reveals that the phone is turned off entirely. This is a social convention at play, the precedent established by cinema advertisements is to turn a phone off.

Subject 4 self describes her emotions surrounding her mobile phone as paranoid, going to some lengths to ensure that her phone is not stolen.

“So where is your phone currently?”

In my pocket? Yes it's in my pocket.

Is that where it usually is?

Yes it's normally there unless I have a different bag that has a zip in it because that bag has no zip, because someone could just reach in. I'm paranoid...

...Is that always where it is, is it pocket or bag when you're out and about?

Yes it's always close to me. Again because I'm paranoid about it being stolen. Or because I listen to music through my phone so it's always near me.” – Subject 4

Fear of theft is repeated throughout the interviews, despite her later saying that she has never had anything stolen. The mobile phone is replaceable and insurable. Therefore it appears that the fear of theft is not linked purely to the monetary value of the device, but to what the loss of the mobile phone would mean her. The inclusion of a zip in her statement suggests a further level of security, a physical shutting away from others is present. It is unsure at this point if she has had something stolen before which gives her this attitude. It is not apparent why this would be a fear, but only it appears to the researcher that talking about it elicits some defensive body language. Subject 4 had previously spoken about enjoying pub culture, with special mention of her 'local' pub. She seems to have a different emotional response when considering her mobile phone in this space.

“What about in a pub?”

Bag or pocket, unless I'm ... it will be in my hand if I'm waiting for a call and if it's a noisy pub, obviously because I wouldn't hear it from my bag. No, otherwise I like to keep it in my bag as long as it's near me, again of course. Unless it's at the [local pub] because I trust everyone there of course. But no, I never have it constantly in my hand because I like to actually look at people when I'm having a conversation. No, I'm not that bad with my phone.“ – Subject 4

It has become apparent that she does not always keep her phone in a pocket, especially when she is in an environment she trusts and knows the other people. She holds her phone in this environment, citing noise as a reason, revealing that she wants to still be contactable despite being in a social environment. She is aware that this can be considered anti-social though, so has adjusted her usage to not always have it in her hand. Being close to her mobile phone is also present when sleeping, opting to have the phone on her bed for the majority of the time. Her phone is left on loud, thus a similar pattern of wanting to be connected is emerging.

“Because my alarms to wake me up are set on my phone, it’s either somewhere on my bed or on a table by my bed or something.

Actually on your bed sometimes?

I think most of the time it is probably because that’s the easiest place to put it, so I will hear it, even though I’ve put it on loud, I need something to wake me up. It’s pretty much always on my bed, yes.

Charging?

Not if it’s fully charged. If it’s dead then I will but if it’s at least at 40% or something I won’t need to.

So when do you charge it?

When it's about to die, maybe, I don't know. Just when I need to really so that I know I have enough power because I'm always ... I have a better to be safe than sorry policy, again paranoid in case all the electricity goes out or there is a flood or something, I don't know, I need to have my phone charged full just in case.

Does that mean you carry your charger around with you?

Yes, everywhere.

Everywhere?

Everywhere." – Subject 4

The phone charger is carried around, again out of fear that she may need her phone. This matches her apparent paranoia regarding theft, though she does say that theft is a concern primarily about monetary loss. It appears as though there are emotions surrounding the need to be with her mobile phone that she herself has not considered that cause her to want to be connected.

Despite being the only subject to not regularly carry her mobile phone in her pocket, on the day of the interview she happened to have it in her back pocket.

"Where is your mobile phone at the moment?

In my back pocket [laughs].

Is that where it usually is?

What? No, it's usually in my bag. Yep.

Why's it in your back pocket today?

Um because I was just checking the time and I was rushing. But yeah, it's usually in my bag, or if I'm out, like the train, 'cause I commute, when I'm on the train I usually listen to it so it's on, in my coat pocket then, but usually when I'm not using it, it's in my bag...

...So why do you normally keep it in your bag?

Mm I guess there's no other pla-, I feel more safe putting it in there. There's no other place to put it, yeah.

Right, so how do you feel now it's in your back pocket and not in your bag?

It feels weird, especially because I'm sitting down, it's sticking out but it, I don't really like putting it in there, especially, like when I went on holiday and my mum kept telling me off, not to put it in my back pocket, so since then I feel a bit more like careful about it." – Subject 5

She uses the word safe to describe how she feels putting it there, not to describe the state that the phone would be, suggesting that she feels somewhat connected to it. As this study will show later in this section, the subject will discuss the influence of her mother towards where the mobile phone should be located; almost as though the subject has continued to feel this influence into adulthood.

The need to be close to her phone has continued into her sleep, where she places the mobile phone on a table by the side of her bed. But it is also apparent in her day-to-day life.

“Are you happy with it there on the table?”

Um, yeah [laughs]. I think it also depends as well, again like people usually ask me this, but it's because it's on do not disturb I don't really mind, but when it goes on alert it's because it's shown to everyone can see and visible. I don't like that. Even if it's got like nothing...

Even if it's turned upside down?

Yeah I feel a bit weird, yeah [laughs]. I don't know, it's a bit weird.” – Subject 5

How comfortable Subject 5 is with placing the mobile phone into different spaces depends on the activity that she is undertaking; showing that the individual and their understanding of the mobile phone are connected in this experience of privacy. The mobile phone can be used to hide things as well as display them, using the do not disturb setting is similar to the metaphors she presented in section 21.2.

To test this she was asked how she would feel placing her mobile phone outside of the interview room, yet still on display through a window.

Er, I'll keep checking on it a lot [laughs], and I'll be a bit worried about it, because it's just out there and yeah." –

Subject 5

She goes on to explain why she feels this way, specifically why she feels the need for the mobile phone to be close.

"Um, maybe because it's closer to my body so it feels like you can get to it faster, whereas there like if someone was to just walk past, or if you think someone's going to like steal it or something and then you have, you know, you have to run for it rather than just checking your pockets...

...I don't know why it is, but it's just this natural thing, like it's kind of like a bedroom, you've got nothing to hide in it but it's your own private space, so it's like private object." – Subject 5

Again, something inexplicable that the subject is trying to explain. There is a connection, perhaps emotional, between her and the mobile phone. This response is what assists her in deciding what location to position the mobile phone in and when to ensure she is connected.

There is an experience of the context of the object used to access the online social networking service that in turn influences how the

individual will experience privacy. Not only was this discussed in terms of the mobile phone, but also the personal computer, which this study will examine in the next section.

21.3.4 The Personal Computer Located in Bodily Space

As this research has shown, using a mobile phone is an emotional experience. The other mode of access for online social networking services discussed by the research subjects was their personal computer. For Subject 1, the personal computer was the primary mode of access for online social networking services.

The discussions about personal computers were a lot less frequent and many of them came across as historical instances of personal computer use, when they were living in their family home sharing a computer with other family members. This section will present some of the discussions regarding personal computers from across all the interviews. This research will start by discussing the following excerpts from interviews with Subject 5;

“Er we had a computer at the time for just like everyone to use.

Okay, whereabouts in your house was it?

[Laughs] er, its downstairs like next to the TV so in a way everyone can see from behind so yeah. Open.” – interview 1, Subject 5.

“So how did that feel knowing that someone could always see what you were doing on the computer?”

Er, it makes you paranoid, because specially if you’re going to, on sites like Tumblr, you don’t know what to expect and even when it’s nothing to do with you, so you can’t really like censor anything or hide anything so [laughs].

Right okay, but it didn’t stop you from using that?

Um I’d just go onto that bit less or go onto sites that could be like that less.” – interview 2, subject 5.

Subject 5 has described a situation where her family could view what she was doing when using the family computer, placing her in an undesired condition of veillance. She has described this situation as causing paranoia, especially with what the content of the sites may show. Similar here to how some research subjects discussed being on the phone in public, it could cause offence or harm to another, or an individual could see her interests and subsequently judge her. This is what she wants to avoid. To combat this she will alter the bodily location in which she now uses her personal computer;

“Whereabouts do you use it now?”

Um, I sometimes bring it here, only like once a week but less now because, um, I needed it in class but now I don't, um, but yeah, usually at home in the living room or in my bedroom.

Do you do different things when you're in the living room to your bedroom and vice versa?

Er, well it depends, like if I want to watch something I sometimes watch it downstairs, but then I kind of get disrupted a lot, so I do watch it more upstairs and then my homework more downstairs, so then I don't like, you know, I do something else [inaudible 23:42] someone else, yeah." -

Interview 2 subject 5

Dependent on situation and space she will do different things on her laptop and she will sometimes even seek out specific spaces to undertake certain activities on her personal computer. With all this acknowledged, Subject 5 still uses her mobile phone as the primary method of accessing online social networking services. Experientially, the mobile phone affords something that the personal computer cannot. Subject 1, reports a slightly different experience;

"Um, that was back in 2005 so I was 11 years old, yeah, 12.

Was it your computer? Were you the only one that used it?

I would say the family's computer.

Whereabouts in the house was it?

In my room. [Laughs]

So how did that work with it being the family's computer yet being in your room?

Well if somebody wanted to use it they just used it. I think that was okay, you know. There wasn't any kind of, you know, confrontation or arguments about that, I think we managed very well.

Who was living at home at that time?

My parents, my brother and my grandparents.

And they all had access to this computer that was in your room?

Well yeah. Well my grandparents they don't use that type of technology for obvious reasons, um, but yeah my mum, my parents and my brother did use it, yeah.

So why did it end up in your room and not your brother's?

Er, we shared a room. Yeah.

Oh right, okay. So you never argued over who got to use it or...?

No." - Interview 2 subject 1

Subject 1 states the first personal computer he had access to was the family's computer, but it was kept in the bedroom that he shared with his brother. As this research has shown previously, the bedroom has been used as a metaphor for privacy, but in this instance the family will be using his space in order to use the computer. Subject 1

reports that his was, however, okay for him and the family and that It is remembered fondly, even occurrences of shoulder surfing;

“Were there ever any instances where you were, say, on the computer, and he was looking over your shoulder to see what you were doing, or the other way around?”

Of course, yeah, that's, I'm sure that's happened, you know. Yeah, 'cause he was, um, he was pretty young back then so was very curious. Yeah. "Cause it was like [inaudible - 0:10:40] was kind of a new, a totally new experience for him, you know, to, to witness and experience this type of technology, as I suppose you know it was for me as well." -

Interview 2 subject 1

He acknowledges the curiosity of his brother in this instance. He accepts that his brother would be sufficiently interested in what he was doing and did not mind him watching. Subject 1 goes on to describe his objects (laptop and mobile) in very impersonal ways, compared to the other research subjects. He values their importance as objects to use to keep in contact, but sees them mainly as utility rather than an emotional object. When asking Subject 1 the same question asked about placing the mobile phone at a distance from him, the following response was given;

“How about your laptop?”

I wouldn't do that to my laptop no, because I really need that, I tend to keep in touch with all my family through it so it's very important to me. It's probably, I use it much more than I use my phone to be honest with you. Yeah.

So with your laptop then, where is that normally kept during the daytime?

In my room.

In your room.

Yeah.

And when you take it out with you, do you always keep hold of it or do you ever leave it in the library, say?

I don't leave it in the library no, it's always with me. Yeah. Whenever, whenever I have to use it somewhere apart from my home, yeah I always try and keep it by my side. Yeah.” -

Interview 2 subject 1

Subject 1 has previously stated that the objects that cost a lot of money to him, he would keep close. This suggests that connectivity is not a primary motivation, but rather the value of the object is. However, when discussing his laptop, the motivation becomes entirely different. It's more important to him than his phone for connectivity and work, thus he keeps it close by at all times or in the perceived safety of his room.

