SHIPPENSBURG UNIVERSITY
SPRING 2017 VOLUME 31:1

PROTEUS

A JOURNAL OF IDEAS

Privacy and Freedom in the Digital Age

PROTEUS

A Journal of Ideas

Privacy and Freedom in the Digital Age

VOLUME 31:1

SPRING 2017

An ancient Greek sea divinity, herdsman of seals, Proteus could be elusive by changing his form at will appearing as a lion, a serpent, a boar, water, or a tall tree. However when those who caught him succeeded in holding him fast, Proteus assumed his proper shape of an old man and told the truth.

Upcoming Issues of *Proteus*

Watch for our Call for Papers on H-Net and the Chronicle of Higher Education among other places in the Winter of 2017.

We welcome ideas for future themes!

Submissions, requests for further information, or orders for copies should be addressed to the Managing Editor of *Proteus* at proteus@ship.edu.

• *Proteus* is indexed in
the *MLA International Bibliography,*
*PAIS International (*http://www.pais.org/),
America: History and Life,
ISI Web of Knowledge,
Arts & Humanities Citation Index, and
Historical Abstracts.

• It is a member of the Council of Editors of Learned Journals (CELJ).
• Past issues are available on microfilm from ProQuest, Information and Learning and online at www.ship.edu/proteus.
• *Proteus* is published annually and is funded by Shippensburg University.

MEMBER

CELJ

Council of Editors of Learned Journals

 ISSN 0889-6348.

PROTEUS

A JOURNAL OF IDEAS

VOLUME 31 SPRING 2017 NUMBER 1

PRIVACY AND FREEDOM IN THE DIGITAL AGE

CONTENTS

1 *Editor's Introduction*
Laurie J.C. Cella

3 *Editor's Contribution: Public Disclosures and the Former Commanders: An Exploration of Post-Presidential Rhetoric via Social Media*
Richard A. Knight

11 *Beyond Honest: Demanding Hyperauthentic Presentation in Online Dating*
Shana Kopaczewski

21 *"I Hate FB, but I Can't Quit Looking at It": Identity Management, Agency, and Tensions in Social Networking*
Nancy Small

33 *404 Not Found: Internet Protocols in the Transparent Society*
Christopher S. Leslie

37 *Research in Digital Environments: Problematizing Public and Private Spheres*
J.C. Lee

47 *Poems: "America," "1984," & "Cameras"*
Donna J. Gelagotis Lee

51 *Notes on Interview with Proteus Lecturer, Christopher Soghoian*
Crystal Conzo

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Laurie J.C. Cella
Shippensburg University

Exactly what is private and what is public in the world of social media has become increasingly charged in recent months. In July of last year, Philando Castile was shot by a police officer in his car, and his girlfriend, Diamond Reynolds, filmed these moments and shared this tragic, graphic scene on her Facebook page. In the video, she is told by officers to kneel on the pavement, and her phone films the sky while she prays that her boyfriend won't die. He was pronounced dead at a nearby hospital, and the video Reynolds posted was temporarily disabled by Facebook and then quickly reinstated with a graphic warning. When this video first appeared in July, I couldn't watch it. I knew what it contained, but I couldn't stomach watching the violence and the terror unfold. I began to see African Americans posting their outrage on Facebook, but some people—like me—were uncomfortable watching a man breathe his last breath as a status on Facebook. One Shippensburg University alumni, Matthew Thompson, responded on Facebook, urging us to look away in order to allow this man dignity and privacy in his last moments of life. When prompted to explain his post, Thompson noted, "Some argue that spreading the videos encourages righteous indignation and motivates us to hold police accountable. Others argue, and I tend to agree, that there are ways to achieve such goals without consuming—and making ubiquitous—the image of black death."

This video, and Thompson's response to it, collectively raise an important question: how do we decide what should remain private for the sake of human dignity and when do we need to see, touch, and feel violence at its worst in order to change the course of police brutality and systematic racism? Police brutality is not the only evil that social media shamers are trying to fight. A quick search reveals a long list of heroin overdose videos, many featuring lost children—in toy aisles, in back seats—desperately trying to revive their unconscious parents. Are these moments useful tools for sharing the dangers of heroin, or do they make "the overdose scene" as common as the "cute kitten" videos that are so popular on Youtube?

Is technology able to raise awareness and highlight injustices? Or is it simply tracking views, and going viral for the bare sake of publicity and popularity? In a recent *New Yorker* article, "Small Change, Why the Revolution will not be Tweeted," Malcolm Gladwell argues that Facebook and social media outlets will never have the power to encourage and inspire true activism. He argues that "the platforms of social media are built around weak ties… but weak ties seldom lead to high risk activism." According to Gladwell, high risk activism requires the activist to risk his or her life, and Facebook users are much more likely to click an "angry" emoji on a post than they are to gather together in real time and risk physical danger to accomplish change. Moreover, he argues that social media sites lack the hierarchal structure they need to productively organize and execute the powerful protests like those that characteristize the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s. So Gladwell's commentary supports Thompson's response to the Castile video: posting a video on a loosely connected social media page will not spark enough high risk activism to enforce real or recognizable change. Spreading awareness isn't enough, and it continues to erode the fragments of privacy we still have left.

This issue of *Proteus* addresses these questions of privacy and publicity in the multifaceted ways that they impact our lives. Christopher Soghoian, the 2015 *Proteus* Speaker, has become a champion for the importance of privacy in both our personal and public lives. He has made it his life's mission to protect our privacy from the greedy hands of these big companies, as well as the American government. In a recent interview, Soghoian claimed that "making life more difficult for the FBI" remains the reason he gets out of bed each day (Ross, 2015). Soghoian made waves in the world of national security when he gained access to a conference run by an organization called Intelligence Support Systems, a group that includes all the organizations seeking to gather information from private citizens. At this conference, Soghoian audiotaped a representative from Sprint, saying that the police were so interested in their information that Sprint set up a self-service site for the police, a site that had over 8 million users in the first year (Ross 2015). This instance provides a window into the world of consumable information, given or sold to companies, and the American government, at the expense of the private citizen. In his Proteus lecture, Soghoian provided a useful history of how and when information was used and sold throughout American history, and the real threats against our privacy that technology, social media, and large companies like Sprint and Google pose to our privacy. But these invasion of our privacy are not always as simple as knowing our consumer likes and dislikes; it goes beyond that into the question of national security and the ongoing fight against terror.

The December 2015 San Bernadino mass shooting, just one month after Mr. Soghoian's talk, brings the drama of privacy back into high relief. The Obama administration had ordered Apple to unlock an iPhone used by one of the shooters, Syed Rizwan Farook. According to a February 2016 *New York Times* article, Apple refused to unlock the phone, and Timothy D. Cook, chief executive at Apple, suggested that this move could potentially put all of its users at risk, providing a "backdoor" that would breach the safeguards that Apple worked hard to create (Lightblau and Benner). This debate puts the privacy of Apple users—and really, all American citizens—at odds with issues of national security and safety. There are many who believe that unlocking Farook's phone is a small price to pay, especially given that 14 people were killed in this shooting, and that this ruling by a California judge to unlock Farook's phone could potentially impact the government's ability to detain many more criminals whose information is protected by encryptions like the those that Apple uses. The debate is ongoing; Apple will not budge, and critics are raising their voices louder. Recently, according to the *Times* article, on Fox News, Donald Trump asked, "Who do they (Apple) think they are?" Right now, they think, as I do, that privacy is a valuable commodity, especially in a time when almost all our information is tracked, sorted, and sold to the highest bidder.

The essays in this issue address the relationship between identity and privacy, especially as they are shaped by our obsessive use of social media and technology. Richard Knight examines how presidential libraries use social media to promote particular images of the presidents they represent. Shana Kopaczewski provides a useful analysis of the term "hyperauthenticity" as she untangles exactly what users expect on a dating site. Nancy Small makes a strong case that, despite its flaws and insidious use of the corporate model, Facebook's many users just can't quit the social media site, a fact that underscores its complicated role as a reflection of our conflicting needs for privacy and attention. Christopher Leslie examines the various ways that political and cultural boundaries shape our understanding of the internet, and even as these boundaries constrict and sometimes deny our search for information, these very limitations help citizens to better recognize and respond to information restrictions set by the government. J. C. Lee assesses the value and function of our current Institutional Review Board practices as they apply to the public posts made by users in Message Boards and Community Forums. She suggests that further analysis is required in order to better understand how IRB recommendations need to be revised to better accommodate meaning making on the web. In her collection "Privacy Poems," Donna J. Gelagotis Lee uses the image of the ubiquitous camera to dramatize our lost privacy and our sense that we are always being watched and assessed in the age of social media and constant selfies. Finally, Crystal Conzo concludes this issue with a brief interview with Soghoian himself, highlighting his best advice for safeguarding ourselves against surveillance and keeping our information and our identities private. We are very proud of this issue and the collection of thoughtful voices raised here, all of which focus on the complex issue of what should be private, what should be public, and how we might best tell the difference.

REFERENCES

Gladwell, Malcolm. "Small Change: Why the Revolution won't be Tweeted." *The New Yorker*, 4 October 2010. www.newyorker.com. Accessed 29 September 2016.

Lichtblau, Eric and Katie Benner. "Apple Fights Order to Unlock San Bernardino Gunman's iPhone." *The New York Times*, 17 February 2016. www.nytimes.com. Accessed 29 September 2016.

Ross, Philip. "Christopher Soghoian: Shining a Light on Government Snooping: The ACLU's technologist exposes attacks on privacy by government agencies and corporate collaborators." *IEEE Spectrum*, 2 March 2015. www.spectrum.ieee.org. Accessed 29 September 2016.

Zetter, Kim. "Encrypt Now or Surrender to Surveillance." *Wired*, 1 September 2015. www.wired.com. Accessed 29 September 2016.

EDITOR'S CONTRIBUTION
PUBLIC DISCLOSURE AND THE FORMER COMMANDERS: AN EXPLORATION OF POST-PRESIDENTIAL RHETORIC VIA SOCIAL MEDIA

RICHARD A. KNIGHT
SHIPPENSBURG UNIVERSITY

A great deal of research regarding the rhetoric of the President of the United States has been conducted and published, because "when a modern president speaks, about anything, it will be regarded as important, and increasingly, as constitutively appropriate to the office" (Hart 1987, 30). While forms and conventions of a president's speech acts may vary, in large measure this type of communication shapes perceptions of the office of the presidency. Scholars and political analysts have examined political style, presidential character, campaign rhetoric, apologia, and numerous other communication aspects surrounding this office. However, once the recognized leader of the free world leaves that office, research often overlooks the influence the president still has on the nation and the world in his newfound role of ex-president. At the same time, striking a balance of attempting to retreat from the most public lifestyle to the privacy of a nominal citizen, especially in light of modern media, can be a challenge.

Presidential historian David Brinkley asserts, "All ex-presidents who have had a difficult time in the White House leave and try to resurrect themselves" (1999, 11). Whether valid or not, Brinkley's claim provides a point of interest regarding just what ex-presidents do when they exit the oval office. Others claim that after opening their lives to public inquest and criticism for their active term, the world's most identifiable figures have traditionally chosen to lead a more private existence, guiding former leaders to "write their memoirs, build their libraries, play golf, make speeches, and have no major role in public life" (Fallows 2003, 62). As a visible guardian of the nation's values and actions, the president helps to preserve their import as long as he is a public figure. Increasingly, "his circumstances fit a more general trend, which is the institutionalization of the post-presidency as part of political life" (Fallows 2003, 60).

In light of the proliferation of the various media related to the internet, and social media in particular, this essay presents an overview of different approaches to post-presidential rhetoric by exploring the activity and speech acts of former presidents in a historical and theoretical context. It focuses on the different approaches of our ex-presidents, showing how their discourse has evolved to the contemporary phase. Aptly, the purpose and function of social media use by administrators employed by the presidential libraries that are a part of the National Archives and Records Administration will be considered, with special attention for their potential to share information about former leaders in ways not previously possible. These institutions, established for preserving and exhibiting the documents, records, collections and other archival materials of every president of the United States since Herbert Hoover, serve as libraries as well as museums to preserve records about former presidents for the public. In recent years, the presidential library system has notably changed its focus from chiefly storing and displaying materials in its brick and mortar buildings, and has begun to utilize social media outlets to increase exposure and make the public more aware of the agendas of our past presidents in influencing the current political scene (as well as to apply more scrutiny to their personal lives than before). By establishing an understanding of post-presidential rhetoric, particularly in the context of the contemporary presidency, we can better understand the use of social media and its effects by the surrogates

Richard A. Knight is an Associate Professor of Human Communication Studies at Shippensburg University. The current essay is a constituent part of a project entitled, "A Rhetorical Analysis of Presidential Libraries, Museums, and Archives," that commenced with visitation to each Presidential Library during a granted sabbatical in the Spring of 2014.

of past presidents. In his nationally broadcast response while confessing to misleading the country throughout the Monica Lewinsky scandal, Bill Clinton famously stated, "Even presidents have private lives." In the almost 20 years since that statement, it seems to be less believable not only while the president is in office, but beyond his time there as well. Through an exploration of the rhetorical nature of the post-presidency and a glimpse of the way social media is being used to share information about it, a better understanding of the evolving approach to this phenomenon can be better understood. Because former American Presidents have all been male as of this writing, the presidential office-holders mentioned in this paper shall be referred to in the masculine form.

The "Rhetorical Presidency" is a term firmly established by Jeffrey Tulis in his 1987 text of the same title, and marks the pivotal process whereby presidents, particularly in light of media innovations of the early twentieth century, turn to communicating directly with the public of the United States (Tulis 1987). In order to promote policies and gain the support of the people, rather than using their persuasive powers to attempt to influence the Congress or other governmental powers, presidents could achieve more success by promulgating an agenda more directly. This created a presidency that became focused upon the individual who held the office, and arguably tipped the balance of power toward the executive branch more than it had been in the past. In continuing this process, it is not surprising that President Barack Obama has established social media accounts and networks that are used by his staff to enhance his connection to his constituency, and in particular, the younger portion of the population. Likewise, ex-presidents, chiefly through their presidential libraries, have begun to use social media to their advantage. At the same time, materials that were once private have become increasingly public. For instance, photographs of Franklin D. Roosevelt in his wheelchair were previously rare, but with the advent of social media, once obscure or archived pictures are becoming much more common. As the trend toward social media as a communication tool for the current office holder is not surprising, it appears to be a way to increase the knowledge and shaping of the heritage of those who have left the office behind. As it does so, disclosure of previously undiscovered types of information about the chief executives increases.

To better understand how presidents have typically communicated during their terms in office, Craig Allen Smith devised a theory to explain the evolution of presidential rhetoric through four chronological phases: 1) The Constitutional Phase (1789-1901); 2) The Initial Phase (1901-1933); 3) The Modern Phase (1933-1960), and; 4) The Contemporary Phase (1960-present) (1990). As the constitutional framers of the United States feared monarchical ambition by a single executive, the three branches of government mandated a checks and balance system that necessarily shaped the rhetorical presidency. Characteristics of the Constitutional Phase included presidents that rarely addressed the public, and maintained a very low profile office. Smith notes, "Even their required messages to Congress were written and read aloud by aides" (1990, 156). Most presidential activities were likely epideictic in nature, as demagoguery and corruption were considered likely by-products of deliberative speech. Smith contends that "government during our first century was primarily congressional… by the 1880's congress had checked and balanced itself into a gridlock… President Theodore Roosevelt began redefining the proper role of presidential rhetoric" (1990, 156).

Theodore Roosevelt ushered in what was labeled "The Initial Phase" by arguing that a president should be able to inform the nation firsthand of cogent political issues, and Woodrow Wilson further exhorted presidential influence by taking his message directly to the people. Whereas presidents were inconspicuous before, during Wilson's tenure written messages and congressional communications were replaced with speeches by the chief executive's office. As Smith notes, "These two presidents so changed the presidency that 1900 has become a watershed, with the presidency being largely a twentieth-century concern" (1990, 157).

The proliferation of the mass media in the 1920's and 1930's led to the Modern Phase of the Rhetorical Presidency. Franklin Delano Roosevelt's use of radio for his inaugural address and his weekly "fireside chats" typified a new chapter in presidential communication. Three significant changes for this phase were:

> (1) The Great Depression created a more complex economy under the mildly watchful eye of government, (2) World War II involved America in international affairs, and (3) efforts to deal with both emergencies led to the centralization of presidential authority over people and issues traditionally regarded as nonexecutive matters (Smith 1990, 157).

A defining characteristic of the Modern Phase is that presidents were now expected to regularly communicate policy issues to the American public. It also raised the significance of public opinion over that of the elected representatives in the Congress.

Finally, the Contemporary Phase began as a result of technological advances in transportation, communications, and the media. Television and satellite communications allowed presidents to be seen and heard live at any location. Jet planes allowed them to arrive anywhere in the world within hours to communicate personally with constituents, diplomats, and other world leaders. Presidents precipitously gained power in three ways: "(1) by enhancing their professional reputation among 'Washingtonians,' (2) by enhancing their public prestige, and (3) by making choices carefully to build and to conserve their prospective influence" (Smith 1990, 158). At the turn of the twenty-first century, the channels by which presidents communicated changed even more with the advent of the internet and instantaneous communication forms, and particularly, social media.

Herbert Hoover was the last president of the Initial Phase of the Rhetorical Presidency. Largely viewed as an unsuccessful president during his time in office, and often blamed for the Great Depression, Hoover's post-presidency was much more propitious. In addition to being a prolific author and speaker, Hoover was never far from the political stage in supporting roles. He was appointed by Harry Truman to lead a commission organizing the Executive Departments in 1947, and was asked to do the same for Dwight Eisenhower in 1953 (Walch 2003). He also served as a direct consultant to Truman and Eisenhower, a role similar to one performed through the writings of Thomas Jefferson, but that in the twentieth century defined a path for future ex-presidents, such as is seen in Richard Nixon's foreign policy consultations in the 70's, 80's, and 90's. Hoover also served his country in other ways, such as working for international relief during World War II (McCabe 2001), conducting Famine Relief Surveys, and even as Chairman of the Board of The Boys Club of America (Walch 2003). Viewed as an elder statesman, Hoover delivered speeches criticizing the New Deal policies, spiritual addresses, and was a key speaker at the Republican National Convention in July of 1952 ("Herbert Hoover" 2004). As important as his role of politically active post-president was Hoover's ability to cross party lines. He was also able to effectively forge a course of effective post-presidential discourse. Having lived longer after his term expired than any previous president gave Hoover opportunities that would be available to presidents in the years ahead. He is thus justifiably a good candidate to be the first president to be commemorated with a presidential library.

While three presidential libraries (FDR, Truman, and Eisenhower) were commissioned and built before the Hoover library, Hoover is, chronologically, the first president to have a library in the National Archives and Records Administration system [NARA]. While it is the smallest of the presidential libraries by square footage and volumes, it exemplifies the basis of the modern post-presidential representation of archival resources and museum/visitation center to commemorate the presidency. By scrutinizing Hoover's post-presidential activity, there is a clear turning point that coincides with what Smith refers to as "The Modern Phase" of the rhetorical presidency and which parallels changes in communication after a president leaves office. While every ex-president since Hoover has had a presidential library (and indeed plans are already in place for the Obama library at the time of this writing, as it was announced in May of 2015 that it will be constructed on the South Side of Chicago), each institution has its own unique approach to the balance of information-sharing versus image-construction. In the twenty-first century approach to post-presidential rhetoric, it will be interesting to observe the marks made on social media by each representative library to see if the most modern forms of communication present venues whereby legacies will be presented differently than in the past.

Moving past Herbert Hoover, strictly speaking, the modern phase of post-presidential rhetoric is very limited. Three presidents served during this phase, and one, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, died in office. Dwight D. Eisenhower "for the most part retired to the golf course" (McCabe 2001, E1) while delivering a limited number of speeches, writing his memoirs and several other books, and beginning the tradition of a documentary of his term of office. Eisenhower also battled a long illness until the time of his death eight years after leaving his term. The remaining president, Harry S. Truman, lived for almost twenty years beyond his own term, and while he ran for no elected positions nor settled to retirement or a previous profession, most of his post-presidential activity was ceremonial in nature (McCullough 1993). Truman continued what was becoming a tradition for former presidents in writing their memoirs and, of course, establishing a presidential library in which he played a much larger role than his predecessors (in fact, there is still an actual office on display at the Truman library where the former president conducted business). He stayed in the public eye by traveling to Europe and meeting with leaders such as Winston Churchill and Pope Pius XII, and later spoke publicly when he campaigned for Adlai Stevenson and John Kennedy (McCullough 1993). Truman also signed a contract for an extended television series about his presidency that appeared over 26 episodes in 1964 (McCullough 1993).

Truman's post-presidential career extended what Herbert Hoover had first encountered regarding a relatively young president leaving the office. By campaigning for party candidates, traveling more extensively, and using media outlets for promotion of ideas, Truman was engaging in a modern post-presidency that would soon evolve into the contemporary form, which appears to be the first step toward reducing the privacy of former presidents. Longer life spans, ease of travel, and ubiquitous media outlets are just some of the characteristics that have shaped the last phase of the rhetorical presidency. In turn, they have also influenced former presidents, some of whom have engaged in a much more public post-presidency than others. The nation has moved from an era of newspapers that ended with Eisenhower through broadcast television, cable television, and now internet resources for disseminating information to the public about presidential communication (Hess 1998). Presidential addresses changed to meet the demands of the emerging media: "…new editing techniques made news packages faster paced and more visually attractive. The length of presidential candidates' soundbites declined from forty-three seconds in 1968 to seven seconds by early 1996… Politicians adjusted to what they thought would get them on the air" (Hess 1998). Former presidents react by engaging in a very active post-presidency or one that is out of the media focus altogether. Some, such as Gerald Ford, went on to lucrative speaking engagements and corporate appointments. Others, such as Richard Nixon, had an active post-presidency involving prolific authorship. Former presidents in the contemporary phase have truly chosen diverse paths:

> Gerald Ford lives a largely apolitical life but has developed a strong friendship with Jimmy Carter, the man who defeated him in 1976. Carter devotes himself to public service projects around the world. Ronald Reagan showed no interest in remaining an active public figure even before he was afflicted with Alzheimer's. George H. W. Bush loves to keep up on political gossip but says he rarely discusses policy with his son, the current president. "Hell," he says, "I'm out of it." ("The Most" 2002, 4)

As the first former president of this era, "Lyndon Johnson went into a quick decline in Texas, looking as if he were literally being killed by the controversy over the Vietnam War that had destroyed his presidency" (Fallows 2003, 62). In this contemporary phase, however, Johnson still wrote his memoirs, opened his presidential library, and was supportive (at least in television interviews) of party candidates. By contemporary definition, however, this was a fairly inactive post-presidency.

Richard Nixon also wrote memoirs, but continued on to write many volumes ranging from foreign diplomacy, to then current political matters involving Carter's and Reagan's policies while in office. Nixon wrote about leaders who succeeded by "imposing their will on history" (1982, 320), and he appeared to wish to do the same. Rhetorician Ronald Lee asserts, "an analysis of Nixon's post-presidential circumstances reveals that this emphasis on will has served him well" (1989, 454). In addition to his abundant authorship, Nixon conducted memorable interviews, traveled extensively, and perhaps most importantly, served as a consultant (particularly on military and foreign diplomacy issues) to each succeeding president after his resignation. Perhaps one of the most disgraced presidents in history, Nixon's post-presidential rhetoric served to vindicate if not his actions while in office, his rationale for being chosen as the leader of the United States.

Another president who left office under questionable circumstances was Jimmy Carter. Dogged by record-high inflation rates, a poor economy, and the Iran hostage crisis, Carter's legacy of failures were centered on policy as opposed to Nixon's fiasco, which was moral. By using his post-presidential platform to assess his moral strength, in effect Carter reacted similarly to his presidency as Nixon did. Both leaders identified their assets and worked with them to create an active post-presidential agenda. In his post-presidency, Carter has been known to address his Christian humility as his focus point, and its political expression has created an idealistic philosophy of promoting the public good (Lee 1995). By taking on the role of "humble servant," Carter has propelled his post-presidency into a platform of humanity that is unparalleled by any other former president. His texts are not policy driven, and his work (such as with "Habitat for Humanity," which builds housing for the indigent) centers on social issues of the heart. Carter has functioned as a diplomatic civil servant as well, and has been awarded with the J. William Fulbright Prize for promoting international understanding (Bruning 1994). Carter's service to his country has not gone unnoticed: "Whatever Carter's shortcomings, he has been a revelation since leaving office. Other former presidents play golf and work the big-bucks lecture circuit. Carter gets his kicks keeping the world in one piece" (Bruning 1994, 9). Indeed, it is a common assertion among many that the post-presidential record of Jimmy Carter is among the most outstanding of any American president.

Bill Clinton's memoirs were released in the 2004 autobiography, *My Life*, and as a highly sought-after public speaker he has earned tens of million dollars in speaking fees since leaving office ("Forty Million" 2007). In an unprecedented joint venture with another post-president, Clinton and George Bush Sr. collaborated to create the Bush-Clinton Katrina Fund to raise financial aid to those devastated on the Gulf Coast in August of 2005. After making myriad public appearances and television advertisements together to support the fund, the two former presidents claimed in July of 2007 to have raised a hundred million dollars in support. Clinton's presidential library that opened in 2004 was the most expensive to date, but was funded by private investors. A very modern structure comprising steel and glass, it received much attention as a symbol of the modern post-presidency, transforming the library into an architectural icon.

George W. Bush suffered extremely low approval ratings upon leaving office, and played a diminishing role in his party's politics even before leaving the presidency to his successor. While most reports have shown the most recent ex-president playing golf and bicycling, it is most often with veterans, who have become a primary point of his post-presidency (which also has included a campaign led by Bush to eliminate the "D" from Post Traumatic Stress Disorder, as the former leader claims it is an injury that can be treated). Bush has also made public efforts to work with President Obama in any capacity he is able, and teamed up with former president Clinton at Obama's behest to form the Haiti Fund to support that country after the earthquake of 2010. Bush's library was completed on the campus of Southern Methodist University in 2013.

Creating an overview of Post-Presidential rhetoric using Smith's Phases of the Rhetorical Presidency provides a sound basis of understanding for the shaping of rhetoric of a president once he has left the office. For instance, the characteristics of the Constitutional Phase described by Smith are typified in the actions of the careers of the early presidents after their terms had expired. Similarly, it is obvious that the technology available in the Contemporary Phase has created a global office for the former president that was simply not available before. While a presidential analysis can follow Smith's phases easily, a post-presidential career may create some dissonance if one is attempting to classify rhetoric over a period of decades. Also, for many former presidents, their careers stress their function over the forms of the time. For example, many later presidents in the Constitutional phase had been very politically active after their presidency, as it wasn't deemed appropriate for the office but was expected after they had left. It is also noteworthy to address how the changes in post-presidential rhetoric have coincided with the nature of social media in general. For example, ex-presidents such as Johnson and Teddy Roosevelt actively campaigned against and openly criticized their successors (and it is no small amusement to imagine today what a Teddy Roosevelt Facebook page may have looked like!), whereas in the contemporary phase there is an unwritten rule that ex-presidents do not openly criticize anyone holding the office. Further, presidents such as Hoover, Nixon, and Carter, who suffered setbacks in office, have become much more able to reform their images as ex-presidents. Often disclosure about the president's private affairs while in office and their time beyond is a trade-off for image restoration. While it may not vindicate their actions while in office, recognition of their accomplishments can and does take place.

Based on an overview of post-presidential rhetoric, it is reasonable to posit that tracing and analyzing its trends is a valuable exercise for better understanding what the United States can expect in the future from its former chiefs of state. In particular, with channels of communication changing drastically, an examination of social media and ex-presidents is worthwhile. As executive powers grow due to media exposure and increasing rhetorical skill, the political landscape is forever altered, and as ex-presidents and their representatives are enabled to communicate directly with the public, they will remain more central to the political process. Scholars study campaigns, agenda setting, and countless other presidential messages, and those who leave the office behind continue to exert unique persuasive power. By discovering the various approaches to the rhetorical landscape by former presidents of the United States, scholars will better prepare themselves to ably traverse cogent discourse in political communication.

In Franklin D. Roosevelt's dedication speech for his presidential library in Hyde Park, New York, on June 30, 1941, he stated that the purpose of a presidential library should be, "To bring together the records of the past and to house them in buildings where they will be preserved for the use of men and women in the future." He also stated in his remarks that, "it is wiser that they be not too greatly concentrated. From the point of view of accessibility modern methods make dissemination practicable." At the time, the president's concerns were for the actual physical safety of the documents and artifacts, as previously most presidential materials were distributed haphazardly, with some finding their way to various public or private collections, while others were (sometimes intentionally) lost or destroyed. Despite an initial desire for accessibility and widespread use, the NARA and its library system have endured criticism for the lack of access that these taxpayer-subsidized institutions provide (Smith and Stern 2006). Statutory and legal roadblocks have often prevented materials deemed to be sensitive by governmental agencies and authorities from being declassified and opened for public scrutiny. Further, despite the Presidential Records Act of 1978 declaring that presidential records are public property, complications arise when presidents determine what is personal versus private in terms of records as well as activities. While the purpose of the library system initially involved housing information in buildings, much of that information is in digital form today, and the communication that comes from the presidential libraries to the public is mainly electronic in nature, including the daily use of social media.

While the presidential library system is overseen by the NARA, each is an independent organization with its own goals, strategies, and tactics for accomplishing its own unique objectives. While every library strives to bring together the records of the past as FDR wanted, the way they are handled and presented will differ for each library and museum. In much the same manner as each library has its own "personality," the social media used to represent ex-presidents have typically shared some general types of messages, but also gravitate toward individualized styles of message sharing. As of this writing, Facebook is the social media outlet that is shared universally by the ex-presidents within the library system. Through observation of the Facebook pages of each president, some common themes arise: Appeals for visitors to the library, historical notes and artifacts (sometimes in the form of trivia), and notifications of upcoming events are common for every page. Posts almost always include photograph attachments as well (this is logical, considering the library system is very tied to its museums, and may explain why the second-most used social network, Twitter, is not universally employed within the presidential library system). Within each of these areas, however, social media are used differently to meet more specific objectives that are established by administrators. However, each Facebook page regularly displays materials previously available only to those willing to pay admission to the presidential museum, or to researchers granted access to the archives and holdings of the library. Managers of social media accounts for each library also comprise different types of personnel. For example, the Kennedy library has a Kennedy Library Foundation employee in charge of social media accounts, whereas the Truman library relies on an archivist and intern to handle the accounts. The George H. W. Bush library's social media accounts are handled by their Marketing and Communications Director (Millen 2014).

Upon inspection of the Facebook page of each past president, it becomes increasingly obvious that much like their libraries, each past leader is represented with a particular agenda in mind. Presidential libraries have been noted for particularizing specific strategies to better represent their leadership. While there is a risk of privacy loss based on the decisions of the gatekeepers of the materials and information contained in the libraries, living ex-presidents still have the opportunity to voice their decisions about the information that is released, whereas those who are deceased do not. One common criticism has been that the libraries are not forthcoming with negative or disparaging information regarding a president's conduct while in office. The Reagan and Clinton libraries have been pointed out particularly as they are accused of glossing over "demonstrated failings of character" during both presidencies (Kanter 2012, 354). It appears that this strategy aligns well with social media use—a medium whereby most users attempt to exhibit an idealized version of themselves to their friends and others in their audience. Ex-presidents may acknowledge problems within the walls of their established institutions, but they also have the ability to steer visitors toward the information that they want to have shared. A visit to the Herbert Hoover library emphasizes the misfortune of the Great Depression that the president could not have prevented, but rather than focusing on his policies to deal with the economic downturn during his presidential tenure, much larger displays about his pre-presidential success in assisting post-war Belgium and his post-presidential activism are featured. Dwight Eisenhower's library focuses as much on his successful military career as it does his eight years in office. While the Richard Nixon library acknowledges the failures of Watergate, Vietnam is still labeled in displays there as "Kennedy's War." And while Jimmy Carter's library prominently shares the story of a humble and reluctant servant, it focuses much more on the Mideast peace accords than it does the recession or the Iran Hostage Crisis. Social media sites are designed with an expectation that the keeper of a profile is inclined to share mainly positive disclosures. Criticism by virtue of this unwritten rule will likely be viewed as unwarranted, and thus the shaping of post-presidential imagery in this type of forum should clearly be understood to be much less than objective.

Each presidential library is rightfully entitled a "library and museum." They are designed to appeal to various audiences, and the actual library section of most of these institutions that contain the archives and documents of a past leader's term in office are physically separated from the main museum. The actual library is usually only visited by scholars, students, and academic researchers. The museum, which is toured by the vast majority of visitors, contains visual artifacts, ceremonial photographs, and highlights success throughout the life of the president, before, during, and after his time in office. Due to this balance, the criticisms about the subjective nature of the libraries are prominent. As historian Michelle Ulyatt notes, each library has a similar agenda, remarking in her study on JFK's library in particular, "the museum at the Kennedy presidential library provides a limited interpretation of the Kennedy presidency, seeking mass appeal but also focusing overwhelmingly on the positive aspects of the president's legacy" (2014, 126). The nature of social media makes it less likely that exclusively positive promotion will receive the same condemnation as the library system has. While the sites are maintained by those in the employ of the libraries, there is likely enough separation due to the expectation of how this medium should be used to prevent many from using the same arguments that they have in the past. The fact that they are still extensions of this system may not go unnoticed, but it will be interesting to see if objections to the use of social media by representatives of ex-presidents will be forthcoming.

Facebook is currently the common and most utilized social network used by former presidents, as each ex-president within the library system uses it. Levels of use and numbers of followers do differ significantly. As of January of 2016, George W. Bush, John F. Kennedy, and George H. W. Bush have the most followers, and Gerald Ford, Herbert Hoover, and Lyndon Johnson have the least. As previously stated, common subject areas for sharing on social media are appeals for visitors, historical notes and artifacts, and notifications of upcoming events. While subjects vary considerably over the course of time, in an examination of posts for a specific period within the year 2015, three of the ex-presidents (Hoover, Reagan, and Clinton) focused on posts encouraging visitors to come to the library, six centered on historical posts that chiefly bolstered their presidencies (FDR, Truman, Eisenhower, JFK, LBJ, and Ford), and four shared upcoming events at the library (Nixon, Carter, and both Bushes). Obviously, the vast majority of historical posts are designed to bolster an ex-president's image, usually reflecting a positive event linked to his life or time in office. Thus, most posts are persuasive in nature, with no pretense of objectivity. While the "About" sections of the pages give a description that repeat the missions of the library and museum (which are arguably informational, educational, and historical in nature), several also note that following the page (or "liking" it), is not endorsement of an ex-president. Cursory examinations of the choices made by administrators of the ex-presidents' pages provide interesting insights into the images they project on a day-to-day basis as well. Much like an individual in the general public, the leader's term of office, as well as his life before and after, has become humanized, and can switch roles quickly. A simple choice such as the image chosen as a profile picture can create characterization for the social media outlet (For example, at the time of this writing, three ex-presidents' profile pictures featured campaign material such as a pin with their name on it, five had pictures or depictions from the libraries themselves, and only five had an actual image of the president—Nixon and Ford with their respective spouses, Truman tipping his hat to the crowd, and LBJ and Clinton relaxing in cowboy hats!).

Clearly, the utility of social media for ex-presidents is already being explored and tested, and it appears that positive educational ramifications will be made more available to the public because of it. However, many of the concerns that have existed with the handling of post-presidential rhetoric may arise with their continued use. Calls for stronger leadership from the National Archives, congressional oversight, and public and academic monitoring have been called for in the past, and particularly for the "museum" side of the libraries (Hackman 2006). A lack of any precedent in these areas surely will not make legislating social media outlets any easier. But it is clear that there are benefits to be gleaned. Some have already acknowledged that the use of social media by the libraries has created "a fun way to follow the activities of a presidential library" (Lamb and Johnson 2015, 67). Through postings that include primary source documents, contests, previously unknown details, and posts that humanize our former presidents, it appears that the ex-presidents are already reaching a much larger public than they had previously been able to. The audiovisual nature and capabilities of social networks brings a capability to share materials and experiences that in the past were contained within the walls of institutions spread across the entire nation.