21.4 Conclusion of Analysis Part: 3

As this research has shown, all the research subjects have displayed strong emotions about the objects that they use to access online social networking services, echoing the discussion of Turkle (2007) in the literature review (see section 10.2). In particular they have explained how difficult they would find it to be away or disconnected from them. This provides some interesting context for how they will experience privacy with online social networking services when accessing them through either a mobile phone or a personal computer. The research subjects have a desire to be connected, a desire that, as this research has shown, is not always understood by the research subjects themselves and also resisted at times.

The context this provides is important to note. The users experience of privacy with online social networking services is not just dependent on their online activities, but is also dependent on what they are currently experiencing offline. This is not a technologically determinist view. The technology is not forcing the research subjects to experience emotions, but rather perceived social convention around the technology is a key influence on their decisions. As previously seen in the literature review (see section 10), space provides an indicator as to how the individual should be acting. In particular there is the use of Bauman (1995) in understanding that an individual will alter their actions based on how they see space. This

was present in understanding that an individual will choose to access different content on their online social networking services if there is the bodily presence or potential bodily presence of strangers, reserving other content for when they are outside of the bodily presence of strangers.

It has also shown that the individual will seek out spaces in which they can be the object of veillance. This shows how perceptions of veillance, relationships, and space cannot be thought of in separation. The following chapter will examine the triangulation method that critically examines them in unison.

22 Analysis Part 4: Triangulation

As the previous sections in this analysis have shown, the methods thus far have provided a large amount of depth and serendipity when analysing the three identified aspects of privacy in their separation. It has gone some way to showing how these key areas of privacy are all experienced simultaneously. While the analysis of the first method sought to examine these key aspects, the analysis of the second method will triangulate the findings and examine the ways in which individuals perceive the interaction.

The method asked a different cohort of research participants to create pictures. Each participant was given sheets with two questions. The first question was 'Please draw privacy'. The second question was 'Please annotate and explain your drawing. Try to think about the Space, Relationships and Emotions involved in your thoughts about privacy'. The images were interpreted according to the method set out in section 17. The following chapter will present the images interpreted in no particular order and the reflective analysis of each. Three images were excluded from the study due to their incomplete nature. These will be discussed at the end of the next section.

22.1 Analytical Diagram

As previously mentioned, an analytical diagram will aid the understanding of this analysis chapter. This section will look at all identified aspects of socially experienced privacy. It can be seen on the diagram that all aspects of socially experienced privacy occur simultaneously. As this research has shown in the previous sections, it is difficult to separate the aspects of socially experienced privacy as they interact. This section will look at the diagram as a whole, understanding the interactions.

22.2 Analysis and Reflection

This section presents the drawing from the second method as full page images and analyse them in turn. This will give the reader a fuller understanding of the interpretations.

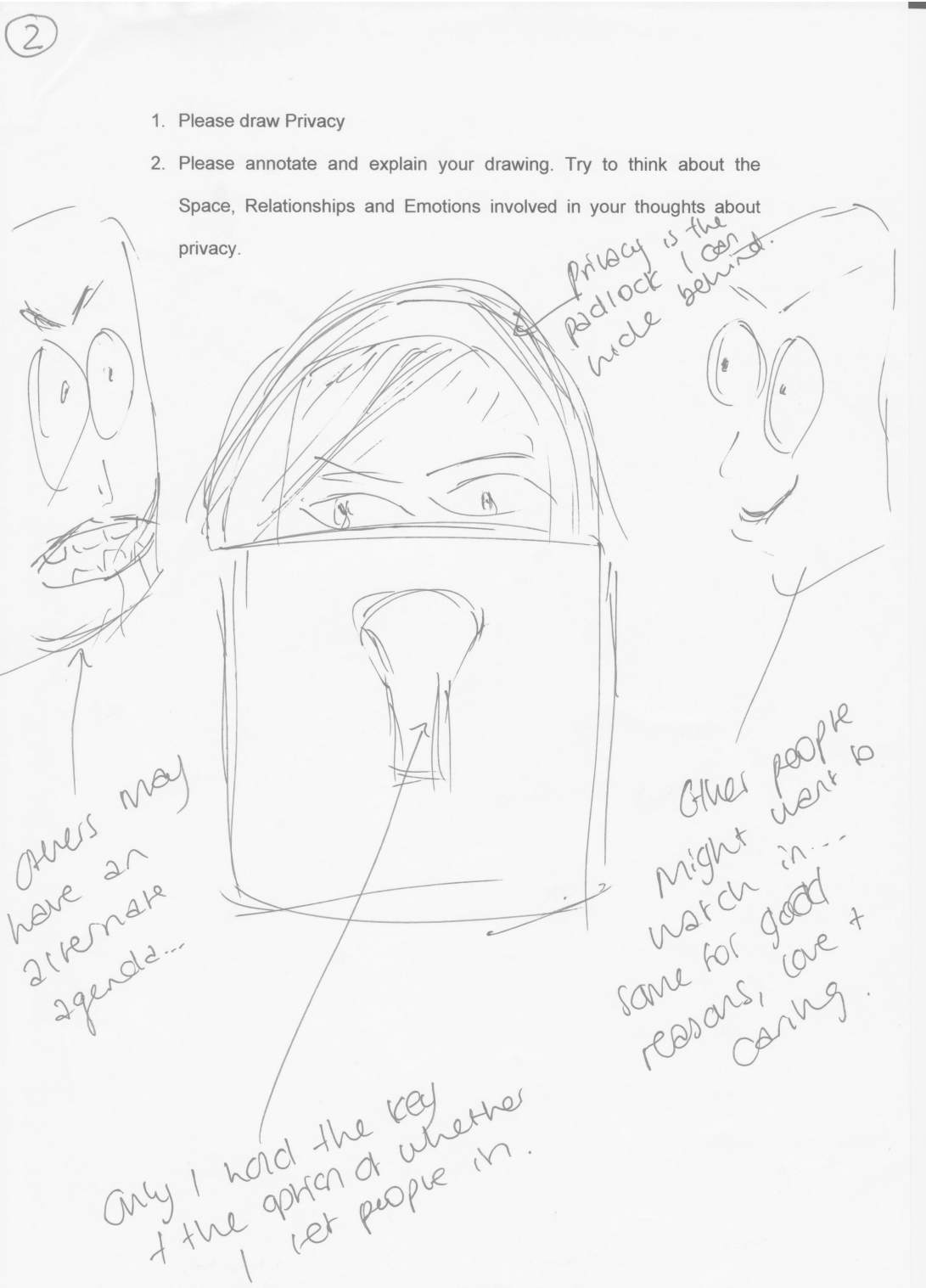
1

1. Please draw Privacy
2. Please annotate and explain your drawing. Try to think about the Space, Relationships and Emotions involved in your thoughts about privacy.



Picture 1.

Picture 1. Though brief and the task not fully completed, to the researcher this image contains harsh negative drawings. The figure of the person is angry or upset with an empty thought bubble coming out from their head. The cross next to the thought bubble seems to indicate that no one apart from the figure of the person is allowed to know what the thoughts are. This image illustrates the complexity of privacy. The research participant has been unable to provide much depth to their picture. What they have illustrated though is the emotional significance they give privacy. The imagery shows strong emotions, similar to the emotions displayed by the research subjects throughout each stage of the analysis in the first method. Without annotations it is difficult to see the interactions between space, relationships and space, but this study can confirm that privacy is an emotional experience.

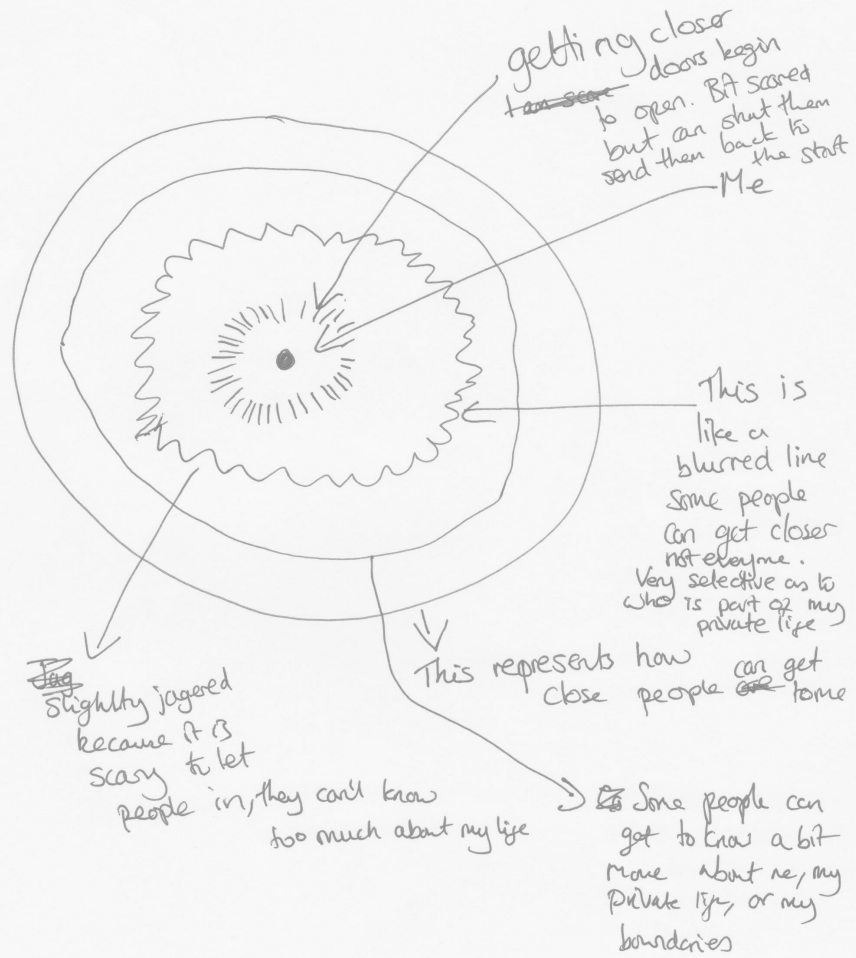


Picture 2.

Picture 2. This shows again the presence of strong emotions in this image. The research participant has positioned himself or herself at the centre of the image, indicating the personal nature and egocentric view of privacy. They have chosen to use a padlock as a metaphor for privacy, annotating that they can hide behind the padlock and only they have the key that decides who can come in. The padlock seems to be obscuring their face; the interpretation of this would be that they want to control emotional access, not physical. This is further backed up by the presence of two other people that are positioned both sides and close to the research participant. The person on the left is angry and someone to be feared, while the person on the right is friendly and wants access to the research participant in order to love and care for them (similar to the influence of the desire to participate/not participate on social privacy examined in the first analysis, in particular in sections 20.12 and 20.1). In this image the research participant has displayed that they have privacy when in the presence of relationships and when other people are close to them in space. This shows how the aspects of privacy occur simultaneously and that the research participant through the metaphorical padlock is managing all the aspects.

3

1. Please draw Privacy
2. Please annotate and explain your drawing. Try to think about the Space, Relationships and Emotions involved in your thoughts about privacy.



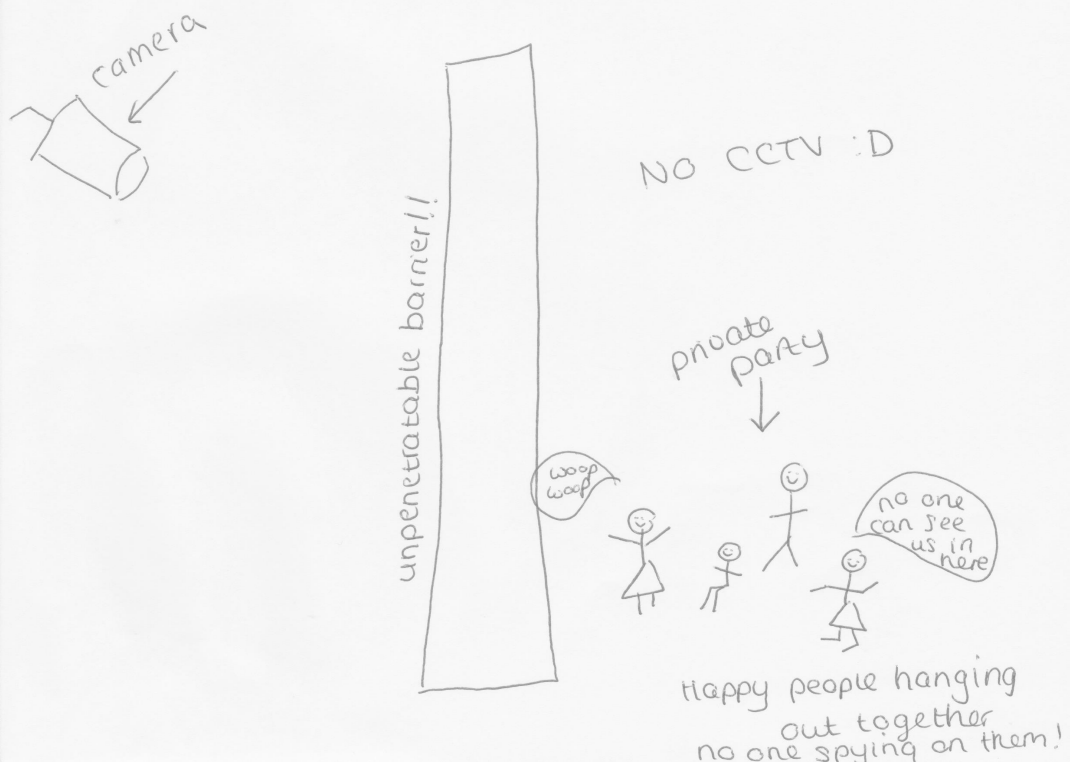
Picture 3.

Picture 3. This image shows the research participant as central to his or her own thoughts about privacy, again highlighting the highly personal nature of the subject. They have drawn boundaries of barriers emanating from themselves, with each boundary indicating how 'close' they will let another individual come. This is a use of a spatial metaphor similar to what was seen in the previous analysis (see section 21.2). The space isn't real, but rather a way for this research participant to understand how emotionally close they will let another individual come. The outermost boundary appears to be the default boundary for the unknown individuals they come across, whereas the second boundary in is annotated to suggest it is outside of the control of the research participant, reserved for when a person discovers information about them or gets to know them better. From this point, the boundaries all annotated to suggest that the research participant controls them. The third one in is annotated to say that it represents their 'private life'. It is jagged because they say there is a blurred line between being on the inside of it, or the outside. Even though they are calling this line their private life, they are still indicating that they want to let people into it, even if it may be 'scary' to do so. This confirms the findings of the first method that privacy is not experienced in isolation, but is rather experienced amongst relationships (see section 20.2). The final boundary, drawn with emanating lines, represents the most intimate of relationships for the research participant. Here they still perceive that they have control over what they let inside this boundary as they indicate that they can

shut people out and send them back to the start. This image illustrates how the emotional aspects of privacy are more present closer to the individual. The outer boundaries are concerned with informational exchange, but the inner boundaries are emotions.

4

1. Please draw Privacy
2. Please annotate and explain your drawing. Try to think about the Space, Relationships and Emotions involved in your thoughts about privacy.

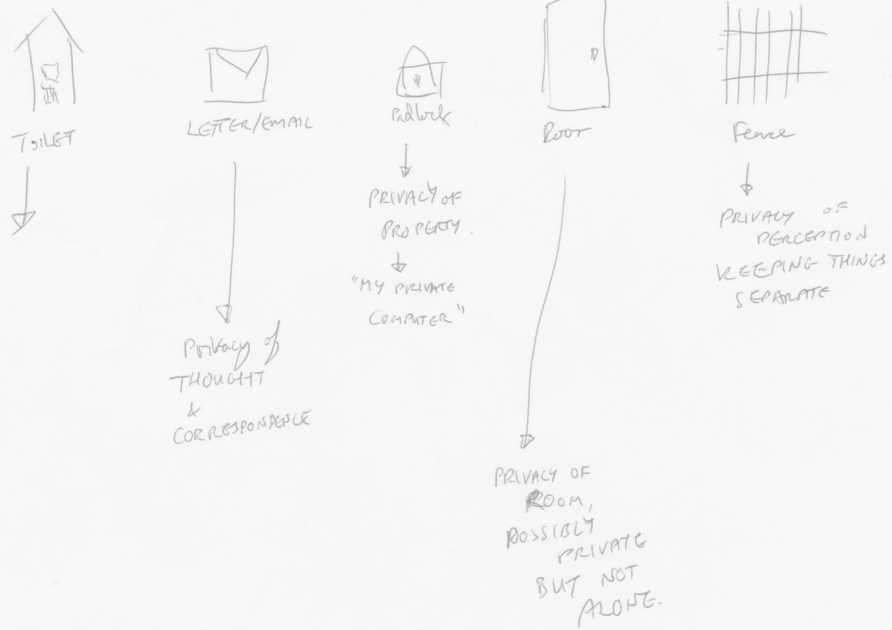


Picture 4.

Picture 4. This image concentrates on CCTV as being directly opposed to privacy. They have chosen to depict privacy as a group of people enjoying themselves at a party, with no intrusion from the CCTV camera positioned behind an 'unpenetratable' barrier. This shows the importance that they have given space and relationships for experiencing positive emotions. Without the effective management of the space, and without the presence of relationships they would not be able to experience positive emotions, ultimately they would not be able to experience their desired state of privacy. This shows again how the aspects of privacy are experienced simultaneously in order to give the desired experience of privacy.

5

1. Please draw Privacy
2. Please annotate and explain your drawing. Try to think about the Space, Relationships and Emotions involved in your thoughts about privacy.



Picture 5.

Picture 5. Here the research participant has chosen to present five different objects that represent a type of privacy for them. Some have predominantly social elements, some predominantly spatial. The first image on the left is a picture of a toilet. While the other images have annotations, this one does not. The researcher has interpreted this to mean that the toilet is a highly personal place to this research participant. They have chosen to depict the toilet as open, not being used. Without interpretation this would seem to indicate that the toilet is privacy, however with interpretation, it is the actions that the research participant undertakes when using the toilet that are related to privacy. There is something about not wanting to be subjected to veillance in this spatial location (see section 21.4).

The second drawing from the left is of a letter or an email. The annotation given is inherently social, saying that it is for correspondence of thought. This represents privacy for the research participant even though it is intended to be shared with another individual(s). Thus relationships become an important aspect of privacy.

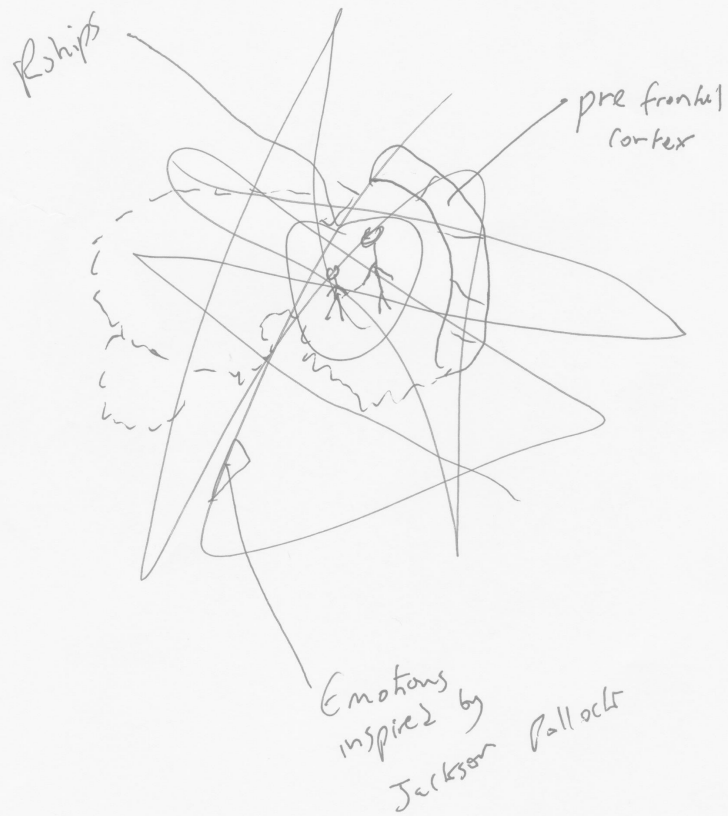
The third drawing from the left is of a padlock. The annotations indicate that this research participant perceives that there is privacy of property, something that this research project does not intend to address.

The fourth drawing from the left is of a door. The annotations indicate that it is a bodily space, a location where an individual can be alone or with other people. To interpret this is difficult without understanding what room it is that the research participant has drawn. However it is likely that the door is more of a metaphor for restricting access of individuals to a certain space so that the research participant can undertake desired activities.

The fifth drawing from the left is of a fence. It appears to be a spatial metaphor as the annotations suggest it is about the perception of keeping things separate (see section 21.2). What these things are is not clear, but it would indicate that the research participant uses their perceptions of veillance, relationships, and space in order to understand what privacy is.

6

1. Please draw Privacy
2. Please annotate and explain your drawing. Try to think about the Space, Relationships and Emotions involved in your thoughts about privacy.

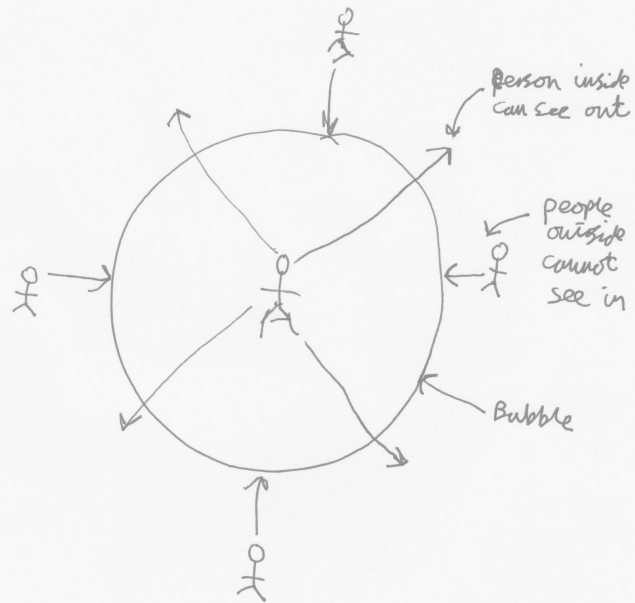


Picture 6.