Presidential rhetoric is a burgeoning field of study, and post-presidential rhetoric is a significant area of the political discourse that has become increasingly cogent in the contemporary phase of American politics. As executive powers continue to grow due to media exposure, changing technology, and the evolving nature of what is determined to be successful rhetorical skill, the political landscape is forever changing. Decades ago, scholars rightly proclaimed that, "It seems certain that technical advances in the communications field will be applied extensively to the operations of presidential libraries" (Velt 1987, 130). Indeed, the preparation of, managing, and sharing of materials have all been impacted by technology, and the rhetorical approach by the library system in representing ex-presidents on social media is already worthy of examination. This is due in no small part to the propagation of information that once required extensive research via travel to one of the presidential libraries, but can now be viewed anywhere. By gaining a better understanding of the progression of post-presidential rhetoric and how it is currently being shaped in the realm of social media, scholars who study campaigns, agenda setting, and countless other presidential messages, can gain a better understanding of those who leave the office behind continue to exert unique persuasive power. By discovering the various approaches to the rhetorical landscape by former Presidents of the United States and their representatives in social media outlets, scholars will better prepare themselves to ably traverse cogent discourse in political communication.

REFERENCES

Brinkley, Douglas. *The Unfinished Presidency: Jimmy Carter's Journey Beyond the White House.* New York: Penguin, 1999.

Bruning, F. "The Trouble with Jimmy the Generous." *Maclean's*, October 17, 1994. Web. Accessed July 14, 2015. https://business.highbeam.com/4341/article-1G1-15846635/trouble-jimmy-generous

Curtis, Jane, Will Curtis, and Frank Lieberman. *Return to These Hills: The Vermont Years of Calvin Coolidge.* Devon UK: David and Charles, 1985.

Fallows, James. "Post-President for life." *Atlantic Monthly,* March 2003. Web. Accessed June 29, 2015. http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2003/03/post-president-for-life/302683/

"Forty Million Dollar Bill: Earning Power of an Ex-leader." *The Independent*, February 24, 2007. Web. Accessed July 18, 2015. http://news.independent.co.uk/world/americas/article2300374.ece

Hackman, Larry. "Toward Better Policies and Practices for Presidential Libraries." *The Public Historian* 28 (2006): 165-184.

Hart, Roderick. *The Sound of Leadership: Presidential Communication in the Modern Age.* Chicago IL: U of Chicago P, 1987.

"Herbert Hoover Presidential Library Speeches." *Herbert Hoover Presidential Foundation Website.* 2004. Web. Accessed July 18, 2015. http://www.hooverassociation.org/hoover/speeches.php

Hess, Stephen. "The Once to Future Worlds of Presidents Communicating." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 28.4 (1998). Web. Accessed July 31, 2015. http://www.brookings.edu/research/articles/1998/09/fall-media-hess

Kanter, Jodi. "Character-in-Chief: Performing the American Citizen at Two Presidential Libraries." *Text and Performance Quarterly* 32 (2012): 349-70.

Lamb, Annette and Larry Johnson. "Rethinking President's Month Projects through Presidential Library Websites." *Teacher Librarian* 42 (2015): 64-68.

Lee, Ronald. "The Featuring of Will in History: A Rhetorical Exploration of Richard Nixon's Post-presidential Writings." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 75 (1989): 453-66.

—. "Humility and the Public Servant: Jimmy Carter's Post-presidential Rhetoric of Virtue and Power." *Southern Communication Journal* 60.22 (1995): 120-30.

McCabe, Kathy. "Is There Life After the Presidency?" *USA Today,* February 6, 2001. Web. Accessed May 28, 2015. http://www.usatoday.com/news/washington/inaug/2001-01-18-presidents.htm

McCullough, David. *Truman.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993.

Millen, Rosalie, "Presidential Libraries and Social Media Use." *Rosie's History Blog*, last modified November 15, 2014. Web. https://rosieshistoryblog.wordpress.com/2014/11/15/presidential-libraries-and-social-media-use/#_ftn2

"The Most Exclusive Club Ever." *U. S. News & World Report,* February 25, 2002. Print.

Nixon, Richard. *Leaders*. New York: Warner Books, 1982.

Roosevelt, Franklin D. "Remarks at the Dedication of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, New York." *American Presidency Project.* Web. Accessed July 10, 2015. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=16138

Smith, Craig Allen. *Political Communication.* Orlando FL: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1990.

Smith, Nancy Kegan and Gary Stern. "A Historical Review of Access to Records in Presidential Libraries." *The Public Historian* 28 (2006): 79-116.

Tulis, Jeffrey. *The Rhetorical Presidency.* Princeton NJ: Princeton UP, 1987.

Ulyatt, Michelle. "The John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum as a Cultural Representation of the Public Memory of the President." *European Journal of American Culture* 33 (2014): 117-30.

Velt, Fritz. *Presidential Libraries and Collections*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1987.

Walch, Timothy. *Uncommon Americans: The Lives and Legacies of Herbert and Lou Henry Hoover.* Westport CT: Praeger Publishers, 2003.

BEYOND HONEST: DEMANDING HYPERAUTHENTIC PRESENTATION IN ONLINE DATING

Shana Kopaczewski
Indiana State Univresity

In this paper I argue that online daters discursively strip the potential for selective self-presentation by demanding a hyperauthentic presentation of the self. This hyperauthenticity consists of two dimensions: 1). Portrayal of the hyperauthentic self and 2). Recognition of the hyperauthentic self. The concept of hyperauthenticity builds on established theories of self-presentation in online spaces, including selective self-presentation in hyperpersonal communication (Walther 1996) and the profile as promise framework (Ellison, Hancock, & Toma 2011). I analyze discourses about online dating on the dating review site, eDateReview.com, to demonstrate that online daters construct a very narrow definition of honesty in online presentations of self, requiring that online daters strip any element of self enhancement from the physical representations of the self in photographs and textual description. Hyperauthenticity is the demand that online presentations of self will correspond directly to the actual physical self in the moment of the face to face meeting. One cannot visually present an historical self that demonstrates hobbies, experiences, or values, but must instead present a self that is visually accurate at the moment. Furthermore, to be hyperauthentic one must anticipate how others will read one's physical representation or risk being perceived as dishonest during the initial face to face interaction, such anticipation may not even be possible for the participants.

I begin with a brief overview of relevant literature on online dating and relationships, followed by theories of online self-presentation before introducing the website eDateReview.com, and the method of analysis. Finally, I analyze the discourse of hyperauthenticity and discuss hyperauthenticity's usefulness for future research.

Online Dating

Online dating research has typically taken two approaches: analysis of online personal ads and studies comparing interacting online to other romantic interactions. Lea and Spears (1995) state that most relational research shows a bias for face-to-face interactions and relationships, and that there is a need to conceptualize a different way of looking at online relationships in light of this bias. I suggest that the majority of scholarly research insufficiently addresses the hybrid nature of online relationships, focusing instead on the online dimension or the face to face dimension. The profile as promise framework represents a needed lens through which to address the connection between online presentation and offline reality (Ellison, Hancock, & Toma, 2011). This paper seeks to contribute to the profile as promise framework as a foundational concept informing the idea of hyperauthenticity, which as conceptualized here represents an attempt to manage the promises people are allowed to make and sets strict expectations for those who seek to make promises they cannot keep.

Many online dating researchers build and draw upon theories of computer mediated communication (CMC), focusing on the communication that occurs in online spaces and how that contributes to relational development, or look at how previously developed theories of face to face communication are translated into online spaces (Ellison, Heino, & Gibbs 2006; Gibbs, Ellison, & Heino 2006; Hancock & Toma 2009; Hardey 2002; Toma, Hancock, & Ellison 2008; Whitty 2003; Whitty 2008). There is still a gap in the literature that looks at when online presentation becomes offline interaction. This research attempts to examine and call attention to the moments of transition and their critical impact on the nascent relationship stage, particularly in light of the fact that most relationships today occur in both online and offline spaces.

Hyperpersonal communication (Walther 1996) is one theory of computer-mediated communication propelling research on online dating. Hyperpersonal communication states that in the context of CMC, people may feel enhanced intimacy and affection for their communicative partners as compared to similar groups communicating in face to face interactions. Additionally, the nature of CMC may actually foster enhanced or idealized impres-

Dr. Shana Kopaczewski is currently an Assistant Professor at Indiana State University. She holds a PhD in Interpersonal Communication from the University of Iowa. Her research is centered mainly on intersections between interpersonal communication and new media, particularly online dating, stigma in online spaces, and discourses of the body in online environments.

sions among CMC users while facilitating a more selective self-presentation in online spaces where there is increased control over what and how information is disclosed. Walther (1995) argues that both the reduced social cues and asychronicity of online interaction allow for individuals to carefully construct their presentation of self to illicit a desired effect on the audience. Because people can control and revise the messages they send, how they word an e-mail, the images they share, the topics they talk about etc., they are able to create an idealized image of who they are. Other researchers have supported the idea that there is more control over what is disclosed via computer (Hancock & Dunham 2001; Lea & Spears 1995). Lea and Spears (1995) argue that the nature of online communication increases the users' ability to more carefully manage the impression they give. Internet users have a high level of control over what information is shared, and due to the drafting and editing capabilities available on computers, people can monitor and amend what they say and how they say it before anyone else sees the communication. Online interaction in multiple forms whether it is e-mail or personal ads, can be seen as strategic communication through which people purposefully choose what information is and is not included for a desired result. The issue of self-presentation online becomes particularly salient when looking at online dating where relationships are initiated online, but must then be transitioned to offline as well.

As with most usages of new media, online dating is not particularly new and can be seen as an extension of the personal ad which gained popularity with the rise of the newspaper. Hollander states, "The innovative 'rationality' of the personals lies in the notion that the specification of attributes and interests possessed and looked for can be a short cut to finding a compatible person" (2004, 69). Hardey (2002) contends that online dating takes some of the effort out of locating potential partners, as stated on the eHarmony website (www.eharmony.com), the idea is to "Date smarter, not harder." Both Hollander and Hardey detail how online dating provides individuals with thousands of potential applicants who can be screened for desirable characteristics quickly and with minimal physical effort. One need not get dressed up, go out, and risk face-to-face rejection; nor is the possible range for selection limited to the people with whom one happens to have personal contact.

Some researchers assert that the concept of online dating reflects a consumer approach to dating (Adelman & Ahuvia 1991; Smaill 2004). Adelman and Ahuvia argue that online dating is part of a larger consumerist movement which has made dating a mass communication trend. The authors call this the marriage market, and claim that these services operate under the marketing principles of searching, matching, and transacting. Ultimately they conclude that this market approach changes the nature of dating on a larger scale, as people feel more like applicants in an interview than people looking to connect romantically (Adelman & Ahuvia 1991). Similarly, Smaill (2004) argues that online dating agencies feed into a larger consumer ideology which already exists, and that such services seek to interpellate self-actualizing and enterprising individuals with narratives of choice and "making the most of life" through romantic interactions. Smaill also argues that these online dating sites equate failure to find someone with failure to be a competent consumer, as well as failing to make the most of life.

Self-Presentation

Goffman (1959) conceptualized the presentation of one's identity to others as a performance, where individuals perform in specific ways to construct a desired character for a specific audience. Any given performance may be successful in establishing, maintaining, and enhancing the desired image, or may be unsuccessful, which results in loss of face, or the presentation of an undesired face. Goffman's work on impression management and self-presentation is predicated on the concept of multiple selves which are chosen and presented by the actor based on the situation and the desired effect for the audience. This possibility of multiple senses of self has been mirrored by a number of researchers and conceptualized in various ways. Higgins (1987) identified three basic domains of the self: The actual self refers to the attributes you or others believe you actually possess; the ideal self refers to representations of attributes you or others would like you to possess; and finally, the ought self refers to representations of attributes you or others think you should possess. Rogers (1951) developed the notion of a "true" self which was at the center of the therapeutic process. According to Rogers, people who sought therapy were often separated from their true self, or unaware of who their true self was, and the therapeutic goal was to discover a person's true self so they could begin to express it more freely in everyday life.

The movement of relational development onto the Internet has reinvigorated the exploration of theories of self-presentation as researchers try to understand what impact the online environment has on strategies of self-presentation. For Goffman, whose work predated the development of the Internet, the idea of impression management was conceptualized in primarily face to face encounters and relied on some degree of interaction between the actor and his/her audience, which Goffman defines as "the reciprocal influence of individuals upon one another's action when in one another's immediate physical presence" (1959, 15). With the Internet there is clearly no immediate physical contact between participants, and the nature of the particular medium does not rely on back and forth exchanges between posters, although those exchanges do occur. However, Goffman's general concept of the presentation of self is still useful in discussing the impression management of posters to websites and has been used to discuss other websites such as Facebook (Walther, Van Der Heide, Kim, Westerman, & Tong 2008), which also have limited interaction and no direct face to face contact. In fact, Tufecki (2008) argues that the nature of the web changes the spatial constraint of the audience so crucial to Goffman's theory stating:

> self-presentation is a conscious, interactive act that requires both an awareness of and participation from the audience. However, in technologically mediated sociality, the audience has been obscured. We can no longer see who is looking, nor, sometimes, can we even make an educated guess. If one is in a street corner, a classroom, the beach, or a bar, the audience is limited by walls, doors, and distance. Although it is possible that there may be unexpected members within the audience, the presence of others is much more transparent than it is on the Web. (22)

Even though the Web changes the sense users have of the audience, the presence of an audience is still assumed. This can be seen through the formation of shared rules of interaction in online spaces. "Netiquette" as an example of a broad set of boundaries for online behavior demonstrates the importance of acknowledging the audience when posting online or interacting over the Internet (Hardey 2004).

Self-presentation has been looked at more specifically in online settings because of the lack of social cues available for making and interpreting presentations of self. Virtual identity can change over time online (Poster 2006). Poster argues that multiple identities raise questions about the fixedness of the subject. If the Internet allows for changing identities, there is a potential for cultural changes brought about by the ability for people to connect to people without being tied to social conventions that might otherwise keep people apart (Poster 2006). Turkle (2001) argues that computers change not only lives but also selves, and that the Internet allows people to enact different parts of their identity in ways they could not or would not otherwise. The possibility of fluid identities online has been widely discussed (Bailey 2001; Hardey 2002; Morse 2001; Nakamura 2001; Poster 2006; Stone 2001; Turkle 2001). While some argue that the anonymity of the Internet may make people more comfortable sharing pieces of their true self because they are free of the constraints and expectations of the people in their regular social group (Bargh, McKenna, & Fitzsimmons 2002; Derlega & Chaikin 1977), other perspectives are less optimistic, stating that the Internet, while anonymous in some ways, reinforces dominant ideologies of appearance or gender (Stone 2001; Morse 2001).

Hardey (2002) explored issues of embodiment in online dating sites and argued that the disembodied anonymity of the Internet acts as a foundation for building trust that will translate into an offline relationship, rather than the construction of fantasy selves. He notes, "While the Internet may facilitate, at least in the early stages of dating, a lightening of corporeal constraints, the desires of users to physically meet a suitable partner illustrates the limitations of virtual relations which never attain the thickness of the flesh" (2002, 582). Hardey's argument highlights a key issue for online daters: the reality that their self-presentation online must ultimately translate offline if they are to be successful. Researchers have increasingly investigated the unique dynamic of presenting oneself in online dating (Ellison, Heino, & Gibbs 2006; Gibbs, Ellison, & Heino 2006; Hancock & Toma 2009; Hardey 2002; Toma, Hancock, & Ellison 2008; Whitty 2008). Hancock and Toma (2009) state that the two primary driving forces impact self-presentation in online dating: the desire to appear as attractive as possible to potential dates; and, the desire to seem honest in their description of themselves. These forces create a tension in self-presentation as the more idealized one's profile, the more likely they are to be seen as dishonest in a face-to-face encounter.

Ellison, Hancock, and Toma (2011) developed the profile as promise framework to explain the inconsistencies between online presentations and offline presence, and how online daters reconcile those discrepancies. The nature of online dating profiles is constrained by reduced cues, asynchronous interaction, and the shared expectation of the online dating environment (Ellison et al. 2011). Based on these constraints Ellison et al argued that online daters developed an understanding that information presented on a profile is a "good faith" representation of what the online dater will be like upon meeting, and that as such, these good faith representations are effectively treated like promises made to the viewer of the profile. Reactions to promises that are not kept are judged on a number of factors

The question about whether one can present an authentic self online relates back to work on the "true" self (Rogers 1951). According to Rogers, it was entirely possible for someone to be unaware of their true self, and that one purpose of therapy was to discover the person's true self. McKenna, Green, and Gleason (2002) developed the notion of the true self online, and found that there was some support for the idea that people felt like they could share their true self better online in some instances, and that those who disclosed their true self online developed more long-lasting relationships online. This research seems to validate the existence of a true self that can be discovered and presented, contrary to other theorists who suggest that the presented self is always dependent on the context and that displaying an innate true self may not be possible (Goffman 1959; Higgins 1987; Turkle 2001). For online daters, the notion of a self that is more true than other selves becomes even more salient and problematic. The online dating environment is seen as one where control over self-presentation is higher than in offline interactions, and therefore subject to abuse by those who may present a more idealized or deceptive presentation of self. However, the supposition that there is an authentic self, allows for various presentations of self to be called into question for not being authentic enough, and assumes that the authentic self is somehow static and cannot evolve between the period of presentation and the face to face interaction.

Methods of Data Analysis

eDateReview is a site where people can compare experiences using different dating sites.[1] It is a consumer awareness site in many ways. eDateReview.com's homepage states:

> No longer do you have to waste your time joining dating service after dating service, only to discover that you spent a lot of time joining the wrong service. The reviews at eDateReview.com will help you find the best online dating services without all the legwork.
>
> Unlike other directories of online dating services, our reviews are written by *real people* like you who have used the services and want to share their experiences with others. ([Emphasis in original] eDateReview.com, March 15, 2006)

eDateReview.com is an important site for study because it is more than just a consumer information page. There are two levels of discourse in the space. The first is the actual reviews of online dating sites, which is the explicit purpose of the site. This level of discourse focuses primarily on the services provided and the poster's satisfaction with those services. The second level of discourse is the discourse of self and other which occurs in reviews of e-dating sites, as a quite different kind of commentary on the quality of the service offered on particular sites.

It is important to note that eDateReview is not a site for online personals or dating. Rather, it is a site of rich discourse *about* online dating. In this discourse, participants' explanations for their reactions to the online dating sites allow for discussions of why they think they succeeded or failed to accomplish their relational goals. eDateReview.com simply asks posters to indicate their name, sex, location, and e-mail address. Then they ask for a star rating of the particular dating service the person wants to review, and provide a text box for the written review. Reviews are then sorted by dating site and presented in succession to viewers. The stated goal is not for viewers to learn more about the poster him/herself, as it is on online dating sites, but rather to provide a space for users to evaluate and research the various dating sites. The discourse in these forums is highly negative about the online dating process and other online dating participants. While this presents a limitation to this research, it also provides a richer textual environment for isolating recurrent themes of problematic dating practices and provides insight into the problems participants have experienced. Furthermore, the discourse provides a way to unobtrusively analyze responses to the dating process that are unfiltered and reveal the judgment and blame that many participants express after a failed encounter.

It is important to note here that this study is based on text which accounts how people assess actions rather than observance of the actions themselves. I analyzed approximately 400 posts from three of the most popularly reviewed dating services: eHarmony.com, Match.com, and Yahoo! Personals. I selected only those reviews explicitly discussing impression management, which I identified as including explicit description of the poster's self, comments on other people the posters encountered while online dating, or any general observations on dating and relationships beyond a direct comment on the service that related to the posters' identities. I employed a thematic analysis, facilitated by Atlas Ti, to code and analyze emergent themes in a multi-tiered process based on grounded theory methodology, which is an analytic approach based on constant comparison (Strauss & Corbin 1994). In the constant comparison process, the researcher is continually comparing each coded instance with previously coded instances, which maintains a level of connection to the text while exploring emergent themes.

Hyperauthentic Self

The discussion of online dating on eDateReview.com reflects the posters' views on dating more generally, setting up a specific set of expectations for this new form of finding romantic partners. This reveals how online daters negotiate desires for self enhancement and authenticity (Hancock & Toma 2009). Perhaps one of the most significant points of observation in the discourse of eDateReview.com is how posters convey and enforce norms associated with self-presentation, many of which relate to how people interpret the authentic presentation of others on dating sites. Based on the data retrieved on eDateReview.com, I argue that online daters discursively attempt to create and enforce a hyperauthentic presentation of self. The discourse on this site revealed a more strict reaction to the flexibility of online profiles. I define hyperauthenticity as the demand that online presentations of self correspond directly to the actual physical self. This presentation must not be augmented, idealized, or filtered in any way. Hyperauthenticity is expressed on two levels: 1) Portrayal of the authentic self; and 2) Recognition of the authentic self.

Portrayal of the Authentic Self

The dominant theme relating to the presentation of self is the insistence that participants use photographs and descriptions that accurately reflect themselves at the time of the face to face meeting. As Randy (2007) posts,

> Let's focus on REALITY here. This is dating. Indeed, this is Internet Dating. What do you really expect? Dating is difficult enough as it is. Internet dating is more difficult. People are simply not as attractive as you imagine them to be based upon their self-selected photos or the carefully-edited and somewhat predictable "profiles."

In this post, Randy explicitly reflects the concept of hyperpersonal communication by focusing on how people self-select and carefully edit profiles online to create an idealized image that simply does not translate offline. It is clear that Randy views a disconnect between what happens online and the "REALITY" of dating. This quote alludes to the idea that what happens online is not reality because of the carefully crafted profiles and the disconnect between who you imagine you are building a relationship with online and the person that you meet offline.

Whitty (2008) reports that online daters stressed the importance of crafting an attractive profile, and that many admitted to using slight exaggerations in order to increase the attractiveness of their profile, but at the same time, were aware of the fact that they did not want to be a disappointment to their dates in face to face settings. Despite this acceptance and justification for their own discrepancies, participants were much harsher in their assessments of others who took similar liberties. For instance, Jan writes:

I can't tell you how many times I have met men that were 10 years older, 50 pounds heavier and several inches shorter than advertised. I would never be so rude as to disappear; I would suck it up and stay for the cup of coffee, but I'm not surprised that some people would be angered by the deceit and just bolt. If someone lies about their age and/or appearance, it spells insecurity right off the bat. If I can't recognize the man I'm supposed to be meeting (even after seeing eight photos of him), then call me shallow. Lesson to everyone: POST RECENT ACCURATE PHOTOS!!!!! You'll save yourself and others aggravation. (Jan, 2007)[2]

In this post, Jan argues that a dishonest profile is deceitful and reveals the insecurity of the person who feels the need to lie about their age or appearance. Jan goes on to explicitly warn others to post recent and accurate pictures or risk aggravating all involved. This particular post demonstrates a very strict definition of what is an honest presentation of self. It is not enough to make sure you post pictures that are really you, but they must accurately represent you in a current moment in time so that one will definitely "recognize the man I'm supposed to be meeting." Additionally there is no allowance for the fact that a person might feel a picture presents something about their identity other than physical appearance. For instance one might post a picture of him/herself standing on the Great Wall from the dream trip through Asia he/she went on a couple years back because it represents a love of adventure and travel, and if that person has changed in physical appearance over the last two years, according to Jan's approach to honesty, that person is insecure and deceitful.

The posts to eDateReview often support the warranting principle, developed by Walther and Parks (2002). Warranting proposes that when trying to assess the reliability of others online presentations, certain kinds of information will be viewed as more representative of the offline person than others. Generally, information that is not easily manipulated or that is provided or supported by a third party are generally given more weight than information that is easily controlled by the person. This warranting principle is clear in Rebecca's (2007) post describing how one should present themselves through action and visually instead of through generic description:

> I post recent photos, including full body pics. I'm not gorgeous, but I have nothing to hide. I am honest in my profile and I don't use a long list of adjectives to describe myself. No one is all of those things. Besides, if you really are compassionate, handsome, healthy, stable, honest, understanding, dependable, funny, active, handy, hard-working, loyal, secure, and a good listener—then how is it that you're divorced? Don't tell us you're handsome. . . post your great photo and let it stand. Don't tell me you're funny. . . say something funny in your profile and let the reader decide. . . and pleeeeeze don't post three photos of your motorcycle and one of you wearing sunglasses and a beanie. (Rebecca 2007)

In this post one can see the warranting process Rebecca goes through in assessing the validity of information posted in an online dating profile. Recent pictures hold more weight than older ones, full body pictures hold more weight than cropped photos, and demonstrating qualities counts more than simple labels given to oneself. Rebecca takes the position that words are meaningless unless they are supported. Don't say you are handsome, post a photo. Don't say you are funny, be funny. This position acknowledges the ease with which one can create an identity online that is less than honest, and she urges others to prove in some way that they are in fact being honest in their self-presentation. This strong guarding of honesty in other's presentation of self can be seen as a reaction to a medium of communication where people do not necessarily trust that what you see is what you get, and that certain information is more believable than other information.

Warranting as a theory supports the concept of hyperauthenticity in a couple of key ways. First, warranting is predicated on the tension between online presentations of self and how one will be seen in a face to face meeting. In online dating there is real investment in being able to predict whether someone's online persona will match their offline persona. Online daters are wary of investing too much time and energy building a relationship online only to find out that the person is different than expected offline. This is where hyperauthenticity becomes so important. Online daters attempt to control how they interpret another's profile through warranting, but that only accounts for so much of the information given in a profile. Hyperauthenticity, on the other hand, sets an expectation that controls how others present themselves so that upon meeting they will be what is expected. Second, warranting reflects the importance of not only presenting oneself honestly, but also having the ability to predict or account for how the other person will interpret any presentation of self and making certain that the online presentation will match the offline perception, because the moment of importance is when the online presentation meets the offline interpretation of the other party.

Other researchers have investigated the unique dynamic of presenting oneself in online dating (Ellison, Heino, & Gibbs 2006; Gibbs, Ellison, & Heino 2006; Hancock & Toma 2009; Hardey 2002; Toma, Hancock, & Ellison 2008; Whitty 2008). Hancock and Toma (2009) state that the two primary driving forces impact self-presentation in online dating: the desire to appear as attractive as possible to potential dates and the desire to seem honest in their description of themselves. These forces create a tension in self-presentation as the more idealized one's profile, the more likely they are to be seen as dishonest in a face-to-face encounter, which is a common theme on this site. The posters frequently dismiss the use of selective self-presentation through the manipulation of digital photos, the use of professional photography, and even the choices about which photos are accurate enough to be included in the profile and which are too generous and should be rejected. While the posters suggest that the deception is intentional, Hancock and Toma (2009) found that despite individual's assertions that their profile photos were accurate, independent judges rated the photos substantially less accurate, and that women had lower accuracy ratings than men. Additionally, it was found that women's interpretation of their accuracy may be due to self-deception, or the idea that women believed that is how they could look when dressed up for a face-to-face encounter. This raises an interesting issue about how one can make an authentic presentation of self if they are not aware of how others see them, and whether accuracy lies in the eye of the beholder, or the individual themselves.

In the discourse of this site it is easy to see that the push to be honest in one's profile is related to the ability of people online to present inflated presentations of self, presentations that would not happen in face to face interactions. Clearly the push is to ensure that people are hyperauthentic in their self-presentation, particularly as it relates to the body. Although there is a desire to present one's best qualities, posters to eDateReview are primarily concerned with a vigilance in the hyperauthentic representation of a person's physicality in their online profiles. Both Jan and Rebecca reflect the need to focus on presenting the body as it is in the immediate present. The body presented online must not be selectively presented, regardless of the veracity of the images or the ways the images may reflect other parts of an individual's identity. This hyperauthentic presentation focuses on an accurate representation of the person as they are right now, and must account for how others see them, not just how they see themselves:

> Site is full of FAT girls that do not have FULL figure photo or have photos 1+

year old where they had 50 or more pounds less. And of course they LIE. I had quite a few matches where at question (in profile) "how your friends describe you" they say physically fit and at date there is a 200+ pounds fatty that eats like hungry lion (of course she pays her meal). (Mark 2007).

Mark makes very clear that the only representation of physicality that counts is a picture that is taken in the last year and includes a full body representation. In addition, information provided on the profile that contributes to a physical image of the person is also under scrutiny. There is a discrepancy in what being physically fit means. Because the person describes herself as physically fit, Mark assumes that means she weighs a certain amount, when measures of physical fitness may have little to do with weight and more to do with strength, endurance, activity level, and so on. Because someone fails to anticipate that describing oneself as "physically fit" sets up an expectation about body shape, Mark views them as liars when the reality of their body does not meet his expectation.

Recognition of the Authentic Self

The second aspect of hyperauthenticity on eDateReview.com is the recognition of one's authentic self. To be truly hyperauthentic one must be able to anticipate how one's presented self will be perceived by others. This discourse is reflected in themes involving online daters' inability to recognize their own limitations. Not being realistic about one's range of options reveals a failure to understand one's self and thus unable to present one's self authentically. The notion of hyperauthenticity privileges the physical representation over all other aspects of identity. It is not enough to be a good person if your physical attributes are inadequate or inaccurately presented.

The first aspect of recognizing one's authentic self that emerges in regard to online dating is the idea that you should be honest with yourself about why you are succeeding or failing to succeed.

> I am not a psychologist, but if you are not given many suitable matches, or do not find quality dates in a few months, then you may need to sit down and figure out why (without blaming others). Take a long hard look at yourself and your profile, and get a second opinion. You may need to go back to the drawing board and reinvent yourself (without making yourself into someone you are not). After a couple of months new matches only trickle in as new people sign up. Don't be afraid to close your account and reopen another for a fresh start and an improved look, as you may get very different matches the next time around. (Anonymous 2007)

Here Anonymous suggests that if you are not happy with your dating progress, you should not blame others, but look to yourself. You may be the problem, not the other people online. And if you are the problem, you should "reinvent" yourself to attract more matches. This seems to be a contradictory message to the "present yourself honestly" rule. Note that Anonymous is careful to explicitly warn against "making yourself into someone you are not", but still advocates giving yourself "an improved look." This supports an established conflict for online daters between desires to be perceived as honest and appearing as attractive as possible (Hancock & Toma 2009). This becomes a no win situation for someone who wants to be honest about him/herself, but finds that few people are interested in him/her if they are.

Users also suggest that online daters keep an open mind, and be open to looking outside of what they would normally find attractive: "Keep an open mind… the guy or girl of your dreams may not have the color hair you were thinking, or be as tall, short, thin, big… (you get the idea)." At the same time, there is a discourse of accepting your own limitations and not clinging to unrealistic expectations.

> I begin to wonder what the women on this site are looking for. I have found a few that I feel have "unrealistic expectations," for instance a legal secretary, 42 with two kids, who was only looking for men making 100K or more. Yeah, that's gonna happen Hon, let me know how that works out for you. (Bob 2007)

Here it seems that the failure to present one's self realistically is because one has already failed to recognize one's actual self. There seems to be some concern that people who date online are unrealistic about their potential as a mate and are then too selective; for example, if they were aware of their authentic self they would be open to people who may otherwise be viewed as lower than their standard, and would not expect someone out of their league to give them a chance. This discourse seems to guard some ethereal social pecking order to make sure people match up with who they are "supposed to" match up with and keep a social balance.

> Let's face it, if your goal is to date the elite 2%, then your dating skills and everything else needs to be up to par. The truth is you're only capable of attracting someone who's life, skills, thoughts, and situation is the same as yours. I've looked through plenty of womens' profiles, and I've seen to profiles of women who want to date the cream of the crop. Many of these women have had their profiles online since the early part of the decade. When you look at their pictures and read their about me statement you'll see and feel this idea of them being entitled to some man of greatness. They have no idea that there are plenty of other women who have MORE to OFFER to these guys of glorious ambition. As they speak of their hopes to have men with ambition, they're doing nothing to mirror the same thing in their own life. I dare to hope these womens' excuse isn't because their a women, and women can't be leaders but the woman behind the great leader. Why, aren't those days forever gone? Prehaps, they only use the womens' rights spill when it's to their advantage. They must adapt to the correct way of thinking, learn the proper courting and attraction skills, then rethink as to who they're trying to attract, then go for it. Don't come here and tell us the people online suck. (Halo 2007)

In this post it is clear the poster not only believes that "you're only capable of attracting someone who's life, skills, thoughts, and situation is the same as yours," but goes further by trying to dictate that belief to others. He explicitly directs these women who have less to offer to learn "proper courting and attraction skills." Because this directive is aimed at women who apparently aspire to meet men whose ambition and greatness does not mirror their own, one can conclude that proper courting and attraction includes attracting someone whose greatness does mirror one's own, and aspiring only to someone who is on a similar level not above it. Here the poster attempts to guard the social balance by chiding the women who in his perception are holding out because they feel "entitled to a man of greatness" despite their own lack of greatness.

> Do I lament this fact? Not really. I don't really want any man who thinks it is all about the physical anyway. But what I find amazing, is that they do not think I have the right to prefer somebody who is in shape (as I am), owns their own home (as I do), has degrees (as I do), etc. If I accept my own limitations in the marketplace (most notably my age) and deal with it, I would expect my matches to do the same! (Kris 2007)

Kris's post indicates that she has certain standards for the men that she dates, but has had negative responses from people who do not think she has a "right" to those preferences. It bears mentioning also that she clearly outlines that the standards she has are based in her own perceived worth. There is an impetus compelling her to justify her standards by noting that she is not looking for anything she cannot provide the other person. She argues that she is staying within her limitations, but that others, specifically men her age, are setting standards which do not reflect their own limitations. Another poster explains,

> I have recently be talking to a couple of guys who are more in my league. How ever they have rejected me too. O.K why am I not good enough for a 50+ man who is divorced with 7 children under 18? I am not really looking for a man with that much baggage but I wanted to be open minded and not judge as everyone is telling me to do. (Samantha 2007)

This post demonstrates again the idea that this person assumes she should be "good enough" for a 50+ man who is divorced with children because he is more in her league. She states that normally she would not consider these men, that she would judge them, and she seems to be confused as to why they would reject her. In saying that she is dating guys "more" in her league and using the inclusive "too" one can assume that she was rejected by others who were out of her league. She seems to have been able to justify why someone out of her league would reject her, and tried dating someone she thought was more attainable even though they may not be what she wants. This person complied with what everyone was telling her to do and tried to keep open minded and not judge, leading her to men who were more in her league, essentially readjusting her standards in hopes of finding a successful match. The failure of this shift in standards has caused her to question why she is not good enough for these men.

The rule about knowing your place becomes evident in another post specifically chastising those who would overstep the boundary of an acceptable match:

> many people are not able to admit to themselves that they are excessively overweight. If you have a few extra pounds or a couple extra inches, that's not overweight in my book, but if you are 60 pounds overweight, isn't that EXCESSIVE? If you have already lost 80 pounds, and you still have 50 to go, isn't that EXCESSIVE? If your weight is way out of proportion to your height, isn't that EXCESSIVE? I firmly believe there is someone for everyone, regardless of your body type, and I can be friends with anyone, no matter what their appearance. However, as far as a potential mate goes, I do think physical attraction does play a part. I'm not a physically large guy, and I plainly stated this fact in my profile, but it didn't stop excessively overweight women from requesting communication with me. I mean no offense to the plus-sized ladies out there, but I've never been attracted, in a romantic way, to women who are bigger than I am, or who lie about their appearance, or who send me photos of themselves when they were 10 years younger and 40 pounds lighter. (Will, March 31st, 2006)

In this quote there is a move to first say that people should recognize they are overweight or they are kidding themselves, and not kidding anyone else. The message is this: own up to your body type and the limitations it incurs regarding who you can date. Then Will states that he is not physically large, but that "didn't stop" overweight women from trying to contact him. That is an interesting discursive move which operates on the assumption that smaller guys cannot, or would not, be attracted to larger women, and emphasizes the distaste for women who would dare cross the weight line, essentially stating bigger women should know their place. Will's message is an example of how the discourse on this site functions to reinforce rules about who should or can pair with whom, ultimately building to the idea that people should recognize their authentic self and be prepared to alter their expectations accordingly. Hyperauthenticity on this level accepts nothing less than total acknowledgement of who you are and who is a realistic match for someone at your level. This relates back to notions of self as described by Higgins (1987). Hyperauthenticity hinges on a person's ability to negotiate aspects of the self as seen by one's self with the aspects of the self seen by others. In online dating, you have a unique conflagration of the self. In creating a profile one must negotiate a representation that is "honest" in their notions of what is an actual and possibly ideal image of who they are, but they must also be self-aware enough to predict how that representation will become an image of the self in someone else's mind. People reading a profile are creating an idea of the person that may skip past the "actual" level go into the "ideal" and "ought" levels based on hyperpersonal communication. In the moment where the participants meet, those ideal and ought images are confronted by the actual, and may lead to feelings of betrayal or being lied to. Hyperauthenticity is the expectation that someone not only knows who they are, but also knows themselves well enough to account for and cater to the assumptions that others will make about them. It is not enough to simply understand who you are or who you want to be, but you must represent yourself as you are perceived. These three aspects of the self return to Higgins's (1987) three basic domains of the self: The actual self refers to the attributes you or others believe you actually possess; the ideal self refers to representations of attributes you or others would like you to possess; and finally, the ought self refers to representations of attributes you or others think you should possess.