Picture 6. This image is difficult to interpret. The entire image seems to depict emotions, relationships, space and the research participant meshed together, though the 2D nature of the medium may be a limitation for the expression in this image. The inclusion of the pre frontal cortex is intriguing as it seems to suggest that privacy occurs in the part of the brain understood to be responsible for personality and decision making. This would suggest that privacy is a process that the research participant believes is managed on an individual basis.

7

1. Please draw Privacy
2. Please annotate and explain your drawing. Try to think about the Space, Relationships and Emotions involved in your thoughts about privacy.

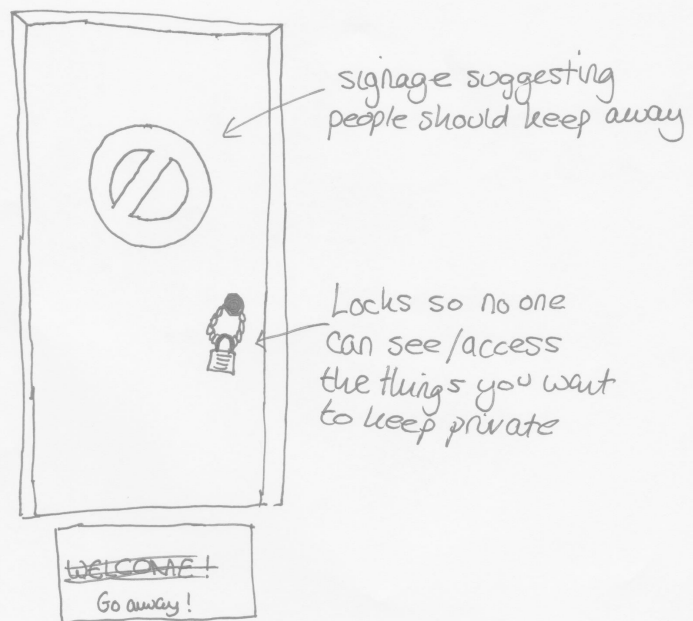


Picture 7.

Picture 7. The research participant has not indicated which aspect of this drawing is privacy, thus the researcher can interpret it as though all the individuals in the image are experiencing privacy. The 'bubble' that the research participant has drawn contains an individual who can see outside of the bubble. There are individuals surrounding the bubble that cannot see in to it. This backs up the findings of section 19, as the individuals outside of the bubble desire to subject the individual inside the bubble to veillance, while the individual inside the bubble is preventing veillance. It is not clear which individual the research participant is identifying themselves with, but it could be interpreted that it is all of them depending on the situation. This image shows us the interaction between perceptions of veillance, relationships, and space. Though the research participant has not indicated what the desires are of the individuals they have depicted, it shows that the aspects of privacy are being managed to satiate desires.

8

1. Please draw Privacy
2. Please annotate and explain your drawing. Try to think about the Space, Relationships and Emotions involved in your thoughts about privacy.

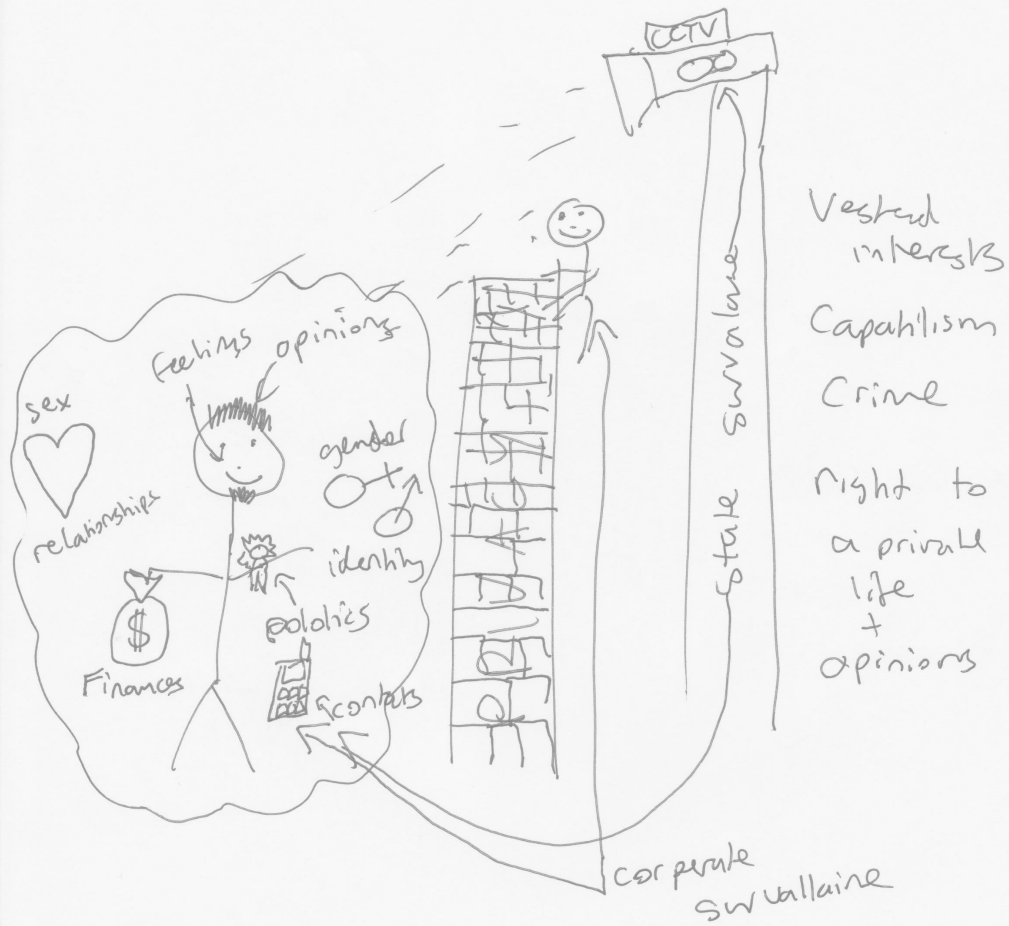


Picture 8.

Picture 8. This research participant has used metaphors of space to show what their perceptions of privacy are. The image depicts a locked door. This shows that the interpretation of privacy by the research subject is prevention of access. The annotations are presented as though they are a recommendation that 'people' should keep away, not a direct command or forceful action. The drawing does not show who or what is behind the door, only the annotation suggests that there are 'things you want to keep private'. There is a doormat with the words 'welcome' crossed out and replaced with the words 'go away'. This suggests that the state of wanting people to go away is only temporary, or not the default state. The original state was wanting to welcome people and embrace relationships (see section 20.5); this social privacy for this research participant alters depending on desire.

9

1. Please draw Privacy
2. Please annotate and explain your drawing. Try to think about the Space, Relationships and Emotions involved in your thoughts about privacy.



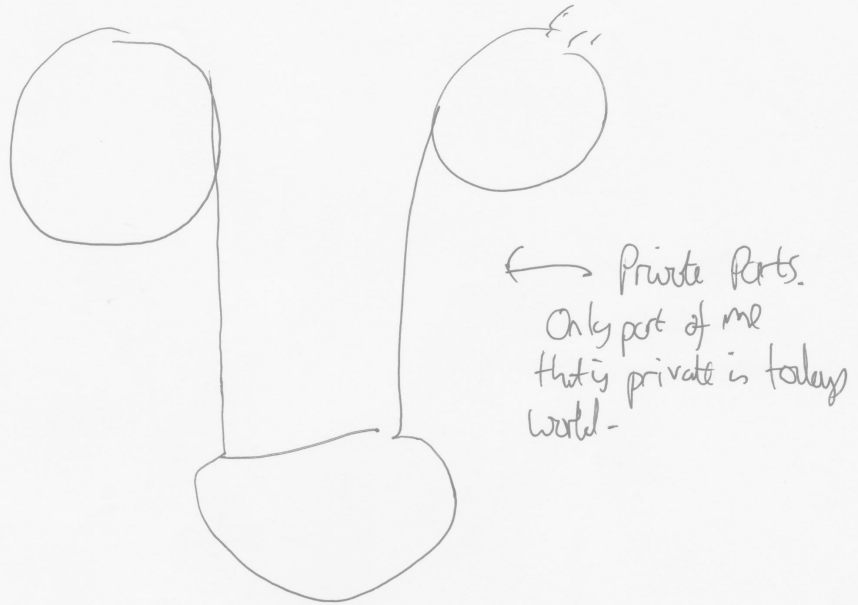
Picture 9.

Picture 9. This image suggests multiple experiences that the research participant may want to keep separate from state and corporate surveillance, something absent from the majority of the other drawings. There is a wall in the center of the drawing with the annotation of privacy. On the left of the wall there is a person surrounded by different experiences. Many of these experiences are social ones, such as sex, relationships, politics, and contacts. Others could be considered individual or social, such as opinions, fetishisms, finances, and gender identity. The face on the drawing of the person is smiling and therefore can be interpreted to be happy. The person has a wavy line drawn around them, which is being penetrated by the drawings on the right hand side of the wall. To the right of the wall there is a CCTV camera labeled as state surveillance. This camera is taller than the wall and is pointed directly at the person on the left of the wall, suggesting that the research participant perceives state surveillance as pervasive. The annotation also has an arrow pointing to a mobile phone. Below the camera the research participant has drawn arrows with the annotation of corporate surveillance. One arrow points under the wall to the same mobile phone and the other arrow to a person climbing and looking over the wall. Both state and corporate surveillance are looking right at the person to the left of the wall. This drawing seems to suggest that the research participant finds both corporate and state surveillance acceptable. A list next to the corporate and state surveillance suggests reasons why they may exist, vested interests,

capitalism, crime, a private life and opinions. The list suggests that there is a relationship between the veillance and the individual. The individual may want to invite veillance for the continuing function of society. Again in these images, space is used in a metaphorical sense.

10

1. Please draw Privacy
2. Please annotate and explain your drawing. Try to think about the Space, Relationships and Emotions involved in your thoughts about privacy.



Picture 10.

Picture 10. The research participant has provided a drawing of male genitalia with the annotation of 'private parts. Only part of me that is private in todays world'. Without the research participant fully answering the questions or providing a full annotation, this image does not provide enough depth so will be discounted.

11

1. Please draw Privacy
2. Please annotate and explain your drawing. Try to think about the Space, Relationships and Emotions involved in your thoughts about privacy.

when I am tired or need time alone, privacy is a good thing.



when I have something playing on mind,



Privacy can be frustrating, restricting
Need someone to talk to.

Picture 11.

Picture 11. The research participant has provided an image with spatial metaphors and depictions of bodily space. Their annotations initially indicate that they perceive privacy to be a good thing, yet the last annotation disagrees saying that privacy can be frustrating and restricting as they may need someone to talk to. This shows the difficulty they experience in expressing what privacy is. They seem to believe that it is being 'alone, stillness, quiet, safety', but only when they have the desire to experience those emotions and feelings, otherwise they feel it is a bad thing. There is a desire to participate as seen in section 20.2. Shown here is a bedroom, much like in section 21.2. There is a struggle with this metaphor here, the space allows them to feel a certain way, a feeling that they associate with privacy, but it is not always a desired thing. This shows how perceptions of veillance, relationships, and space are all used to help experience the desired state of privacy depending on the situation.

12

1. Please draw Privacy
2. Please annotate and explain your drawing. Try to think about the Space, Relationships and Emotions involved in your thoughts about privacy.