Discussion

The focus on knowing one's self and representing it accurately are two key elements of the concept of hyperauthenticity I build on in the remainder of this paper. I argue that hyperauthenticity builds upon and challenges the concept of the profile as promise. I argue that while many posts on eDatereview support the idea of profile as promise, they also represent a more negative characterization of people who have broken their promise. If the discourse on eDatereview represents part of the discourse surrounding online dating it gives a very different impression of how online daters view representations that are not entirely "accurate" in your online profile. Hyperauthenticity seems to be a reaction by those who feel like promises made in profiles were NOT kept in offline presence and/or were reevaluated in light of a failure to make a connection, such that unsuccessful online daters reimagine the importance and centrality of the promise as a means of explaining their failure. They then create a push to discipline and monitor others so that profiles are hyperauthentic and protect them against whatever harm they have perceived in the interaction. This discourse acts as a policing mechanism to enforce the accuracy of profiles.

Hyperauthenticity not only reinforces more traditional rules, but it also seems to reflect that when online interactions run into offline interactions there is an uneasy transition. Looking at the theory of hyperpersonal communication, which states that people tend to disclose more and faster in online environments, it may be that the increased levels of thinking you "know" someone after reading their profile, and the possibility that you would interpret that limited information in an idealized way, may explain why people feel particularly let down in an initial face to face meeting where the ideal fades into the actual, and the complexity of who someone is compared to his/her online bio becomes evident. In negotiating this transition from online to offline, it stands to reason that online daters would fall back on rules and expectations that make the online experience more closely representative of an offline experience.

The concept of hyperauthenticity relies on strict adherence to presenting the self as it appears in the immediate moment, but is predicated on the complete recognition of who the authentic self is, including one's limitations and how others may perceive those limitations. Discourse on eDateReview clearly reflects the importance of the physical body in online dating. Despite the potential for online daters to move beyond their appearance and focus more on personality when seeking a romantic partner, there is a very clear discourse that prioritizes the disclosure of physical appearance through accurate pictures and personal descriptions. This focus on the physical functions to reinforce a more traditional system of attraction that centers on aspects of appearance including race, age, and weight. By reinforcing rules that promote disclosing accurate physical images it becomes very difficult to use the full potential of online dating to transcend the traditional limits of physical appearance.

The data from this study clearly demonstrate a bias toward honest rather than ideal online presentations of self. This fierce discourse of honesty both in presentation, and in analyzing one's successes and failures, mitigates the liberatory potential of the online medium while reinforcing more traditional norms and emphasis on the physical aspects of attraction. While the Internet opens dating possibilities, at the end of the day, it still just sets up a relationship that has to happen in real life. Hyperauthenticity is ultimately unachievable because one can never represent oneself as he or she will be when the face to face meeting occurs, and therefore no matter how honest one was attempting to be, they will often be judged as being inauthentic. Insistence on the authentic present dooms the participants. Because they can never be the exact same as they will be when the first meeting occurs, and images posted online are trapped in the past, the ability to present a hyperauthentic self becomes an inevitable failure.

Future Research and Limitations

The results of this study demonstrate that online dating does pose unique issues not present in more traditional face to face dating. First, hyperpersonal communication and resulting idealized impression formation create a set of expectations for a face to face encounter that highlight the specific challenge of the online to offline transition that is not an issue in more traditional dating. Second, there is a clear need to establish norms for online dating that account for the impact of an online to offline transition. As this research has demonstrated, the current attempts of online daters to establish norms has largely been to reproduce more traditional norms and convert the online experience into an offline facsimile. Future research should look more specifically at how these offline norms impact daters in the transition from online to offline. Additionally, there is a very clear connection between online dating and expectation violation theory. The crux of the transition from online to offline interactions seems to be whether the face to face encounter represents a positive or negative expectation violation. Future research may be able to make that connection more explicit and provide useful information about how online daters may create more successful profiles and negotiate the move to offline relationships more effectively.

While this paper contributes significantly to an understanding of self-presentation and identity in online dating, there are limitations to address, primarily: 1). The possibility of flaming; 2). A potentially skewed sample; and 3). The breadth of sources used in analysis. First, flaming is defined as "aggressive or hostile communication occurring via computer-mediated channels" (O'Sullivan & Flanagin 2003, 70). Research has approached flaming as a problematic form of communication in online spaces stemming from a lack of immediacy which reduces social constraint and the impact of social norms typically adhered to in face to face interactions (O'Sullivan & Flanagin 2003). Taking this into account, the often very harsh posts on eDateReview.com could be considered examples of flaming, and therefore might represent an exaggerated reaction or presentation of the reaction to online dating. The possibility of flaming means that the posts on eDateReview may be distorted simply because they were expressed in an online forum. This also raises the question of the motives for the people posting to this site which leads to the second limitation.

The sample of posts I analyzed on eDateReview.com could be skewed because those who wrote comments were looking for a relatively anonymous forum in which to vent frustrations with online dating, again resulting in amplified hostilities and a particular way of talking about those frustrations. It is possible that the posters to this site were motivated by a particularly terrible date or experience which prompted them to find a venue for venting their frustrations. Posting a scathing review on eDateReview may help express negative emotions in a way people do not feel is necessary when they experience positive emotions. The need to vent could create a biased sample where negative experiences are disproportionately represented compared to more positive experiences.

The final limitation for this research is the breadth of sources used in the analysis. I chose to focus on one source of text for this analysis. While that source proved to be a very rich resource, doing interviews, looking at popular press publications, or even finding additional websites and message boards would have added another layer to the analysis. Additional future research may address these concerns.

END NOTES

1. EdateReview.com has changed format since data was last collected in 2013 making it difficult to access the reviews used in this analysis.
2. In order to maintain the integrity of the text posted on eDateReview.com, quotes are copied as they appear, including any spelling or grammatical errors.

REFERENCES

Adelman, M. B., & Ahuvia, A. C. "Mediated Channels for Mate Seeking: A Solution to Involuntary Singlehood?" *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 8.3 (1991): 273.

Bailey, C. "Virtual Skin: Articulating Race in Cyberspace." In D. Trend (Ed.), *Reading Digital Culture*, 334-346. Malden MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2001.

Bargh, J. A., McKenna, K. Y. A., & Fitzsimmons, G. M. "Can You See the Real Me? Activation and Expression of the 'True Self' on the Internet." *Journal of Social Issues* 58 (2002): 33–48.

Derlega, V. L. & Chaikin, A. L. "Privacy and Self-Disclosure in Social Relationships." *Journal of Social Issues* 33.3 (1977): 102-15.

Ellison, N. B., Hancock, J. T., & Toma, C. L. "Profile as Promise: A Framework for Conceptualizing Veracity in Online Dating Self-Presentations." *New Media & Society* 14.1 (2011): 45-62.

Ellison, N., Heino, R., & Gibbs, J. "Managing Impressions Online: Self-presentation Processes in the Online Dating Environment." *Journal of Computer-mediated Communication* 11.2 (2006): 415–41.

Gibbs, J. L., Ellison, N. B., & Heino, R. D. (2006). "Self-presentation in Online Personals: The Role of Anticipated Future Interaction, Self-Disclosure, and Perceived Success in Internet Dating." *Communication Research* 33.2 (2006): 152-77.

Goffman, E. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Anchor Books, 1959.

Hancock, J. T., & Dunham, P. J. "Impression Formation in Computer-Mediated Communication Revisited: An Analysis of the Breadth and Intensity of Impressions." *Communication Research* 28.3 (2001): 325.

Hancock, J.T. & Toma, C.L. "Putting your Best Face Forward: The Accuracy of Online Dating Photographs." *Journal of Communication* 59.2 (2009): 367–86.

Hardey, M. "Life beyond the Screen: Embodiment and Identity through the Internet. *Sociological Review* 50.4 (2002): 570.

—. "Mediated Relationships: Authenticity and the Possibility of Romance. *Information, Communication and Society* 7 (2004): 207-22.

Higgins, E. T. "Self-Discrepancy Theory." *Psychological Review* 94 (1987): 1120–34.

Hollander, P. "The Counterculture of the Heart." *Society* 41.2 (2004): 69-77.

Lea, M., & Spears, R. "Love at First Byte? Building Personal Relationships over Computer

Networks." In J.T. Wood, & S. Duck (Eds.), *Under-Studied Relationships: Off the Beaten Track. Understanding Relationship Processes Series,* Vol. 6, 197-233. Thousand Oaks CA: SAGE Publications, 1995.

McKenna, K. Y. A., Green, A. S., & Gleason, M. E. J. "Relationship Formation on the Internet: What's the Big Attraction?" *Journal of Social Issues* 58 (2002): 9–31.

Morse, M. "Virtually Female: Body and Code." In D. Trend (Ed.), *Reading Digital Culture*, 87-97. Malden MA: Blackwell, 2001.

Nakamura, L. (2001). "Race in /For Cyberspace: Identity Tourism and Racial Passing on the Internet." In D. Trend (Ed.), *Reading Digital Culture*, 226-35. Malden MA: Blackwell, 2001.

O'Sullivan, P. B., & Flanagin, A. J. "Reconceptualizing 'Flaming' and Other Problematic Messages." *New Media & Society* 5.1 (2003): 69-94.

Poster, M. "Postmodern Virtualities." In M.G. Durham & D.M. Kellner (Ed.), *Media and Cultural Studies: Keyworks*, 533-48). Malden MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.

Rogers, C. *Client-Centered Therapy.* Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1951.

Smaill, B. "Online Personals and Narratives of the Self: Australia's RSVP." *Convergence: The Journal of Research into New Media Technologies 10*.1 (2004): 93-107.

Stone, A. R. "Will the Real Body Please Stand Up?: Boundary Stories about Virtual Cultures." In D. Trend (Ed.), *Reading Digital Culture,* 185-98). Malden MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2001.

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. "Grounded Theory Methodology." In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 217-85. Thousand Oaks CA: Sage, 1994.

Toma, C.L., Hancock, J.T., & Ellison, N.B. "Separating Fact from Fiction: An Examination of Deceptive Self-Presentation in Online Dating Profiles. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 34.8 (2008): 1023–1036.

Tufekci, Z. "Can You See Me Now? Audience and Disclosure Management in Online Social Network Sites." *Bulletin of Science and Technology Studies* 11.4 (2008): 544-564.

Turkle, S. "Who am we?" In D. Trend (Ed.), *Reading Digital Culture*, 236-250. Malden MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2001.

Walther, J. B. "Computer-Mediated Communication: Impersonal, Interpersonal, and Hyperpersonal Interaction." *Communication Research* 23.1 (1996): 3-43.

—, & M. R. Parks. "Cues Filtered Out, Cues Filtered In: Computer-mediated Communication and Relationships." In M. L. Knapp & J.A. Daly (Eds.), *Handbook of Interpersonal Communication*, 3rd ed., 529-63. Thousand Oaks CA: Sage, 2002.

—. "Relational Aspects of Computer-Mediated Communication: Experimental Observations over Time." *Organization Science* 6 (1995): 186-203.

—, Van Der Heide, B., Kim, S., Westerman, D., & Tong, S. T. "The Role of Friends' Behavior on Evaluations of Individuals' Facebook Profiles: Are we Known by the Company we Keep?" *Human Communication Research* 34 (2008): 28-49.

Whitty, M. T. "Cyber-flirting: Playing at Love on the Internet." *Theory and Psychology,* 13 (2003): 339–57.

—. (2008). "Revealing the 'Real' Me, Searching for the 'Actual' You: Presentations of Self on an Internet Dating Site." *Computers in Human Behavior* 24.4 (2008): 1707-23.

"I HATE FB, BUT I CAN'T QUIT LOOKING AT IT": IDENTITY MANAGEMENT, AGENCY, AND TENSIONS IN SOCIAL NETWORKING

Nancy Small
University of Wyoming

The social networking site (SNS) Facebook exemplifies the impact of Web 2.0 participatory culture. According to web analytics provider Alexa (as of February 9, 2015), Facebook is the second most accessed site on the World Wide Web, trailing only Google, and roughly one in seven people on the planet have a Facebook account. On August 27, 2015, CEO Mark Zuckerberg announced the site had surpassed the one billion mark for daily users, calling it "just the beginning of connecting the whole world" (Zuckerberg 2015). According to Noyes (2014), over 300 million photos are uploaded each day and over 4.74 billion pieces of content are shared each day. Every minute, almost 300,000 status updates are posted. As programmers continue to develop revenue-generation models, Facebook continues to become more relevant to businesses as well. Noyes cites 42% of marketers as indicating Facebook is "critical or important" to their work.

While Facebook is certainly a site of dot-com entrepreneurial innovation, it is also a site of deeply personal work as well, a vehicle for the most human of tasks: exploration, expression, and management of identities. In an interface where language ("texts" as verbal, visual, and multimedia) and technology merge, a stream of uploads, posts, and connections generates an ongoing (re)presentation of individuals as well as communities. That Facebook's coded structure influences user behavior is obvious; any time it rolls out major interface changes, users respond with a flurry of reaction, often negative. Pitched by the company as new affordances they are often greeted by the users as new constraints; for example, tools like the news feed or ticker are seen as creepy, because of their broadcasting functions. Online identities and activities that had *seemed* under our control are revealed or "updated" to be more public than we realized. Particularly troubled users declare, "Facebook has pushed it too far, and I'll have to quit." For better or worse, quitting is not that easy, as is evidenced by Facebook's tremendous sustained growth and the inevitable, humble return of those "quitters" who just couldn't stay away. A whole psychological discussion has emerged concerning social networking and addictive behaviors. Users' rhetoric of "addiction" implies a futile resistance. Facebook is a space we paradoxically both love and hate, but why? What is at the root of this complicated relationship and how does online identity management play a role?

This essay explores the interesting problem of SNSs and user ambivalence by focusing on how Facebook's affordances and constraints influence perceptions of constructing and managing personal online identity. Kenneth Burke's theory of symbolic action is engaged to allow contrasting consideration of two particular sites of tension: 1). Facebook as a corporate agent versus the user as a social agent, and 2). users as agents who control their own online profiles versus users as co-agents who affect others' profiles. Facebook is coded to encourage sharing and interaction, but sometimes user habits and expectations work at odds with one another. Before proceeding to the full analysis, introductory framing of Burke's theory is provided and a supplemental online survey to gather user perceptions is described.

Kenneth Burke and Technology

Kenneth Burke (1897-1993) was an American theorist whose work extended from the literary and rhetorical to the social and political. Influenced by the arms race igniting the Cold War, Burke's (1966) work reveals him to be highly suspicious regarding technology, which he sees as a means of separating humans via "the complex network of material operations and properties, public or private"

Nancy Small, Ph.D. is a Visiting Assistant Professor at the University of Wyoming. Her primary research interests include storytelling as both method and methodology, as well as rhetorics of feminist agency and identity. She teaches courses in intercultural communication, rhetoric, and writing.

and the "different *classes* of society that arise through the division of labor and the varying relationships to the property structure" (italics in the original, 15). Technology creates and reinforces social hierarchies. In tandem with economic forces, Burke (1969) asserts technology invites "idealistic unification" (176). As emergent technologies disrupt the status quo, society goes through a period of re-balancing through the (re)establishment of group ideals. These ideals are then codified into law, further enforcing and protecting the groups who were in or came to power during the period of technological disruption. Innovation thus (re)defines and (re)codifies social order. Burke is also concerned with the nature of "progress" towards an ultimate end. Focusing on the Big Technology of nuclear arms, he warns of "progress" as a compulsive scramble towards an imagined and ironic "perfection" that may, in fact, destroy the world through total annihilation (16-20). His concern extends beyond weaponry to include all technological innovation, arguing that "*any* new power, or mode of control (such as obvious control over the weather) is potentially an instrument of war" (Burke 1966, 411). Because technologies are instruments of our own division, they are all to be considered with skepticism. Burke's warnings about Big Technology are echoed and transferred to hand-held personal technologies almost 50 years later by Sherry Turkle's (2011) work, *Along Together: Why We Expect More from Technology and Less from Each Other,* in which she argues that social networking actually separate us from more authentic forms of interpersonal encounters.

Considering the Cold War context for his work, it is not surprising that more recent scholarship tends to avoid or downplay Burke's views on technology. However, Hübler (2005) argues for a deeper and "fresh reading of Burke," yielding a broader range of perspectives (para. 29). Burke (1969) argues "both money and technology are objective 'powers' existing in history, [so] we might properly expect them to manifest the ambivalence of such powers." By this he means both money and technology "should be capable of acting favorably or unfavorably" (116), and thus, must be open to analysis. To protect economic and technological systems from critique serves to conceals their motives and the motives of the groups in power who wield their influence.

Burke's analytical method has been applied to symbolic acts delivered via technology (see Bailie 2010; Soetaert, Bourgonjon, & Rutten 2011), but he is less considered in relation to technology itself, as defined in terms of the user interface and its associated affordances and constraints. Tacking in to consider motives and tensions over personal identity management and tacking out to consider motives and tensions between user and corporate views reveal the complexity of the factors at play.

Facebook User Survey

While analysis of corporate-user tensions on Facebook can be considered from a theoretical perspective, tacking in to the individual users' perceptions and identity management experiences invites the inclusion of voices and insights beyond my own. As I recognized and reflected on my own growing love-hate relationship with Facebook, I knew that I needed to engage in broader conversation with other users. Without access to the perceptions of other online agents, the study would be limited to my own autoethnographic reflections and theory-based analysis. Therefore, I designed a 12-question survey including one demographic question (age), one question on access frequency, nine questions regarding tool use and perceptions, and one open-ended question asking for further clarifications or comments.

The survey was conducted twice—the first as a pilot in fall 2011 (n= 64) and the second survey, conducted in spring 2013 (n= 169). Both iterations produced similar results. Participants were solicited from a convenience/snowball sample over email and Facebook. In spring 2013, I posted a link to the survey on my own Facebook wall, and 16 "friends" shared the link with their own networks. After 24 hours, survey activity tapered off, resulting in 169 unique responses from respondents across a wide range of age groups. Of course, this is a tiny fraction of potential participants considering the number of Facebook users. The purpose was not to develop a formal instrument but instead was to gather agent perceptions concerning identity management and site affordances or constraints. Future research could go further in testing, refining, and scaling up participation.

Survey responses were tabulated using simple averages and frequency counts. As would be expected in a survey posted through Facebook for only 24 hours, participants were frequent visitors to the site: 136 (89%) accessed the site several times per day, 15 (8.9%) once per day, 8 (4.7%) several times per week, 3 (1.8%) about once per week, and 7 (4.1%) less than once per week. Comments from the participants as well as data from their responses are interwoven through the remainder of the analysis. I begin with the broader view of tensions between Facebook as corporate entity and Facebook as community of users because this sets the context for the analysis of individual identity management that follows.

Pentadic Views: Big Technology, Facebook-Corporation, & Facebook-User

Hübler (2005) has previously engaged Burkean theory to establish a new perspective on the "unique ideological climate precipitated by a *technological* society" (para. 2). Describing intersections of Jacques Ellul's technological world view via the dramatic pentad, his analysis offers a scholarly starting point and comparative macro-view complementary to considering Facebook as corporate actor and Facebook as community of users. In *Table 1*, each pentad is listed in a column, and the agent-agency ratio is the particular focus of this analysis. Typically, the agent (person) uses an instrument (tool and/or strategy) to act and/or accomplish a purpose. Together, the two views of Facebook reveal the tensions of competing motives, "*the strategic spots at which ambiguities arise*" (Burke 1969, xviii).

	Hübler on Ellul, World View	Facebook—Corporate View	Facebook—User View
Agent(s)	Human(s)/Technology	Fb as "organization" Leaders Programmers Corporate planners Investors	Fb as "people" Individuals Groups
Scene	Physical/Digital Worlds	Facebook.com	Facebook.com
Purpose	None/Everything (entelechial ends)	Rule the market Shape culture	See Be seen Connect
Act	Everything	Provide service Monetize content	Make identity Interact
Agency	Technology/Humans	Coding	(En)Coded

TABLE 1 Three pentadic views: Ellul's "World View," Facebook corporate, and Facebook user

Hübler's (2005) pentadic view of Ellul's *la technique* (Agent-Agency in the Technological Drama section, para. 1-14), argues technology is defined as the ultimate agency because it has become an end unto itself. Hübler explains the agent typically would be the "root" using the agency, but the deterministic worldview sees technological progress as a decontextualized means to its own end, parallel to Burke's *entelechial* view of Big Technology. Therefore, purpose is eliminated, and the principle agent-agency ratio is inverted or converged. Technology is exalted, as the *tool* is elevated over the *users*. Technology becomes the human motive, and humans "find themselves reshaping their 'psychological patterns in obedience to the patterns of [their] machines'" (quoting Burke, Agent-Agency in the Technological Drama section, para. 13). Such obedience manifests itself in the "addiction" rhetoric often associated with Facebook—users want to reduce their time on the site or even quit completely, but they are compelled to come back. They become obedient to the Facebook machine. The following survey responses illustrate the struggle over obedience:

> I hate FB. I'm only there for community - and I wish there was an alternative, which placed greater value on Privacy - above Commerce. FB is evil - and still I stay. *sigh* It is this incongruence I keep struggling with. And it does color my interactions on FB. (P163)
>
> I hate FB, but I can't quit looking at it. (P071)
>
> To be honest, I do not like facebook much anymore. Some of my friends don't either. Why I stay on Facebook though, is because it is the best way to keep in contact with people, to know how old friends in different places are doing. (P046)

Facebook users' ambivalent feelings may be a function of the site becoming an end, a required tool for the tool's sake. Some users stay on Facebook because Facebook is where "everyone else is" rather than because it is an effective, enjoyable site of participation. Bailie (2010) further illustrates, via a controversial student "smart mob" protest, that our modern rhetorical outlook is framed in the capitalist setting and defines the user/actor primarily or perhaps only as *consumer* of *technological agency* rather than empowered "wielder" of it. At best, technology is not to be actively controlled but instead passively consumed. At worst, human users are the instruments of the technology for the sake of the technology.

The middle column of *Table 1* describes the pentadic form of the Facebook—Corporate view. Paralleling Hübler (2005), the primary ratio in both Facebook columns is agent-agency. In the Facebook-Corporate situation, the stakeholders and employees of Facebook.com—which serves as a digital scene—use coding (agency) as a tool for the purpose of leading the social networking market and maximizing profits. In Zuckerberg's (2015) announcement that the site had surpassed the one billion user mark for daily accesses, he links use of Facebook to social as well as economic goals: "A more open and connected world is a better world. It brings stronger relationships with those you love, a stronger economy with more opportunities, and a stronger society that reflects all of our values." Facebook's stated mission is "to *give* people the *power* to share and make the world more *open and connected*. People use Facebook to stay connected with friends and family, to discover what's going on in the world, and to share and express what matters to them" (emphasis added, Facebook 2015). The crux of the tension between users and motives is captured in this statement. Corporate Facebook leadership foregrounds user agency by explicitly supporting the "power" to share, but the second half of that first mission statement sentence also includes Facebook's broader goal of *making* the world *more open and connected*. The networking site offers users agency, but the purpose of that agency serves corporate end goals. CEO Zuckerberg explained in early January 2010 that Facebook sees its self as both responding to and actively working to shape cultural notions of "private" and "public" (see Kirkpatrick 2010), and the corporation actively seeks ways to encourage users to share *more*, to reshape cultural conceptions of public and private as well as to maximize profits. Facebook's homepage reassures users "It's free and always will be," but a popular online axiom —said about Google and MetaFilter, too— reminds us "if you're not paying for something, you're not the customer; you're the product being sold." Based on the 2014 news feed experiment scandal, "To Facebook, we are all lab rats" (Goel 2014, para. 1). In this pentadic view, agency in the form of "coding" happens at several levels and empowers progress towards a self-perpetuating purpose. Progress is defined as market domination, tied to purposefully changing the culture in order to reinforce the site's ongoing use. Through innovation (development of new interactive online tools) and the resulting disruption, Facebook seeks to re-code a macro-culture of public performance. On the micro-level, an army of coders studies and (re)designs the Facebook interface, maintains means of storing user data, and channels data to users, to Facebook, and to their data-mining corporate customers.

The far right column on *Table 1* portrays the Facebook—User view. In this situation, Facebook users want to connect with their friends, family, and other social networks. To connect, they must "be seen." To do that, user establish their profiles, with at least a name (all other basic profile information can be left blank or hidden). The Facebook profile is structured as a form, with specific entries for work, education, contact information, relationships, religious views, and political views. One section, just called "About" is the least prescriptive, leaving its use to be interpreted in broader ways. Through a complexity of privacy settings, users can control who can access the profile as a whole or as individual units of information (for example, contact information can be hidden or only visible to particular friends). Beyond filling out the basic profile, Facebook users are "seen" through their status updates, memberships, and "Like" activities. Users "see" their friends' identities and activities, and in turn, "are seen" contributing to them through comments and other semi- or quasi-public" interactions. The primary agencies for the user are twofold: 1). the "coding" of a digital identity through choices of basic information, profile picture, friends, groups, media, games, and other features aggregating into an ongoing digital persona; and 2). "encoding" others by posting to their accounts through wall commentary, photo tags, sharing, and other activities that generate posts either on another user's profile or in response to their activities.

Users also submit to being "encoded" by their network and by Facebook via participation in the site. While agency is involved at the point of the decision to participate, it is then dispersed, transferred from the individual to the collective, including the user's network of "friends." Through features directly linked to Facebook-Corporate's goals, a user's identity may also be linked to advertising when that user's activity includes key words associated with a particular product's marketing scheme. In the transfer of agency from individual/user to collective/network (including Corporate actors), the seeds of tension are sown, often over shifting codes of the public/private spheres. Information the user wants private may become public due to complexity in privacy settings (code) or changes to the interface (code). Although purpose and setting become highlighted elements of the pentadic view, the agent-agency ratio is still foregrounded as the arguments ensue of who is *in control* of the user's identity. In a twist, Facebook's "army of specialists" (Burke 1966, p. 415) supplying the material for the technological system are the very users who find themselves "addicted" to the system.

The only real private interaction space on Facebook is the "private message," coded to act more like a private "chat." By default, everything else is (semi)public, depending on how individual privacy settings are applied. "Lists" allow individual posts to be seen only by friends the profile owner indicates. However, the "friend request" feature cannot be turned off—the only privacy choices for it as of today are "everyone" and "friends of friends." Facebook forces the possibility of additional connections, even if the user wants to delineate his or her sphere of activity.

Limited ways of building identity under the "About" tab (education, work, politics, religion, relationships) as well as confusion over information ownership and privacy may leave users feeling "boxed in" by the profile tools and by not knowing how Facebook-Corporate *uses* the information added to the profile. danah boyd (2011) explains the struggles over privacy in terms of agency, which is a common source of tension regarding Facebook's corporate practices and views. She argues "the reason that we must care about privacy, especially in a democracy, is that it's about human agency. To systematically undermine people's privacy—or allow others to do so—is to deprive people of freedom and liberty" (para. 5). The on-going act and associated agency of "making identity" online is complex, but the outcome is users often are not comfortable in how they understand the "systems" (of coding at all levels) and where the locus of control is truly located.

Facebook-Corporate pushes strongly in one direction on these public/private shifts. Perhaps Burke might say it is fully fueled by the leaders' and employees' occupational psychosis and trained incapacity to truly consider views outside their own. Indeed, Facebook's push towards the "death of privacy" is a direct illustration of Burkean "instrumental principle" Hill (2009) likens to "a bulldozer that rips into natural conditions without qualms'" (para. 32). Privacy may be a social as opposed to natural construct, but Facebook leadership has made a pointed, public effort at forcing change of cultural norms. What greater personal driver than family and friends to push/pull users into both actively and passively breaking down divisions between private and public? Considered from arm's length, the notion of a technological bulldozer ripping into the "natural" conditions of identity and social bonds *via those very social bonds* is frighteningly brilliant. Critiquing Marshall McLuhan, Burke (1966) points out a medium cannot work without content. Indeed, "expert practitioners of a given medium may resort to the kind of contents the given medium is best equipped to exploit" (416), and for Facebook that content is identity and relationships.

Action & Motion in Social Networking

Central to Burke's theory of human behavior is symbolic action. The human is defined as "the symbol-using animal" whose "'reality' has been built up for us through nothing but our symbol systems" (Burke 1966, 3-5). In other words, language and other symbolic systems structure the human world and open the space for differentiating between humans acting according to animal instinct and humans acting according to rhetorical systems (7). Symbolic *action* is marked by intellectual process. In "(Nonsymbolic) Motion/(Symbolic) Action," Burke (1978) differentiates between the two in terms of the theater screen:

> The sights and sounds of a motion picture are, in themselves, wholly in the realm of motion. But as interpreted by the audience they become a drama, in the realm of symbolic action. These sights and sounds reach the eyes and ears of the audience through the medium of motion. And the audience hears, sees, and interprets them through the motions of the bodily behavior under the control of the nervous structure without which we could not see the sights, hear the sounds, or interpret them as a "story." (833)

Nonsymbolic motion must precede symbolic action in that something must happen before we use our symbolic systems in order to interpret and potentially react to it. Therefore, the very nature of reading and interpreting a social networking interface might be argued to be a form of action. But rather than viewed as a strict binary—action *or* motion—the question might more broadly be considered as to how active or *purposeful* social media users really are. If users frame themselves as addicts, then agency and action are minimized. However, purposeful, thoughtful, and reflective use of sites like Facebook would indicate a higher degree of perceived agency and action. In both Burke's theater example and in the present focus on social networking, the role of the screen-as-interface (or "medium") is of interest.

Language and medium as dialectic process is one way of viewing "code." Lawrence Lessig (2006) discusses the controlling nature of code in his popular book, *Code: And Other Laws of Cyberspace, Version 2.0*. Coding for the web can be a relatively simple, self-taught skill or enormously complex and intellectually demanding professional task. For example, coding, testing, and revising major revisions for Facebook take months of work by an unknown number of programmers—Facebook employs over 9,000 according to its late-2014 online company profile (Facebook 2015)—but the number of programmers within that group is unknown. At its heart, *code is language*. Even as it appears in its indecipherable, strangely organic state, to be an elemental, technical structure serving only as the bits and bytes underpinning software, code is the product of humans making symbolic meaning. Through symbolic meaning, code serves a clearly rhetorical purpose of revealing and concealing as it creates affordances and constraints for designers and users. As such, programming is the site of technical/human convergence and rebirth—it is the techno-symbolic system animated by human vision, delivered via hardware, reflective of human motivation, responsive to hardware limitations/configurations, and directive of user action.

Burke (1966) explains technical tools can only be instrumental; in contrast, language can function can be "a species of action," a tool, and "a reflexive or second-level aspect of human symbolism" (14-15). Language-as-tool functions at multiple levels in an SNS. Unseen, the code of the site is the tool building both the interface itself and the databases as well as other functionality making the interface function. The interface we see on the screen then is built partially of language, asking us questions ("Where do you live?") so we fill in the forms to create a profile and then prompting us ("What's on your mind?") to participate. Is code motion or action? It would seem to be both. It was purposefully created by the coders in conjunction with the site developers and the leaders whose vision designed and continues to shape the site. Once that language/code is deployed and the site is functional, however, it might be said to be "in motion," as billions of times per day, the code is the language making the site manifest. Each time a user logs in, the code is instrumental—acting without direct human prompting—in generating the interface and acting as the engine powering affordances and creating constraints.

Burke (1966) ridiculed McLuhan's assertion "the medium is *the* message" as an "oversimplification" and premature disregard for the power of content (see 410-418). Cathcart (1993) offers two means for bridging this medium/motion—content/action gap. First, he explains that "Burke, while not directly subscribing to the concept of media as motion and action, agrees that different frameworks of interpretation alter our interpretations of reality" (p. 299). Burke (1966) encourages us to consider technological constraints, to ask "*just what kind of content* is favored by the peculiar nature of a given medium?" (italics in the original, 416). The medium thus becomes a framework, not *the* message, and in that sense has some impact but not sole influence. Content still counts, and such reframing encourages critique of the medium's power and influence. Cathcart's second means for bridging the gap between medium/motion and content/action is (re)theorizing "language and medium [as] coexisting and reciprocal means of communication" (293). This alternative view considers the medium and message as dialectically informing each other. Medium influences content which affects medium. In this way, identity work on Facebook is indeed a complex tangle of coding, interface, and individual motivations.

Setting aside questions over the impact of coding on identity work, a first foundational task is establishing the intentionality of human activities on Facebook. Are users acting with little or no thought (motion), or are they demonstrating the intentionality associated with symbolic meaning (action)? Survey respondents overwhelmingly indicate action. As illustrated in *Figure 1*, fully 85% either agree or strongly agree with the statement "I think very carefully about everything I do—post, comment, like, play, etc.—on Facebook."

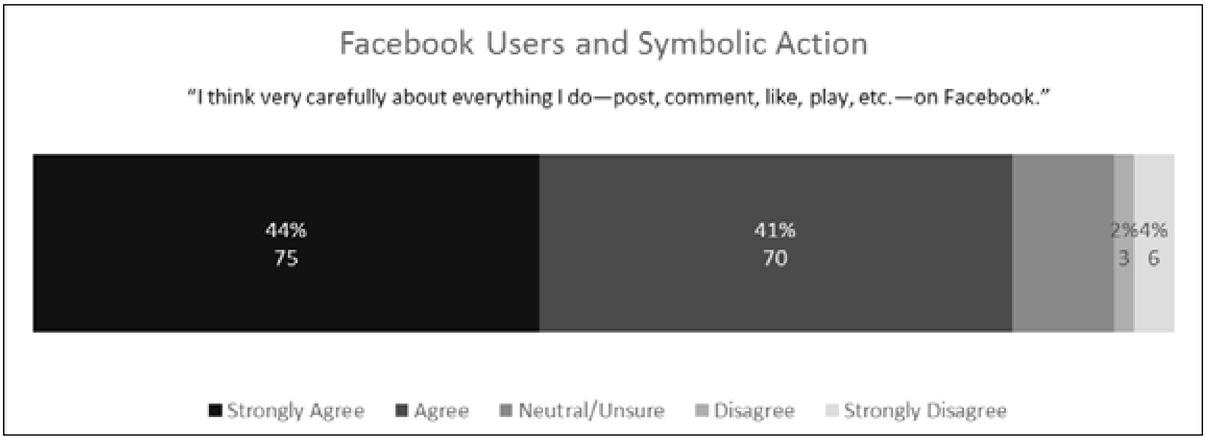

FIGURE 1: Survey responses indicating engagement in action more so than in motion

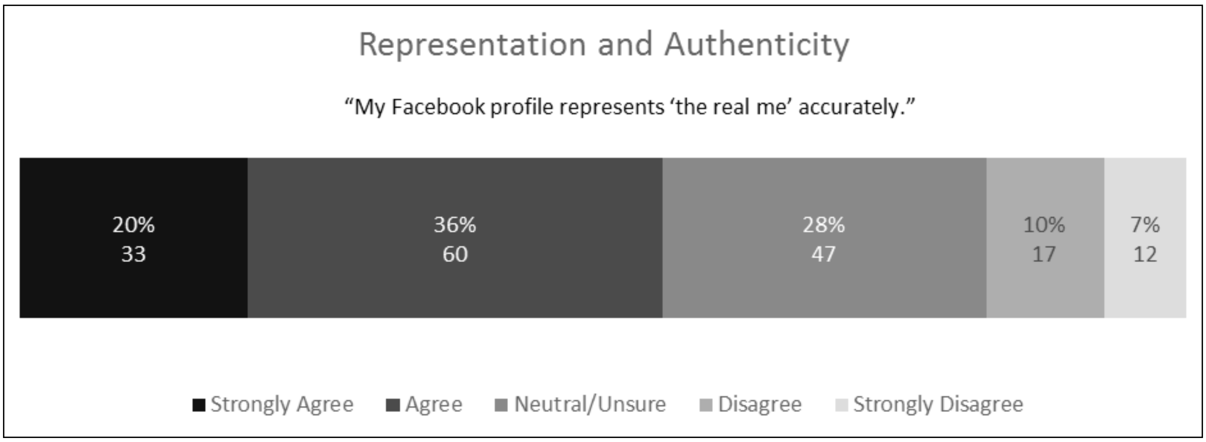

FIGURE 2: Survey respondents' views on Facebook as authentic representation of identity

The structure of the statement, elongated by example activities, as well as the qualifier "very carefully" are intended to slow down the respondent and emphasize intentionality. In the question inviting additional comments, several people noted strategies they use in controlling their posts:

> Because my friends are made up of family, friends, and co-workers, when I post it tends to be filtered so not to offend anyone. (P108)
>
> My Facebook profile is a carefully constructed public version of who I am. (P162)
>
> I love Facebook, but it's like anything else, you need to use common sense and be responsible for your choices. (P036)
>
> I tell my facebook friends that I do NOT allow profanity on my page. My 'block sender' list is larger than my friends list for a reason. They do NOT use the 'F' word and so far, they respect it and apologize TO MY FACE if they use it. (P133)

One respondent described being a "user" rather than a "participant," indicating a more complex view of going to the site and looking (often called "lurking") rather than adding to the symbolic activities. Even respondents who don't like Facebook reported continued visits to the site. For one, such visits serve to maintain a sense of control over his or her profile: "I wish I could get off Facebook but the fact you can never truly delete yourself means that I log on occasionally to be sure nothing is totally out of place. I hope Facebook ceases to exist." Users feel an acute sense of purposefulness, evidence of action rather than motion, whether or not they continue to enjoy maintaining their Facebook presence.