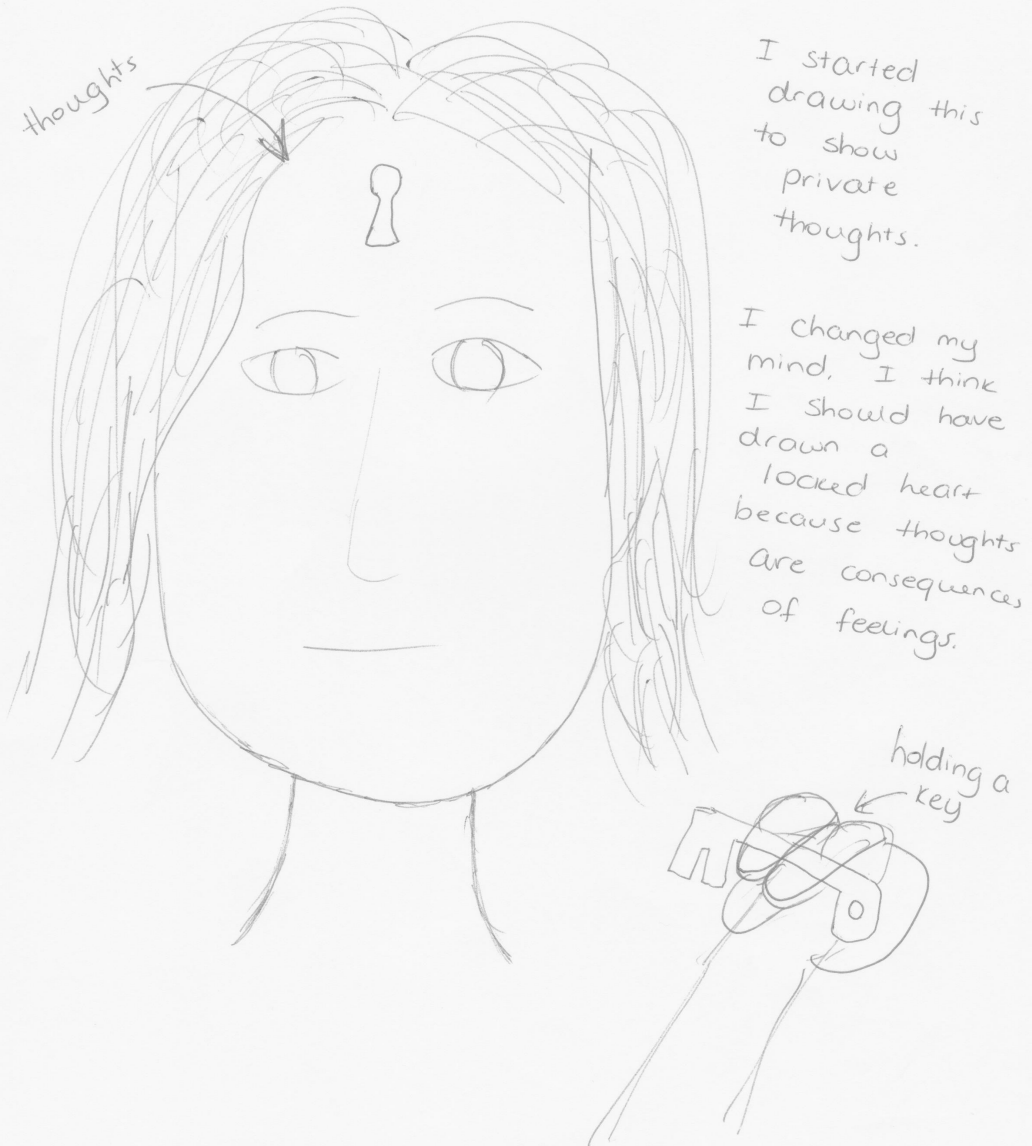
2. For me privacy is being at a place you feel at home with people you trust, you feel safe and don't think about worries and fears. The place should also have enough space for the people living there to make sure that everyone is able to have some time for him- / or herself, it gives you place to be on your own which also means privacy to me.

Picture 12.

Picture 12. The image here shows a house with a bellowing chimney. This suggests warmth and family to the researcher. Here, the research participant presents the annotation as prose. They give multiple examples of what they believe privacy to be, first saying that it is a place where you feel at home, suggesting that privacy is an emotional state of being associated with a space. They then say you are with people you trust, suggesting that privacy is experienced as part of relationships. They go on to say that it is a place you feel safe and don't think about worries and fears, suggesting again that privacy is an emotional experience absent of negative emotions. Towards the end of their annotation they also say that privacy is having your own space and being alone in it away from people you would otherwise want to be with. This shows here that privacy is presented as a state of being, non definable and ever changing depending on the individual's veillance, the space they are in and the relationships they are experiencing.

13

1. Please draw Privacy
2. Please annotate and explain your drawing. Try to think about the Space, Relationships and Emotions involved in your thoughts about privacy.

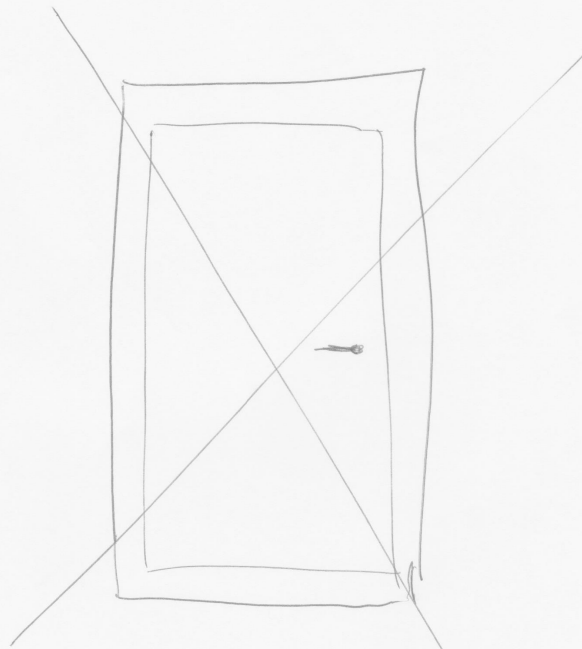


Picture 13.

Picture 13. This is a large image of a person's face with a keyhole in their head. There is an arm that is presumably the same person's holding a key that presumably fits the key hole. There is a faint smile on the person's face with an otherwise blank expression, perhaps suggesting that the emotions of the person is that of contempt. The annotations explain that originally the research participant was drawing private thoughts, but subsequently changed their mind. They wanted to draw a locked heart to symbolise feelings because they believe thoughts are the consequence of feelings. This suggests that they believe that privacy is an emotional, individual experience. With no mention of space or relationships it is difficult to interpret the research participants attitudes towards them. However, feelings and thoughts mentioned are interpreted to be social feelings and thoughts not independent of the rest of society.

14

1. Please draw Privacy
2. Please annotate and explain your drawing. Try to think about the Space, Relationships and Emotions involved in your thoughts about privacy.



To me, privacy is a locked room, I'm constantly surrounded by people and a locked door is the only way I get any peace. The space on the other side of the door is irrelevant as long as I'm on my own, I don't need to be in there long, just an hour maximum!

Picture 14.

Picture 14. This research participant has chosen to draw a door. They have subsequently crossed out the door, perhaps as a suggestion that no one should enter. The annotation explains that they believe privacy to be a locked room where they can be alone, away from the people that surround them. They say that the space on the other side of the door is irrelevant, yet they clarify that it must be empty of other people. This shows here that privacy is thought of in terms of perceptions of veillance, relationships, and space. They are explaining a situation where they have desire to withdraw from relationships and veillance temporarily. The last part of the annotation says that they do not need to withdraw for long, suggesting that they want to experience the relationships and veillance again. This shows that the aspects of privacy are used by the research participant to understand their desires.

15

1. Please draw Privacy
2. Please annotate and explain your drawing. Try to think about the Space, Relationships and Emotions involved in your thoughts about privacy.



Unrecognisable
lots of personal space / room
On my own
Calm and quiet

Picture 15.

Picture 15. Here, the research participant has provided an image of a person walking outside, by a road and trees on what appears to be a sunny day as evidenced by the person's sunglasses and hat. This image is interpreted to evoke positive emotions in the researcher, who's preconceptions about the image are that it appears idyllic. The annotations suggest that in the image the research participant is 'unrecognisable', has 'lots of personal space/room', is 'on my own', and is 'calm and silent'. This list and image show the aspects of privacy together. The research participant has drawn a situation where they are in a desired space. They are removed from the veillance of individuals they know by being unrecognisable; suggesting that they are in a space where other individuals are present, providing the research participant with the opportunity to also subject others to veillance. It also suggests that they can achieve a desired emotional state of calm through the effective management of these aspects of privacy, thus illustrating that veillance, space, and relationships are all managed to create an individuals desired experience of social privacy.

16

1. Please draw Privacy
2. Please annotate and explain your drawing. Try to think about the Space, Relationships and Emotions involved in your thoughts about privacy.



In people's every day life, there are many things that intrude into their privacy, no matter if it's online or on the street.

Privacy is a good thing and a basic civil right, on the one hand.

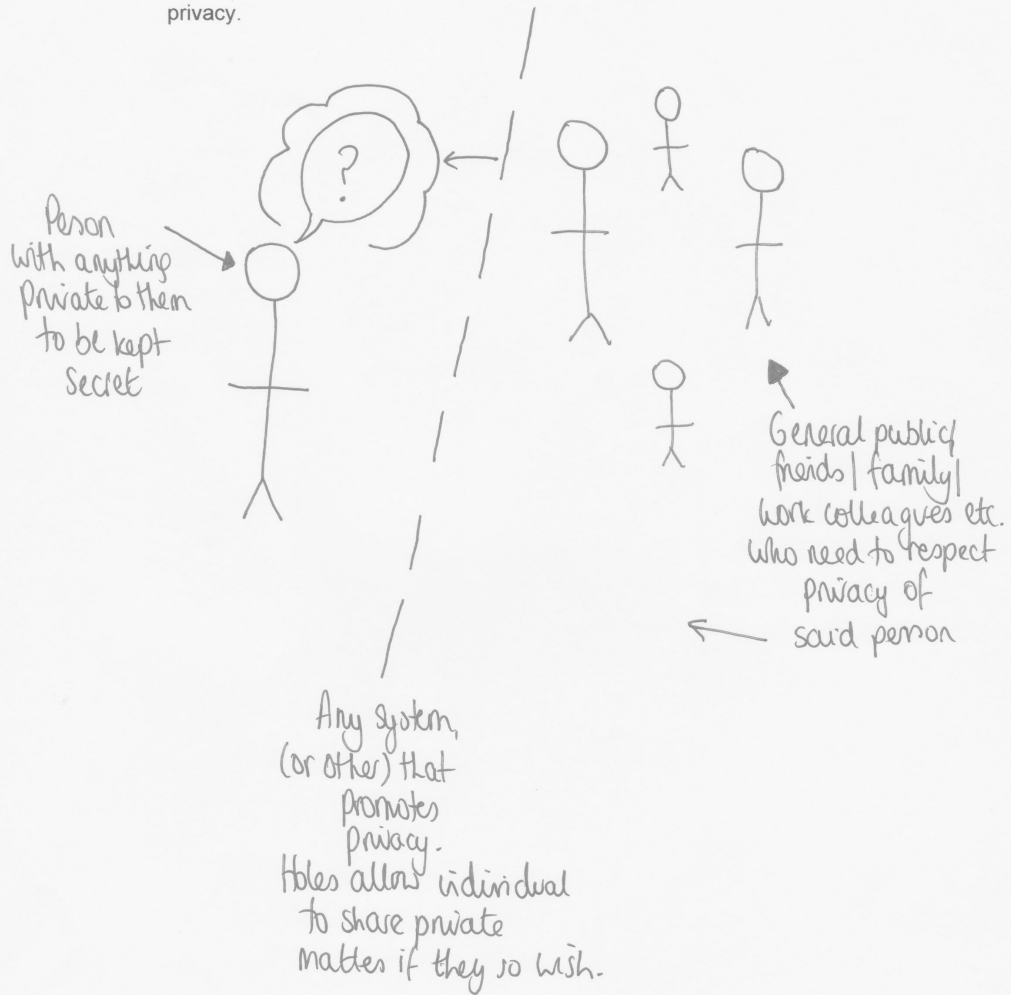
On the other hand, people are so used to organisations / state institutions intruding into their privacy that it could even create a feeling of loneliness / solitude if ~~you~~^{they} entirely started to respect your privacy again.

Picture 16.

Picture 16. The research participant has drawn the outlines of multiple people across the top of the page. To the left of the page a group of people are covered by the words 'GOOGLE', 'APPLE', and 'CCTV'. There is a box with one person in it and a theatrical mask. The annotation discusses the invasion of privacy in every day life without explaining what the research participant thinks privacy is. This is an issue that was identified in the literature review (see section 13) and will therefore be discounted from analysis.

17

1. Please draw Privacy
2. Please annotate and explain your drawing. Try to think about the Space, Relationships and Emotions involved in your thoughts about privacy.



Picture 17.

Picture 17. The research participant has created an image with multiple people. To the left of the picture is a drawing of a person with a question mark in a speech and thought bubble coming out of their face. To the right is a group of people. Separating the person on the left from the group on the right is a dashed line. The annotations say that the dashed line represents a system that promotes privacy and that the holes allow for the individual (person on the left) to share private matters if they wish (see section 9.2). The annotation on the group of people to the right says that they represent 'the general public, friends, family, work colleagues etc' who 'need' to respect the privacy of the person to the left. The use of the word 'need' here suggests that the research participant believes that there is some form of obligation that people have to one another to respect privacy, most likely a social obligation. The annotation of the person to the left says that it is a person with anything private to be kept secret. None of the annotations or the images show what privacy is, but rather how it is managed to gain an optimal experience of privacy. It shows relationships as a process of negotiation and respect, space as a way to remove or interact with other people and a system that allows a person to be subjected to or subject others to veillance if they desire.

18

1. Please draw Privacy
2. Please annotate and explain your drawing. Try to think about the Space, Relationships and Emotions involved in your thoughts about privacy.

I have left this page blank, as privacy depends on the person, to me
It is my right to show nothing, I believe this ^{picture} sums up my right
to privacy - ~~as~~ I have nothing to show

Picture 18.

Picture 18. Here the research participant has chosen not to draw anything as they feel it is their right to not show the researcher what they believe privacy is. They have indicated that they feel privacy depends on the person, highlighting the intersubjective nature of social privacy. Though, without a drawing it is difficult to gain the depth required for this method.

22.3 Common Themes

As the analysis has shown, there have been some common themes derived through the analysis of the images that have shown how perceptions of veillance, relationships, and space are used by the research participants to understand their experience of privacy. Additionally, there were some common themes of spatial metaphors that were presented by the research participants. There were locks, keys, doors and rooms.

Four of the images use images of locks. While initially this appears to be prevention of physical access, in two of the images the lock forms part of the human body, in both instances situated on the face. The annotations indicate the lock is not unpenetratable as the presence of a key indicates that the lock can be opened to allow others in. Therefore the lock appears to be somewhat of a metaphor

associated with emotions, the feeling of being safe, or the feeling that privacy provides.

Five of the images contain a door. Metaphorically, this is highly spatial. The door implies prevention of access, but it also implies that there is a room or a space on either side. Social privacy is therefore positioned as the experience that the space on the other side of the door provides, not the prevention of access.

Two images contained walls, on one side of the wall was a CCTV camera, while on the other side were activities presented as being enjoyable, such as parties and love. The CCTV is presented as being the government spying. Walls indicate a level of separation between the government and the individual that the individual finds preferable. However, what is present are relationships on the side of the wall with the individuals, indicating that social privacy is very much experienced in the presence of other individuals. This spans other images, in which the presence or restriction of other individuals and groups were depicted. For social privacy to be experienced, the individual considers the presence of others.

These common themes show that the individual uses veillance, relationships and space to manage their experience of social privacy. It shows that through thinking of social privacy in these ways they are

able to make decisions about whether their desired experience of privacy has been achieved.

The next section will conclude the research and cross the triangulation method with the first method.

23 CONCLUSION OF RESEARCH

This study makes an original contribution to knowledge by critically examining a specific facet of privacy. The facet it critically examines is the experience of social privacy perceived through veillance, relationships and space. By doing this it has shown that there is a way to approach privacy studies that is contra to the dominant discourse; one that studies the experience of privacy before instances of breach. It sets out to explore the research question 'how is social privacy before instances of breach perceived whilst engaging with online social networking services?' The study answers this research question through confirming the hypothesis.

This study hypothesised that privacy is a varied experience dependant on the situation that an individual is in. The study has shown that the individual will seek out specific situations in order to have a specific experience of social privacy. The main finding that this study makes is that individuals do not always construct their perceptions of privacy through instances of breach. But rather perceptions of privacy are constructed constantly through interaction with groups and individuals with whom they are immediately associated. To examine the findings of this study, this chapter will use an analytical model.

23.1 Analytical Model

This research has used an analytical model throughout to help demonstrate the research findings. This chapter will present the findings from each section of the analytical model, and then present the findings of the model as a whole. This chapter will start by discussing veillance, relationships and space in separation. It will then go on to discuss how all aspects are experienced simultaneously and the subsequent applicability of this model for future research as well as how it has made an original contribution to knowledge.

23.2 Veillance

The role of veillance in socially experienced privacy with online social networks is split into four desires. Firstly it is how the desire of an individual to subject or not subject others to veillance activities affects the way an individual experiences social privacy. Secondly it is how the desire of the individual to be subjected or to not be subjected to veillance activities affects the way an individual experiences social privacy. By starting with the desire to subject or not subject others to veillance activities, two motivating factors are present.

Firstly, veillance is required for social interaction. These individuals will subject others to veillance through the consumption of their profile information and communication data on the online social networking services. They do this as they have a belief that if they were to cease this activity, they would miss opportunities for entertainment, gossip, or social participation. The research shows that one reason for this is a desire to be 'nosy' in other people's lives; a fascination with what other people do that shows a genuine interest in the veillance activities. There are other times when the research subject desired to not subject others to veillance, such as when the content the other was sharing was deemed unacceptable or not interesting. The desire here was to limit social participation that was not perceived as beneficial to them. The other motivation factor that also is present here is the desire of the individual to socially participate.

Social participation on online social networking services cannot occur without subjecting others to veillance activities; in order to use the online social networking services to fulfil their desires, the individuals had to interact with others. The individual desires varying levels of social participation with groups and individuals on a relationships basis. The veillance activities that the individual undertakes facilitate the formation and maintenance of relationships. Withdrawing from or actively subjecting an individual to veillance provides a social function for the individual. This allows them to fulfil

their desire not to be left out and to fulfil their interest in the lives of other individuals, while fulfilling the desire of the subject of veillance to be subjected to veillance in that instance.

The individual desires to be subjected to varying types of veillance. By being subjected to veillance activities the individual is having other desires fulfilled. As previously mentioned, varying types of social participation are of key importance for the individual. Being the subject of varying types of veillance facilitates the formation and maintenance of various relationships (Neighbours, pseudo-strangers) and subsequently the experience of social privacy this affords. The individual also has a desire to share their opinion and interests with others, as the research has shown (see section 20.7). In order to do this in what they perceive as a rewarding way, they chose to be the subject of suitable forms of veillance. As the analysis showed (see section 20.7) this involved withdrawing from the veillance of specific individuals and subjecting themselves to the veillance of others in order to indulge aspects of their front stage. This was most present in the research subjects' desires to have their opinions on music, television, film, or professional interests subjected to the veillance of strangers, but not subjected to the veillance of individuals whom they identified as friends or family.

This is where the idea of the 'praxis of human observation' is present. Veillance is never individualistic. There are a multitude of

veillance activities occurring at once from different groups and individuals. In order to fulfil their veillance desires the individuals must help fulfil the veillance desires of others. This is why there is praxis; if the individual desires to subject others to veillance on an online social networking service they must also subject themselves to veillance through the creation of a profile, thus veillance is a process through which the experience of privacy is managed.

These are significant findings because they provide examples of where veillance is seen as a positive, desirable thing. The impact that this has for future studies into socially experienced privacy is that it suggests that veillance is not the enemy of privacy; that socially experienced privacy can occur in the presence of veillance and can even be facilitated by it through the formation of specific types of social interaction. Veillance facilitates the individual to experience the social privacy they desire.

As the literature review showed, studies into veillance have been primarily concerned with the facilitation of veillance activities by technology. Through approaching the understanding through a transformative technology such as online social networking services the research had the focus required to produce the thick account needed to answer its central research question. Future studies could build off this approach using different and emerging technologies such as virtual reality to explore and make links between privacy

studies and the wider exploration of technology in disciplines such as interaction and interface design.

23.3 Relationships

The role of relationships in socially experienced privacy with online social networks is concerned with the individuals desire to experience and manage a variety of mediated social connections. The desires to experience these connections come from the individuals desire to find outlets for their various interests and to maintain the perceived convention of connections.

An individual will have a variety of interests. Some examples from this research were specific recording artists, television programmes, film franchises and professional development. The individual seeks online social networking services where they can form or maintain relationships that fulfil their desires to indulge their interests in a manner that allows them to manage their front stage activities. They seek to indulge these desires socially as it provides an experience that they can find more fulfilling than indulging these interests on their own. An individual may have made face-to-face relationships based on one shared interest, but have another interest where there is no opportunity to indulge it within the same face-to-face relationship. In these instances, the individual seeks relationships

where they can indulge this interest. The research shows that online social networking services provide an opportunity to do this, and that the individuals perceive this to be easy. The research shows that the individual will form relationships with strangers with online social networking services to indulge these interests. This fills a gap that their face-to-face relationships do not fulfil, or allows an interest to be indulged that would not be appropriate to do so in pre-existing relationships. The individual is therefore embracing the stranger in this mediated context to facilitate this aspect of their social privacy.

There are conventions surrounding relationships that the individual perceives. As previously mentioned, these perceived conventions prevent the individual from indulging certain interests depending on the relationship. Likewise there are perceived conventions that the individual adheres to, so as to not offend or harm anyone who they are socially connected to. The main occurrence of this was through the management of formal connection on their online social networking services. Using the example of Facebook, the individuals would consider that if removing or not adding someone to their friends list, would have social ramifications or conflict with a perceived convention. The individuals would also not share certain opinions, or act a certain way if they also perceived this to impede convention. For this reason, the individual sought multiple online social networking services to manage the perceived conventions

while simultaneously ensuring that they fulfil their desires and can indulge their interests.

These findings are significant as they suggest that individuals actively seek relationships with strangers under certain situations. This is contra to the dominant discourse presented in the literature review where suggestions were made that the individual would seek instances of removal from the stranger. What this shows is that the individual will adopt multiple approaches to social privacy and is motivated by his or her own interests and needs, and in order to fulfil these desires, they will seek to share interests with strangers that they would not share with neighbours. Thus the individual is actually seeking to control the access of neighbours in this construction of their social privacy. Where this may have an impact on privacy studies is that it suggests that socially experienced privacy can make allowances for the presence of strangers that will not impede the individuals' experience of their social privacy. Rather, the presence of strangers facilitates an emotional experience that the individual desires.