A second question asked users if they felt their profiles successfully represent their "authentic" selves. The purpose of the question was to gauge how successful participants felt the Facebook interface is at capturing what they believe to be "real." As *Figure 2* reveals, 93 (56%) respondents agree or strongly agree to the statement, "My Facebook profile represents 'the real me' accurately." Facebook is moderately successful in empowering users to achieve a perceived realistic representation of themselves in a digital space.

Considered in light of the previous statement over thinking carefully/being purposeful (*Figure 1*), this second statement offers two potential complications. First, it may foreshadow respondents' uncertainty over the control of their Facebook profiles. While 145 (85%) use the site carefully, only about half (93, or 56%) feel as though they are successful in the authenticity of their online identity work. The discrepancy may be about the limitations of the tools and spaces for meaning making, or it may be about not having full control over other people's posts (refer back to the bulleted list above, activities involving monitoring and filtering). A second potential interpretation of the purpose/authenticity difference might be that users are aware of their own public identity shaping on Facebook. As one comment above indicates, the user actively pursues "a carefully constructed public version" of himself or herself, pointing to engagement in online identity play.

Facebook as Site of Tensions in the Social Construction of Identity

Having established Facebook as a site of purposeful action, I now focus more narrowly on the process of online identity construction. Online agency is experienced as being confident in using the interface to make and maintain the profile you want and to feel a sense of satisfaction from digital interactions with "friends." Branaman (1994) applies Burke's social-symbolic action theory to the notion of contemporary *identity*. Growing out of his concern over the role of language in maintaining or challenging the social order, Burke saw identity as a potential instrument of social critique. His conception of personal identity is purely social: the Freudian, bourgeois "self" is a void, and "identity" is a product of "'orientation,' 'frames of acceptance,' and 'symbols of authority'—key concepts in his analysis of the social patterning of human motives" (446). Complementary to Burke's assertion of identity as socially constructed, the very nature of Facebook's intent and design as revealed by its affordances and constraints makes digital identity a social/collective as well as psychological/individual product. Mallan and Giardina (2009) explore the "consequences for reconceptualizing identity as something that is mediated by (rather than at odds with) technology." Their study of 150 high school students using MySpace in Queensland, Australia, concludes SNS users are "engaging creatively with the principles of Web 2.0 and manipulating identity presentation applications to suit their needs." Albrechtslund (2008) conceives of social networks as sites of "participatory surveillance" and asserts the social construction of identity that happens through mutual documenting/sharing personal information and eliciting response is, in fact, empowering. Muhr and Pedersen (2010) argue Facebook users knowingly project their "enhanced" selves. Zhao, Grasmuch, and Martin (2008) call these the "hoped-for possible selves." Baym (2010) claims individuals tend to "tweak" their identities, shaping the "foreground" persona to the particular audience. Online, individual identity is intertwined with social identities through group membership, "liking", linking, tagging, and "friend"ships. These social markers, as well as online participation over time, reduce the gap between our real-life personae and how we present ourselves as we both "give" and "give off" clues to our authentic selves.

Zhao, Grasmuch, and Martin (2008) consider the complex, socially constructed nature of online identity and, following in-depth interviews with 63 undergraduate users, develop a continuum of self-presentation modes available in Facebook (1824-26). I have added the connections to Burke, in italics:

- Narrative/Explicit: **Self as Speaker**
    - Most direct, verbal introductions or revelatory "real self," self-description
    - Expressed in minimalist, playful ways that avoid explicit disclosure
    - *Agency is primarily with agent*
- Enumerative/Mixed: **Self as Consumer**
    - "Cultural self" revealed through favorite movies, books, and music
    - *Agency is mixed, partially with agent and partially beyond agent's control*
- Visual/Implicit: Self as **Social Actor**
    - "Showing without telling"
    - Relies on peer photographs, interests, and preferences
    - May be textual or truly visual (photos, videos)
    - *Agency is active in choosing social connections but passive in letting these co-agents show on the agent's behalf*

While all of these modes relate to the *agent*'s choice(s) of identity/representation, the Self as Speaker is the only mode where the agent retains full agency. The Self as Consumer mixes the locus agency: the agent chooses favorite media or products with which to identify, but then those products are represented independently of the agent, too. For example, a teenager may choose to reveal her deep knowledge of and love for Harry Potter books as a way of constructing her identity with peers, but once those books are no longer popular (which is out of her control), her identity is affected. She may then be the one who "still reads kids' books." The Self as Social Actor places the agency with one or more *co-agent(s)* (Burke 1969, xix-xx). In this passive stance, friends are allowed to speak or show on the agent's behalf. Baym (2010) refers to these modes as "giving" or "giving off" clues to identity.

The remaining questions in my survey considered online identity construction from two perspectives. One focused on respondents' *preferences*—how they want construct online identities, and the other on respondents' *activities*—what they spend their online time doing. The simple expectation would be that Facebook users would spend their time engaged in the kinds of constructive work they preferred (within the affordances and constraints of the interface).

Survey respondents were prompted to consider their preferences of representation, given three choices, based off of Zhao, Grasmuch, and Martin's (2008) continuum, and asked "what is your favorite way of presenting 'who you are' through your Facebook profile?" Respondents could mark only one choice, and were told, "You may enjoy

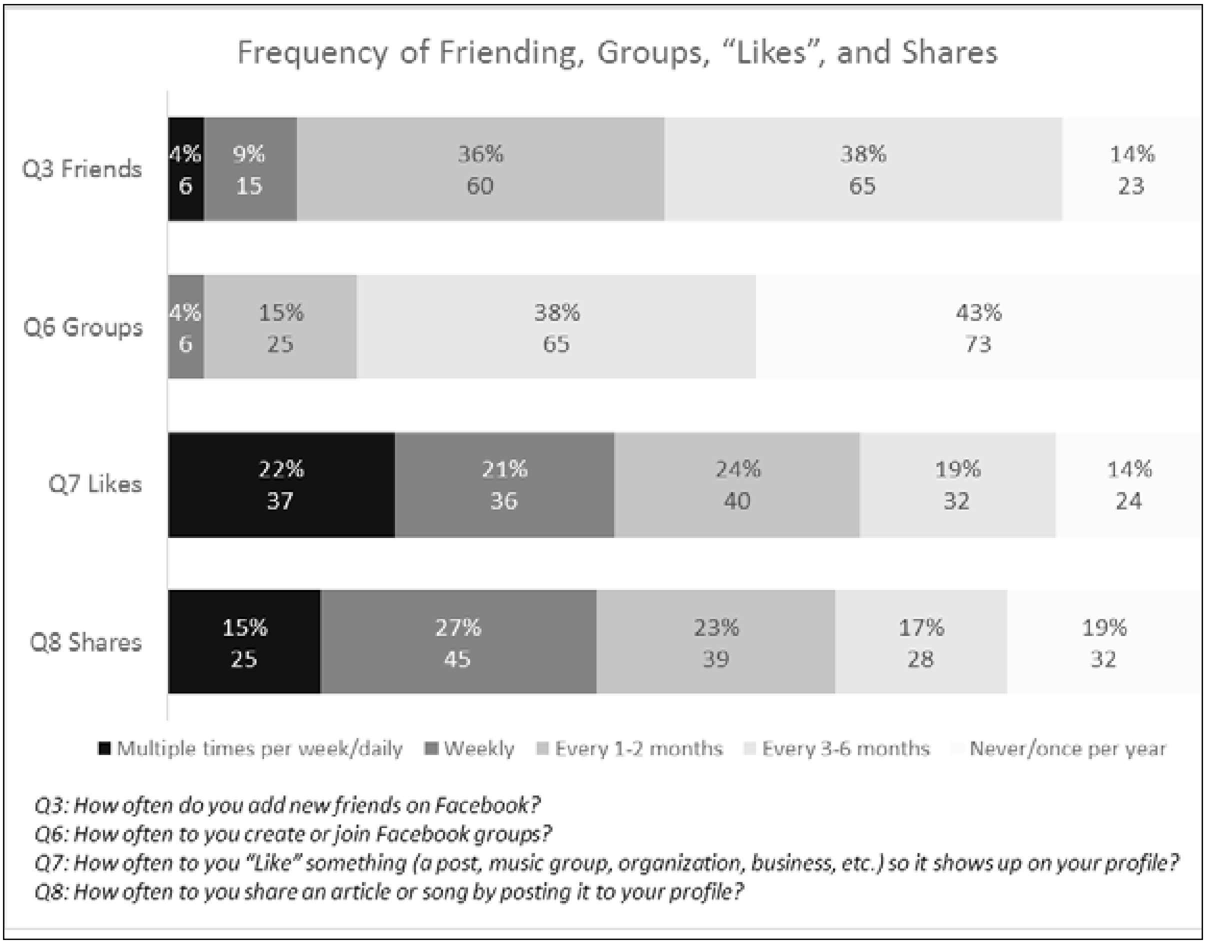

FIGURE 3: Facebook users' preferences of identity presentation

two or three of these, but pick the one you prefer most." *Figure 3* illustrates almost half (76, or 45%) preferred "Self as Speaker" ("I tell about myself"), the approach offering the best agent-agency connection. As the most popular choice, it aligns with preferences discussed above regarding careful, purposeful use of Facebook and somewhat mixed reactions over authenticity. The Self as Consumer option ("My choices tell about me") included clarifying detail: "I like to post articles, books, movies, music, games, groups, events or other things that show who I am." The number of respondents reporting being at ease with building identity through commercial associations was 63 (37%). Posting of movies, articles, books, places, and activities aligns nicely with Facebook's corporate goals. Additional statistical analysis would be interesting to see if these choices are correlated with the respondents' ages. Only 30 (18%) chose Self as Social Actor ("Other people tell about me"). Comparing this least popular choice with *Figure 1*, which indicates 85% of users think carefully about their online identities and performances, seems to reinforce that Facebook users perceive others posting on their walls and extensively commenting on their posts as risky business because they cannot fully control others' actions.

Illustrating the activities of survey respondents, *Figure 4* presents frequencies of identity-through-association, by connecting (Friends), joining (Groups), consuming (Likes), or endorsing (Shares). Each of these activities defines the agent by connecting her or him with something else, a Burkean identification/consubstantiation.

Adding friends (Q3) was a less frequent activity—most respondents (144, or 88%) saying they do so only once a month or less and may have some tie to the respondents' longer term arc of activity on Facebook. Following the logic of newcomers seeking to establish a network and assimilate to the online environment, newer users would seem likely to add friends more frequently. Of the four social connections surveyed, creating or joining groups (Q6) was least popular, with a large majority (81%) answering either "never/once per year" (73, or 43%) or "every 3-6 months" (65, or 38%). The reason for this infrequency also may be a function of how established survey participants are on Facebook, meaning they seem to not be actively seeking new social connections. Alternatively, a factor could be the result of the respondents' ages. For example, older users who have in-person social meetings may be less likely to represent those circles in digital spaces than younger

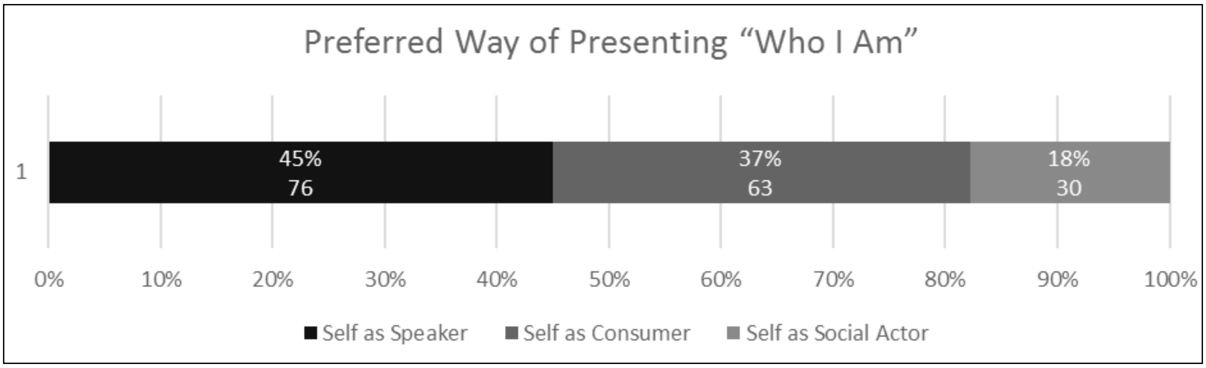

FIGURE 4: Participant-reported activities.

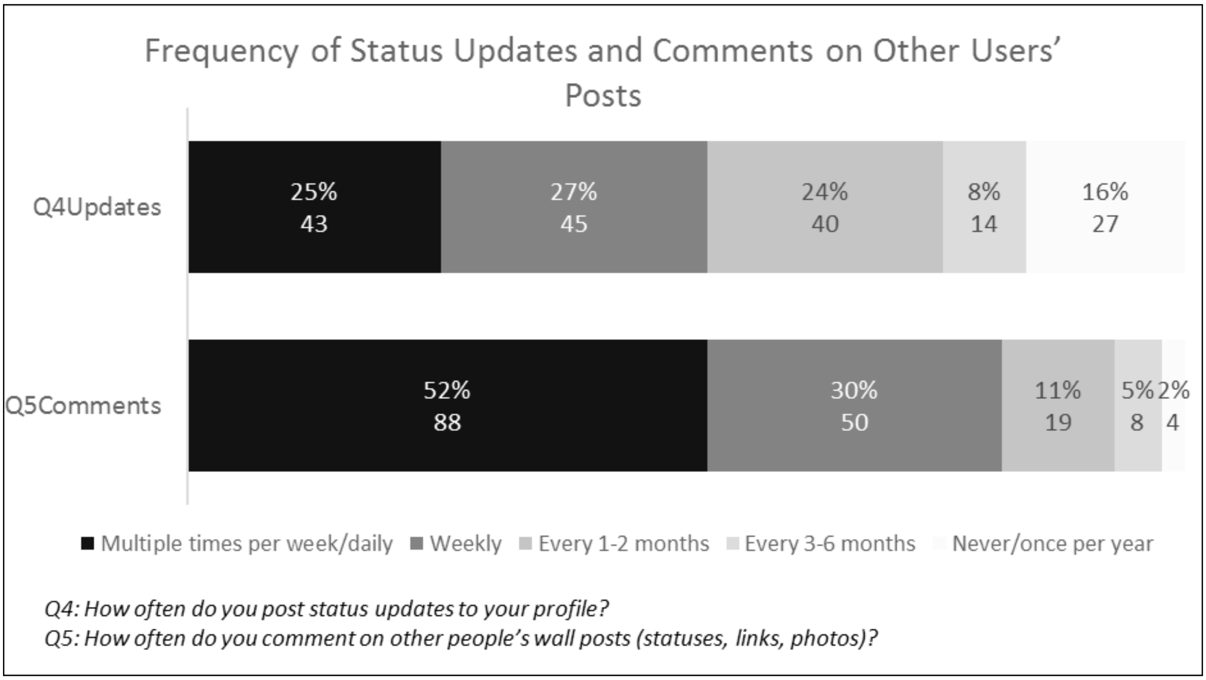

FIGURE 5: Respondents' post status updates and comments on others' posts

participants who do more socializing online. "Consumer" activities (Q7 and Q8) were most equally distributed, with 37 (22%) and 25 (15%) respondents, respectively, reporting these activities as occurring multiple times per week and 36 (21%) and 45 (27%), respectively, reporting them as weekly activities. These activities—affiliating with outside organizations by liking their pages and sharing content by posting it on the profile activities—seem to reinforce or at least align with the 63 (37%) preference for Self as Consumer identified in *Figure 3*.

One factor the survey does not capture is awareness or effect of "frictionless sharing," the automatic posting links to articles and music when a user accesses it through a Facebook-integrated application. Automations means the posting activity becomes *motion* rather than *action,* even if Facebook's intention is to imply conscious endorsement (*action*). As it is incorporated into more online periodicals and media services, an interesting study would be users' *perceived* versus *actual* "consumer identity work." Facebook has been criticized regarding frictionless sharing as being unpopular and not having the intended effects (see MacManus 2011 and Greenfield 2012).

Moving from the affordances centered on affiliation, *Figure 5* illustrates participants' preferences for tools that let the user "tell about myself," corresponding to the agency of "Self as Speaker."

Status updates (Q4) were moderately frequent, with 88 (52%) participants posting weekly or daily. For people who use Facebook, the frequency of this activity is no surprise—news of the mundane, such as a recent meal, and reflections over unexpected life turns form the content driving the news feed. Such posts are the primary way users perform and/or construct their Facebook identities. As indicated earlier, survey participants report putting significant thought into these decisions and having boundaries on what is appropriate and inappropriate in relationship to their public personae. *Figure 5* also illustrates the most frequent Facebook activity. A striking 88 respondents (52%) report commenting on other peoples' wall posts (such as statuses, links, or photos) daily or multiple times per day while another 50 (30%) participate weekly. Combined, this number accounts for 138 (82%) survey respondents. Commenting on other peoples' posts then is, by far, the most common activity and may be an interesting source of tension. Facebook users exert some narrative/explicit agency by telling about *themselves* in their status lines but were *most active as co-agents*, participating in the social construction of other peoples' identities by commenting on *other* people's postings.