23.4 Space

The role of space in socially experienced privacy with online social networking services is concerned with how an individual makes decisions regarding their desired experience of privacy. The individual can use the perception of space in different ways to gain an understanding of the experience of privacy. This is done using spatial metaphors and through the perception of bodily space.

Spatial metaphors can be used by the individual to reduce the complexities of the privacy experience into a simile. In the first method, one research subject likened using Twitter to being in her bedroom. The metaphor was indicating a feeling that she had about the experience. She wanted the feeling of using Twitter to replicate the feeling she got when inside her bedroom. She then used this feeling to indicate to herself when her experience of social privacy was not as desired.

The individual will act differently depending on which bodily space they are in. Much of the way they act is influenced by perceived convention pertaining to the space, or by the expectations they have from the space. The main example used in the research illustrated that when the individual was on public transport they were less likely to view certain online social networking services in order to prevent undesired veillance of other passengers. This demonstrates how the

bodily space that the individual is in will have an affect on the privacy that they experience with online social networking services. The individual will also seek certain spaces to optimise their sense of social privacy; situating themselves in their bedrooms to optimise the enjoyment of an online social networking service that they perceive to be a more personal experience.

These findings are significant as they suggest that an individual will make everyday, real world decisions about how they use and consume online social networking services based on space either through the use of metaphorical space or bodily space. Where this may have an impact for future studies of socially experienced privacy, particularly when contextualised in a technology, is that it suggests that there must be a subjective individualistic approach that accounts for the spatial context of the individual.

23.5 The Simultaneous Experience of the Aspects

This research hypothesises that privacy is a varied experience dependent on the situation that an individual is in. The individual will seek out specific situations in order to have a specific experience of privacy.

So far, this conclusion has shown how perceptions of veillance, relationships, and space when analysed separately show that individuals seek to manage these in order to have varying experiences of privacy. However, the second method triangulated the findings of the first method to demonstrate how these aspects occur simultaneously. To do this, the research used an analytical model, which was discussed at the beginning of this chapter (see section 23.1). This analytical model goes some way to show how veillance, relationships and space aspects are experienced simultaneously to facilitate socially experienced privacy. Most significantly with both methods implemented, the research can now evaluate this model.

As previously mentioned, this model shows perceptions of veillance, relationships, and space all contained within the domain of emotions. Emotions are used here to indicate the emotional experience of socially experienced privacy and how the individual's emotional desires will influence their perception of the aspects contained within. The examples used to demonstrate this were from the first method, where the research subjects spoke of their online activities emotively. They divulged stories where their emotions had prevented them from, or caused them to do certain actions while engaging with online social networking services such as to unfriend someone or defend themselves from bullies.

Emotions became of importance for the second method where they were used to describe what privacy was by associating its experience with positive emotions. The second method was of particular use for the triangulation of the findings here. The literature review indicated that ultimate privacy was isolation from other individuals (see section 6), while paradoxically noting that this was not a desirable state to be in. The second method showed that the individuals used positive emotional experiences within relationships to draw privacy. Therefore, the ultimate desired state of privacy is not always perceived as isolation.

Though the diagram is presented in a Venn diagram style, it is important to note that the absence of one aspect on the Venn does not indicate the absence of one part when applying the diagram. The diagram intends to allow for instances where one or more aspects are more important for the individual than the other. For example, Subject 4 expressed a preference for consuming the online social networking service, Vine in her bed. Her perception of this experience was therefore that the space she was in was the main facilitator of socially experienced privacy. This is not to say that veillance and relationships were not also facilitating her experience, but that it was the perceived absence of being subjected to veillance and the perceived absence of relationships that facilitated this particular experience of privacy. This space also provided her with

the opportunity to subject other Vine users to veillance and experience relationships with other Vine users, fulfilling her desires.

Another example can be seen in picture 7 from the second method where the research participant has drawn an image of an individual inside a bubble, looking out on people who can't see inside the bubble. There are two distinct spaces, inside and outside the bubble. The desire to subject others to veillance and not be subjected to veillance is ascribed to the individual inside the bubble. Therefore space and veillance are of perceived importance for the facilitation of socially experienced privacy here. The perceived absence of relationships facilitates socially experienced privacy, but this is not to say that relationships are absent.

This model can be useful in identifying areas where an individual is not having their desired socially experienced privacy. In the first method, Subject 5 discussed instances of bullying when using online social networking services, Twitter and Tumblr. From her descriptions, she perceived that the space and the veillance on Twitter and Tumblr were fulfilling her desires. However, a perceived absence of the type of relationship she desired to participate in and the presence of relationships in which she was the subject of bullying caused her to have a negative emotional experience. Therefore she was not given the opportunity to socially experience privacy in the way she desired. In order to combat this, she sought other online

social networking services where her desires were facilitated by all aspects. Therefore this thesis has demonstrated the fundamental importance of privacy before instances of breach and has gone some way to suggesting a methodological approach to study this facet of privacy.

This is significant as it provides an analytical model that can be used to understand the individual's perception of socially experienced privacy. For this research it was necessary to provide focus through selection of a technology and a sample group to study. It would be useful to test the analytical model further in future studies with a larger scope.

23.6 Method

As previously stated, this study has made an original contribution to knowledge in its application of the methodological approach of phenomenology in studies of privacy. The method has been useful in that it has added depth and breadth to a discipline previously concerned with generalizable definitions. Herein lies the strength of the method. It has allowed for the study of the details of social privacy rather than generalizable statements of privacy. It has highlighted subtle nuances that have shown that individuals do not always construct their perceptions of social privacy through instances

of breach. But rather perceptions of privacy are constructed constantly through interaction with groups and individuals with whom they are immediately associated.

It has allowed a specific facet of privacy to be examined in-depth. The method has also returned a usable analytical model and as such has made a further contribution to knowledge.

The method was not, however, without limitations. To provide the necessary depth required to perform sufficient analysis, the first method made use of a sample group. In research with a larger scope and multiple researchers, it would provide even greater depth to use a larger sample size representative of different cultural groups. The same can also be said for the second method.

Finally, the research has gone some way to demonstrate the influence that the researcher has had on the findings of the first and second method. Reflective practice and bracketing of preconceptions can help deliver a less biased and less presumptive account within the scope of the research. The study was contingent on time and place and though this is a strength in its production of a thick account, it would be good to continue the study in an open ended way. Exploring other cultures and technologies in a longitudinal way would provide further insight that builds on the strengths and findings of the research already undertaken.

23.7 Impact on media literacy

As this thesis has demonstrated, social privacy is highly subjective. The literature review showed that in terms of policy, privacy is often spoken of in the binary private versus public terminologies. The findings of this thesis show that this is not always the most accurate and appropriate way to discuss social privacy.

Through understanding social privacy in the subjective way that this thesis does, we do not privilege one person's experience and perception of privacy over another's. Rather than arguing that one person's experience and perception of social privacy is wrong or right, this thesis demonstrates through the subjective nature of social privacy that we should seek to respect the differing social privacy desires.

This can have an impact on the way we teach media literacy in relation to the use of social networking services. The thesis has demonstrated how, through negotiation, individuals can seek to respect each other's desires to experience varying conditions of social privacy through the management of the online social networking services they use. Namely, this is present in individuals using different online social networking services to achieve different aims. For example, one individual may use Twitter to further their professional interests, while another may use LinkedIn. This thesis does not argue that one individual is more right or correct than the

other, but what it argues is that through respect and negotiation, each individual may fulfil their professional interests regardless of context.

This may have a wider impact on the attitudes towards the array of privacy as it suggests that there are multiple approaches towards privacy. In terms of media literacy, this could see the entire array of privacy taught, so that an individual is better placed to understand the impacts of their choices.

24 Appendix

24.1 Appendix 1 – Interview Questions

Interview 1

- What Online Social Networks do you use?
- Why do you use a particular Online Social Network?
- When did you start using a particular Online Social Network?
(Ask them to tell the story of joining and their motivations)
- What was the first Online Social Network that you used?
- Who do you interact with on a particular Online Social Network?
- Does the way you use an Online Social Network change from network to network?
- Do you use an Online Social Network to interact with people you see face to face on a...
- Regular basis?
- Rarely see?
- Have never seen?
- How/where/when do you access a particular Online Social Network?
- Are there any Online Social Networks that you no longer use? Why?

Interview 2

- What was your first Mobile Phone?
- Who got you your first mobile phone?
- What was the first computer you used?
- What was your first smartphone?
- Who pays for your current phone? Is it contract? Pay as you go?
- Have you ever lost a mobile phone?
- Who bought you your current computer?
- Do you ever turn your mobile phone off?
- Where is your phone currently?

- Why do you think Facebook allow emoticons?
- Why does Twitter allow hashtags?
- Why does Facebook have a like button
- Why does Facebook have a poke button?
- Why does Twitter have an @ mention feature?
- Why does Twitter display the number of tweets you have made, number of followers you have and number of accounts following you?
- Why are the length of tweets limited?
- Why are there groups on Facebook?
- Why does twitter show what is trending?

Interview 3

- The impact of online social networking services on life.
- Family members on online social networking services.
- Shoulder surfing.
- Over-sharing.
- Conveying emotions on online social networking services.
- How much could I learn about you by looking at your followers?
- Emotional responses to online social networking services content.
- What do you think about the companies who own online social networking services.

Interview 4

- Change since beginning of University.
- Technicity/Tech Determinism
- Where is Facebook, Twitter, etc.?
- Location.
- Relationships.
- Emotion.
- Managing your friends/intimate connections.
- Talking to strangers/making new friends.
- Dealing with the negatives of online social networking services.

Appendix 2 – Release Form and Questionnaire

Research Contract – Interview 1

Thank you for taking part in this research conducted by Steven Dumbleton of the University of Bedfordshire.

This series of four interviews, one conducted every three weeks, are not intended to cause physical or psychological stress, however feel free to refuse to answer any question or leave at any point if you feel you need to.

In this interview, we will discuss Online Social Networks – My research is interested in discovering your experience, thoughts and feelings using Online Social Networks.

Only Steven Dumbleton will analyse the digital recordings of the interview. If a second researcher is required for additional analysis of the transcripts and interview notes, you will be contacted for permission prior.

Dictaphone recordings will be made of this interview. As soon as possible after the interview the recording will be transferred to a password protected Computer with an additional copy held on a password protected external hard drive, with the copy held on the Dictaphone destroyed. After analysis and transcription, all recordings will be destroyed.

By signing this contract you are agreeing that we can observe you and use subsequent notes and interview transcripts for academic

publication and award. You will remain anonymous throughout this process and we will never publish your name.

The findings of this research will be published upon the granting of the academic award of PhD to Steven Dumbleton. Check the website www.stevendumbleton.co.uk frequently for the publication of results.

You will not receive any remuneration for taking part in this research. Should you need to contact a member of the research team at any point please email steven.dumbleton@study.beds.ac.uk.

Email..... (Only used in case additional permission is required for further analysis.)

Name.....

Signed.....

Date.....

Research Contract – Interview 2, 3, and 4

Thank you for taking part in this research conducted by Steven Dumbleton of the University of Bedfordshire.

This series of four interviews, one conducted every three weeks, are not intended to cause physical or psychological stress, however feel free to refuse to answer any question or leave at any point if you feel you need to.

In this interview, we will discuss Online Social Networks and Mobile Phones – My research is interested in discovering your experience, thoughts and feelings using Online Social Networks and Mobile Phones.

Only Steven Dumbleton will analyse the digital recordings of the interview. If a second researcher is required for additional analysis of the transcripts and interview notes, you will be contacted for permission prior.

Dictaphone recordings will be made of this interview. As soon as possible after the interview the recording will be transferred to a password protected Computer with an additional copy held on a password protected external hard drive, with the copy held on the Dictaphone destroyed. The audio recordings will be sent to an experienced external company who will make transcriptions of the Interviews. After analysis and transcription, all recordings will be destroyed.

By signing this contract you are agreeing that we can observe you and use subsequent notes and interview transcripts for academic publication and award. You will remain anonymous throughout this process and we will never publish your name.

Steven Dumbleton may contact you in the future to ask if you would like to participate in further research activity or to clarify previous research activity.

The findings of this research will be published upon the granting of the academic award of PhD to Steven Dumbleton. Check the website www.stevendumbleton.co.uk frequently for the publication of results.

You will not receive any remuneration for taking part in this research.

Should you need to contact a member of the research team at any point please email steven.dumbleton@study.beds.ac.uk.

Email..... (Only used in case additional permission is required for further analysis.)

Name.....

Signed.....

Date.....

Informed Consent – Second Method

Hello. I'm Steven Dumbleton – a PhD student researching privacy at the University of Bedfordshire. You can contact me using steven.dumbleton@beds.ac.uk.

If you're currently not at any stage in an undergraduate degree then I would love you to take part in my research.

You will be asked to create an annotated picture on the subject of "privacy".

As a participant in this research, there are a few things that you promise to do. These are outlined below.

- You promise to allow the annotated drawing you provide to be used by the research team for the research project outlined above.
- You will allow the annotated drawings to be scanned, reproduced and published for the research project outlined above.

- You promise to leave the research at any time in the unlikely event that you feel you need to.

As the researcher there are a few things I promise to do.

- Keep your annotated drawings anonymously in hard copy and once scanned to a password protected computer.
- Keep you informed of when the research is published if you provide an email address.
- Ask for your permission to use the annotated drawings for publications other than the PhD outlined above.
- Only allow members of any future research team access to the non-published annotated drawings.
- Never publish your name or contact details.
- Respect your opinions, thoughts and feelings.

For more information, please contact steven.dumbleton@beds.ac.uk.

If you agree to these terms, please sign below

If you wish to be kept up to date with research please provide an email below

-
1. Please draw privacy
 2. Please annotate and explain your drawing. Try to think about the Space, Relationships and Emotions involved in your thoughts about privacy.

24.2 Appendix 3 – Analysis Structure

The following table illustrates the analysis process for each interview. The first column shows the description of the text. The second column shows the transcript of the interview, while the third column shows the interpretation of the text by the interviewer. To make this large excerpt as anonymous as possible, identifying information has been removed and which research subject and interview this excerpt is from has not been made available. This excerpt was also selected due to its relevance to the study.

Description	Transcript	Interpretation
	<p><i>Why have you started using your Instagram more?</i></p> <p><i>I think a, a couple of photographers followed me in the past couple of weeks so it made me want to put, you know, start using it more for my photography, to put more up there, to be like "I am actually a photograph-", well, hoping to be a photographer!</i></p> <p><i>[Laughs] So I mean that'll be the reason why, erm, other than that it's been the same really.</i></p> <p><i>So is there anything, a question</i></p>	

<p><i>Politicians and Keyboard warriors</i></p>	<p><i>that I've asked that sort of made you think about that question more [inaudible 00:02:26]?</i></p> <p><i>This was like three weeks away! Erm, okay, er, let me think. For some reason the, the s-, the question that's standing out is what my first computer was, just because it was so interesting remembering this giant box [laughs] erm, a giant grey beigey box. Erm ... suppose it was interesting 'cause, because I mentioned when I was writing my essay about politicians using Twitter,</i></p>	<p><i>She is tackling this question by looking upon other people's usages in an objective way.</i></p>
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<p><i>New personas</i></p>	<p><i>it was interest- it was, 'cause it all added to how I was looking at other people's usage and what they were using Twitter for and stuff, erm ... so the question surrounding that was interesting, like when you asked about why I keep my messages private, sorry my tweets private and erm – 'cause then it made me then look more in-depth into the politicians and their reasons and keyboard warriors and things like that. Erm...</i></p> <p><i>What did you find out?</i></p> <p><i>This is where I have to prove I</i></p>	<p><i>The statement that she agrees with here is one concerning location – she feels that the location of an individual can alter how she perceive what is and isn't acceptable to do. The location she is using here is in fact a digital one – she is describing Twitter as a physical location, and thus experiencing it as one. She is also to a lesser extent describing a relationship – one with [politician redacted]. The type of relationship also alters what is acceptable.</i></p>
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actually did work! [Laughs] Erm, oh my gosh, er, oh the erm ... people create new personas because they're unhappy with their own lives, I look at, sorry online personas because they feel safe behind keyboards 'cause it's not that, they're not having to physically face a person and insult them, like with [politician redacted] first tweet and everyone calling him a wanker 'cause they weren't having to physically say it to his face, they might not have done that in person, some people probably have done that in person, erm but yeah, they, they feel

<p><i>She says she doesn't have a different online persona</i></p>	<p><i>safe at home 'cause there's not the physical connection there, it's just a computer, I mean not just a computer to them but erm, well that was what I found with keyboard warriors at least, erm ... yeah! [Laughs]</i></p> <p><i>Do you believe that?</i></p> <p><i>I do believe because it's erm ... it's kind of like they put up a front as though they're, they feel like they're a more confident person and they haven't got the fear of being punched in the face or something, you know, they are safe at home and erm ... and</i></p>	<p><i>After saying her online persona is not different to how she is, she backtracks and says it is professional. Perhaps there is difficulty here in her separating</i></p>
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	<p><i>because kind of, 'cause Twitter and that, they don't have, they can't really do much because of like freedom of speech and everything so ... erm, yeah, I definitely think that, I agree with the fact that they feel safe behind their keyboards, erm ... yeah.</i></p> <p>Who's "they"?</p> <p><i>The keyboard warriors! I don't know who they are, just anyone who does cyber bullying or ... erm internet trolls, like that.</i></p> <p>So this only applies for people who</p>	<p><i>her different profiles as she indicates that different sites are used for different things, or perhaps she feels that her view that there are different personas online is wrong and she has not realised it...</i></p>
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<p>Using specific sites</p>	<p>are partaking in quite negative communication?</p> <p><i>Well no I sup- yeah it would apply to others as well, people that you know, play World of War Craft and that if they want to create better versions of themselves, erm ...</i></p> <p>Does it apply to you?</p> <p><i>I don't really have, I'm kind of the same online as I am in person although I don't really ... no, I suppose no I'm not actually, I'm more quiet online and I'm more ... mmmm, I'm</i></p>	<p><i>... As we see here she says she used different sites to get different things from them.</i></p>
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	<p><i>gon- I can't really, might use the word professional if I'm talking about my photography, erm ... 'cause I don't, I don't go round, I mean in person I don't go round like bashing politicians or anyone like that and I don't, I w-, I don't do that online either so ... but I would say I'm, I'm more quiet online 'cause I'm more, I want to talk to people face to face, erm ... yeah, yeah.</i></p> <p><i>Is that just online in general you think you're more quiet or is there a specific site that you...?</i></p>	
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	<p><i>Erm ... I'd say maybe Twitter, if I think of anything because I mean it's more that I just don't use it. I mean I never really, when I was using it more, I never really posted loads of tweets or anything, erm, but now it's more just kind of, if I see something like, that's funny erm ... like 'cause I, there's one person that's just popped into my head, like I follow [name redacted] and he's, he's very witty online and if I see something that makes me laugh, I'll re, retweet that, erm 'cause that shows sort of that's my sense of humour and I want other people to</i></p>	<p><i>There is much confusion involved with these answers. It seems to be something she applies to other people but not herself, yet at the same time she recognises that other people may well think the same things of her.</i></p>
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*laugh at that and if they don't then,
weird. [Laughs]*

*But erm ... yeah, I think it's just with
my usage, I don't know if it's me being
quiet but I just don't use it as much, I
definitely use my Instagram more
because I'm more of a visual person,
this is me being, hopefully being a
photographer, that's my way of seeing
the world through a photo and
[inaudible 00:08:13] other people see
that's how I see the world. Erm, yeah.*

Have I stumped you? [Laughs]

25 Glossary of Terms

Emo Sub-Culture – A culture of fashion and art surrounding emotional rock music.

Fandom Fights – Disagreements and arguments between two distinct fandoms. Particularly between fandoms of film, music, or television.

Internet Troll – An individual who bullies other individuals or groups using the Internet.

Retweet – To post someone else's Tweet.

Revine – To post someone else's Vine.

Shoulder surfing - Shoulder Surfing is the act of simultaneously consuming another person's media. I.e. looking over someone's shoulder to see his or her phone/laptop.

Tweet – A 180 character message that an individual can write using the online social networking service, Twitter.

Uni – Short slang for university.

Vine – A six second video posted to the online social networking service, Vine

World of Warcraft – A mass multiplayer online role-playing game.

26 Glossary of Online Social Networking

Services

www.bebo.com - Bebo was launched in 2005. It was initially assessable only through a web browser. Bebo featured chat, messaging and photographic uploads. Bebo closed on the 7th of August 2013 and reopened on the 7th of January 2015 as an iOS and android messaging app.

www.facebook.com – Facebook was launched in 2004. It was initially accessible only through a web browser, though at the time of writing is available through multiple applications on multiple platforms. Facebook features chat, a variety of messaging options, photographic uploads, and third party applications.

www.friendster.com – Friendster was launched in 2002 and featured messaging and photographic uploads. As of 2011 Friendster is a social gaming website

www.instagram.com – Instagram was launched in 2010 as a mobile application for taking and sharing photographs and videos. In 2012 Facebook acquired it.

www.linkedin.com – LinkedIn was launched in 2003 as a professional networking website. It offers both free and premium accounts. It has messaging and photographic uploading features.

www.meetup.com – Meetup was launched in 2002. It is an online portal that facilitates face-to-face meetings and events based on user interests. It has chat, messaging and photographic uploading facilities.

www.myspace.com – MySpace was launched in 2003. It has chat, messaging, and photographic uploading facilities. It also has profiles specifically designed for recording artists.

www.pinterest.com – Pinterest was launched in 2010 as an online 'pin board' where users can collect photography and other web based content. It has chat and messaging functionality.

www.reddit.com – Reddit was launched in 2005 as a news aggregator. It allows users to submit URL links to any web content for users to vote on. The more votes the content receives, the higher it is listed on the website. It has chat and messaging functionality.

www.snapchat.com – Snapchat is an application for android and iOS that allows the user to send and receive photographs and videos that disappear after a custom set time.

www.tumblr.com – Tumblr was launched in 2007 as a micro blogging website. It has messaging and photographic upload facilities.

www.twitter.com – Twitter was launched in 2006 as a micro blogging website. It allows users to send 140 character messages known as 'tweets'. It has messaging and photographic upload functionality.

www.vine.co – Vine is a mobile application and website launched in 2012. It allows users to produce and publish six second looping videos. It has messaging functionality.

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