Commenting is where individual identity interweaves with social identity. What I write on *your* wall is *my explicit agency implicitly contributing to your identity*. Of course, that is Facebook's purpose as a social network—these "connections" form the consubstantiation of our identification. Ironically, we like to be in control of our digital selves but we like to exert control through other people's spaces. Even as 82% of Facebook users prefer the agency of either telling about themselves or letting their choices tell about them, people's *activity* on the site was most focused on being the co-agents contributing to social construction of *others*' identities by telling about them. Thus, profile owners find themselves in the tricky position of exerting their agency and managing their Facebook identities: making decisions about what tags, comments, and other associations to leave and what to—at the risk of offending the "friend"ly commenting poster—delete. Broken identifications are a source of confusion (i.e., "why did she take herself off my post about boxers versus briefs?") and even real-world hurt feelings (i.e., Facebook breakups where unannounced to the paramour, one's relationship status is changed to "it's complicated" or single). Tokunaga (2011) explores the sources and struggles of negative emotions like these occurring in social network environments. Thanks to the live news feed, they are also automatically posted for all "friends" of both parties to see. If a third party comments on the news, then all of her friends can also share in the broadcast. Thus the social construction of identity coded into almost every aspect of Facebook is both a source of connection (identification) and discomfort over distributed agency.

Beyond the competing interests over what individual users want and what they do, Facebook is clearly a site of larger competing agencies. From the focus of the user survey, I now move to broader analysis of tensions between users and Facebook as corporate entity.

Conclusions

Whether or not it is reportedly losing younger users or rapidly gaining older users (Ornitz 2015), Facebook remains the second most-visited site in the world for daily traffic and maintains robust numbers of frequent users. Despite ongoing engagement with the site—we just can't stop looking at it—users are often turned off by the site and frame their relationship to Facebook in terms of a loathsome addiction. Users struggle to make sense of this love-hate relationship, and this study offers one narrative for considering the complex dynamics at play. The SNS's coded ways for making and managing identity create broader tensions over purpose. Agency and control on Facebook are a complicated tangle of corporate vision, code, users, and other stakeholders not mentioned here, including, for example, the Federal Trade Commission (Sengupta 2011). All parties are motivated by a desire to accomplish their purposes richly: corporations are motivated by capitalist riches, individuals are motivated by the emotional riches of identification, and others have different motives still. A significant discomfort exists due to the competition between money-making interests and the human need for expression and social bonding. Tensions also exist over how users "make" identity in Facebook, as 45% of users prefer identity expressed directly through explicit narrative—they want to control their own digital identity via their "wall" posts —but a vast majority (82%) spends time commenting on other peoples' social markers. In other words, we want to control our own space, but we spend our time commenting and posting on other peoples' spaces, doing the very thing that drives us crazy. Conversely, when people *don't* comment or interact with our posts, we might feel isolated or ignored. The push-pull between our own need for control and our own compulsion to interact can lead to interpersonal tensions when users have differing views of Facebook's purpose and its role as public/private

REFERENCES

Albrechtslund, A. "Online Social Networking as Participatory Surveillance." *First Monday* 13.3 (2008). Web. Retrieved from http://firstmonday.org/

Bailie, B. "Smart mobs and Kenneth Burke." *KB Journal* 6.2 (2010). Web. Retrieved from http://www.kbjournal.org/spring2010

Baym, N. K. *Personal Connections in the Digital Age.* Malden MA: Polity, 2010.

boyd, d. "Debating Privacy in a Networked World for the WSJ". *danah boyd: apophenia*, November 21, 2011. Web. Retrieved from http://www.zephoria.org/

Branaman, A. "Reconsidering Kenneth Burke: His Contributions to the Identity Controversy." *The Sociological Quarterly* 35.3 (1994): 443-55.

Burke, K. *Language as Symbolic Action: Essays on Life, Literature, and Method.* Berkeley: U of California P, 1966.

—. *A Grammar of Motives.* Berkeley: U of California P, 1969.

—. "(Nonsymbolic) Motion/(Symbolic) Action." *Critical Inquiry* 4.4 (1978): 809-38.

Cathcart, R. "Instruments of His Own Making: Burke and Media." In J. Chesebro (Ed.), *Extensions of the Burkeian System,* 287-308. Tuscaloosa AL: U Alabama P, 1993.

Facebook. "Facebook Reports Fourth Quarter and Full Year 2014 Results." *Facebook,* January 28, 2015. Web. Retrieved from http://investor.fb.com/releasedetail.cfm?ReleaseID =893395

Goel, V. "Facebook Tinkers with Users' Emotions in News Feed Experiment, Stirring Outcry." *New York Times,* June 29, 2014. Web. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/ 2014/06/30/technology/facebook-tinkers-with-users-emotions-in-news-feed-experiment-stirring-outcry.html

Greenfield, R. "Frictionless Sharing Hits the Skids at Facebook." *The Atlantic Wire,* September 21, 2012. Web. Retrieved from http://www.thewire.com/technology/ 2012/09/facebook-realizes-nobody-wants-share-everything-all-time/57109/

Hill, I. "'The Human Barnyard' and Kenneth Burke's Philosophy of Technology."

KB Journal 5.2 (2009). Web. Retrieved from http://www.kbjournal.org/spring2009

Hübler, M. (2005). "The Drama of a Technological Society: Using Kenneth Burke to Symbolically Explore the Technological Worldview Discovered by Jacques Ellul." *KB Journal* 1.2 (2005). Web. Retrieved from http://www.kbjournal.org/spring2005

Kirkpatrick, M. "Facebook's Zuckerberg Says the Age of Privacy is Over." *ReadWriteWeb*, January 10, 2010. Retrieved from http://readwrite.com/2010/01/09/facebooks _zuckerberg_says_the_age_of_privacy_is_ov

Lessig, L. *Code: Version 2.0*. New York: Basic Books, 2006.

MacManus, R. "The Pros & Cons of Frictionless Sharing." *Readwrite*, September 29, 2011. Web. Retrieved from http://readwrite.com/2011/09/28/frictionless_sharing_pros_cons

Mallan, K. & Giardina, N. "Wikidentities: Young People Collaborating on Virtual Identities in Social Networking Sites." *First Monday* 14.6 (2009). Web. Retrieved from http://firstmonday.org/

Muhr, S. L. & Pedersen, M. "Faking it on Facebook." In D. E. Whittkower (Ed.), *Facebook and Philosophy,* 265-75. Chicago IL: Open Court, 2010.

Noyes, D. "The Top 20 Valuable Facebook Statistics – Updated February 2015." *Zephoria,* February 10, 2014. Web. Retrieved from https://zephoria.com/social-media/top-15-valuable-facebook-statistics/

Ornitz, J. "Facebook isn't Losing Young Users, it's Gaining Older Ones." *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, January 10, 2015. Web. Retrieved from http://www.ajc.com/news/news/ national/facebook-isnt-losing-young-users-its-gaining-older/njkpC/

Segupta, S. "F.T.C. Settles Privacy Issue at Facebook." *New York Times*, November 29, 2011. Web. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/30/technology/facebook-agrees-to-ftc-settlement-on-privacy.html

Soetaert, R., Bourgonjon, J., & Rutten, K. "Video Games as Equipment for Living." *Comparative Literature and Culture* 13.3 (2011). Web. Retrieved from http://docs.lib.purdue.edu/clcweb/vol13/iss3/

Tokunaga, R. "Friend Me or You'll Strain Us: Understanding Negative Events that Occur Over Social Networking Sites." *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking* 14.7/8 (2011): 425-32.

Turkle, S. *Alone Together: Why We Expect More from Technology and Less from Each Other.* New York: Basic Books, 2011. Kindle.

Zhao, S., Grasmuch, S., & Martin, J. (2008). "Identity Construction on Facebook: Digital Empowerment in Anchored Relationships." *Computers in Human Behavior* 24.5 (2008): 1816-36.

Zuckerberg, M. [Mark]. "We just passed an important milestone. For the first time ever, one billion people used Facebook in a single day." [Facebook status update.] August 27, 2015. Web. Retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/zuck/posts/10102329188394581? pnref=story

404 NOT FOUND: INTERNET PROTOCOLS IN THE TRANSPARENT SOCIETY

CHRISTOPHER S. LESLIE
NYU TANDON SCHOOL OF ENGINEERING

Breaches of Internet trust are so often presented as scandals, even when they reveal the fundamental building blocks of the technology that underpins it. Is there a way beyond the rhetoric of scandal to understand lapses of privacy or Web filtering? Gianni Vattimo (1992), taking up Foucault's idea of a transparent society, states that the chaos of the transparent society reveals the potential for emancipation. The differential of Internet experiences has made it possible for users to see how their political environments differ from Netizens in other countries. Contrasting with the expectation of the seamless web, the chaos of this transparent society makes users aware of state boundaries and thus provides them with an opportunity for political action.

The notion of scandal should remind us of Jean Baudrillard (1983). One of his famous statements about the society of spectacle is his notion of the scandal: "Watergate is not a scandal," he writes in *Simulacra and Simulations*, but it is evidence of the extent to which simulacra have transformed daily life (28). When we see a scandal reported in the news, we think that we are finally seeing reality peeking through. The denunciation of the scandal and the idea that it is an aberration of what is supposed to happen, however, only serves to reinforce the notion of hyperreality. As the aberration is purged, the moral order is restored. Unfortunately, this only serves to legitimize the unreal. He writes, "All that capital asks of us is to receive it as rational or to combat it in the name of rationality, to receive it as moral or to combat it in the name of morality" (28).

The actions of Aaron Swartz, the JSTOR hacker; Chelsea Manning, who supported Wikileaks; and Edward Snowden, the NSA contractor who leaked information to the *Guardian* have all been hailed as scandals. Privacy scandals, particularly with regard to Facebook's settings regarding user data but also, of course, with the NSA effort to collect information about the social networks on US citizens, spark debate and dark humor about social media. Journalists help us to see how the inappropriate use of data on the Internet is leading to the denunciation and punishment of those responsible. The punishment of NSA officials may be slight, the changes to how media services cooperate with intelligence services will be negligible, and the federal government will continue its campaign of protecting the nation from terrorism.

Nevertheless, if Watergate—as Baudrillard (1983) wants us to see—is *not* a scandal, then these are not scandals either. The effort to punish and condemn those who wish to set information free must be seen as examples of business as usual. In the same way that Baudrillard writes that "absolute solitude" of the parking lot contrasts with the "phantasmagoria. . . in the inherent warmth and affection" of the imaginary world of Disneyland, the values that are supported by the public demonstration of virtue regarding online activities must in some way hide from us the desolation of the parking lot. The rich scandal of Watergate, which had an aimed at the "reinjection of a large dose of political morality on a global scale," is an attempt to impose moral order on something that does not adhere to a contract. Baudrillard would ask us to see this as an example of how capital is a "sorcery of the social relation" that defeats the notion of society altogether (24). The danger, for Baudrillard, is that a society that is filled with only the resemblance of power then seeks signs of power. This "melancholy," as he calls it, of a society without power gives rise to fascism. The denunciation of hackers, the assertion that the NSA was working only slightly outside appropriate boundaries, is an attempt to impose moral order on a transformation that has no regard for its obligations to society.

The scandals of information might be seen as examples of how we live in a society full of interconnected surveillance. To some, this evokes Michel Foucault's (1995) notion of the panopticon. We are all prisoners in the facility designed

Christopher S. Leslie is a lecturer of Science, Technology and Media Studies at the New York University Tandon School of Engineering in Brooklyn, New York, and he is codirector of the Science and Technology Studies program there. Chris's research considers the cultural formations that surround technology, science, and media in the 19th- and 20th-century United States. He teaches courses in science and technology studies, the international history of the Internet, the history of science and race, multicultural U.S. literature, modernism, and science fiction.

by Jeremy Bentham and described in Foucault's *Discipline and Punish.* The circular architecture of the panopticon suggested that the prisoners would be arranged around the circumference of a guard station's at the center so that natural light illuminates the prisoners for the guard, but the shadows at the center make it impossible for the guard to be seen by the prisoner.

From time to time, the problem of using the panopticon as a metaphor for a digitized society is observed. In 2013, posters to the Nettime discussion list debated the relevance of the "panopticon" metaphor. The goal is not so much to surveil those who are committing crimes, but to predict the ones that may commit crimes in the future. The purpose is not to make a rigid system of monitoring, but to provide a way for citizens to monitor themselves. All agree that pervasive systems of surveillance are inevitable, and that the best course of action is to make sure that the systems do not lose sight of humanity. They should have human oversight, they should be careful not to hold on to data indefinitely. Everyone should be made aware of the system they are participating in. The lessons this very insightful group of media theorists want to derive from data scandals are ones that seek to negotiate with the system of surveillance, making it safe for its citizens. But as Baudrillard (1983) warned, this is not possible. There is no uniform system, and the manifestations we see are not indications of where we might intercede. Quite the reverse is true: the manifestations are a smokescreen to make us forget the power accorded to society.

Foucault himself, in reflecting on the panopticon, was not prepared to describe it as a totalized system of oppression. I am thinking here of the "Eye of Power" interview (1980) where Foucault describes the ideal of the transparent society. When asked by an interviewer what the solution is to the panopticon, he suggests that his dream is not that the prisoners should storm the central observation tower and take over the prison. Substituting one regime for another, after all, is not necessarily an improvement. Although it seems as if Foucault does not offer much by way of a solution in the interview, he does in fact engage in a short history lesson. First of all, he asserts that the Bentham prison was a reform—an alternative to a system where prisoners were crammed into a common cell as punishment without hope of a healthy environment, let alone rehabilitation. Foucault then takes this insight and moves into what at first seems to be a non-sequitur: the idea that the mechanism of the panopticon is part of a larger Enlightenment project to develop a transparent society.

The transparent society, according to Foucault, is a place where the rules and ideals are legible. Removed from the caprice of kings and the mysteries of religion, the ideal of the transparent society is one where individuals can learn about the society around them and, presumably, argue against rules they find inappropriate and advocate for change where needed. The ultimate authority is not vested in a particular individual, such as a king or a warden, but in an abstracted set of rules that both the guards and the prisoners could reference.

Vattimo (1992) takes up the idea of a transparent society in an interesting manner. The unified dream of a transparent society, he suggests, is tied to the project of creating a universal history. Baudrillard also critiques the notion of universal history in *Simulation and Simulacra,* telling us that it is the spectacular society that seeks to distract us from our personal sense of time and replace with it a sense of historical time that is outside the influence of individuals. For both, historical time is something that marches on without us, and it serves to create a sense of powerlessness or the ways in which human society is ineffectual. Vattimo, however, takes a somewhat unexpected turn. Modern communication technology, he writes, defeats the notion of the singular transparent society.

As much as Vattimo (1992) would like to refute the notion that communication technology makes society transparent, what he says is not so far removed from Foucault. His interest in communication media is his notion that they cannot help but expose the idea of a singular, official society as a myth. The impossibility of constructing a universal history reveals it for "what it has in fact always been": "namely, a reduction of the train of human events from a single perspective which is in each case a function of domination, whether class-based or colonial" (22). The principle of transparency only works from the perspective of a central subject, and the advances of technology that should make it more possible to realize this perspective, communication media seem to make it "ever more unthinkable" (23). As much as they purport to enhance the reality principle—their effort to purvey the actual facts to their audiences—they are too tied to their technical media, their states, and their economics. Because of this, they offer a plurality of visions.

Vattimo goes as far as to state that the chaos of the transparent society reveals the potential for emancipation and liberation. The loss of the supposed uniform reality and the proliferation of visions of society should be a steppingstone away from domination. He argues,"Emancipation, here, consists of *disorientation,* which is at the same time also the liberation of differences, of local elements, of what could generally be called dialect" (1992, 8, emphasis in original). If and when the notion of centralized, official history cannot hold, "the world of generalized communication exploded like a multiplicity of 'local' rationalities—ethnic, sexual, religions, cultural, or aesthetic minorities—that finally speak up for themselves. They are no longer repressed and cowed into silence by the idea of a single true form of humanity that must be realized irrespective of particularity and individual finitude, transience and contingency" (1992, 9).

It is here that I think that the Internet plays a role in the kind of liberation Vattimo envisions. Internet filtering, in particular, shows us that the experience of the Internet is far from seamless. The OpenNet Initiative's (2005) work has inspired me to look to see when potentially sensitive material is blocked in different countries. This is fairly easy to do because most countries use a variation of the SmartFilter service developed in 1997 for US libraries and military institutions. As the OpenNet Initiative has shown, the basic categories of prohibited content, although they can be modified by network administrators, tend to follow certain patterns. Playboy.com, for instance, is generally prohibited.

When looking for filtering, one begins to appreciate how countries make different choices with regard to Internet content. The United Arab Emirates has acknowledged that the Internet can bring with it content that is in direct conflict with the country's morals. One year after Emirnet was first offered, concerns about the availability of pornography to high school students led to a system of proxy servers that allow web users to see only cached versions of web sites that have been prescreened for content (Mosaic Group 1998, 224). In independent testing, The OpenNet Initiative found that the official mandate to prevent users from obtaining information about "vice, gambling, or obscenity" and also that is contrary to the "social, cultural, political, economical or religious values of the UAE" extended to few political sites and instead focused on sites that featured pornography, erotic images, gay and lesbian lifestyles, sexual health information, alcohol or drugs, gambling, and dating. The country adapted SmartFilter for this purpose. What makes the situation in the UAE worth studying is the fact that this policy is openly known. Etisalat provides a thirteen-item list of prohibited categories. Whenever a user attempts to access offensive information, Etisalat responds with a "block page" that tells the user that he or she has attempted to see something that is "inconsistent with the political, moral, and religious value of the United Arab Emirates" (qtd. in OpenNet Initiative 2005). Users may then complain if they feel that the site they are trying to access has been inappropriately blocked. The debate about filtering is acknowledged publicly; the Ministry of Information and Culture (2004) notes that some have said that it is time for users to decide for themselves whether they should filter the Internet, yet a 2002 survey showed that 60% of 14,000 subscribers felt that the filtering was acceptable, and 51% were in favor of the proxy server because it protected family members (254). In fact, the desire to protect of family members is a plausible reason behind the support of the filtering. As pointed out by Transportation Minister Ahmed Hameed Al-Taier, the proxy server is the "main reason" that citizens allowed the Internet into their homes, and that the UAE could not have achieved a high penetration rate without some mechanism to block information that conflicts with consumers' morality (qtd. by Arabic Network 2004).

This contrasts with the situation in China, where filtered content is often simply missing. In January of 1996, the Chinese Public Security Bureau began to take steps to solve the problems related to free international links to the Internet by restricting international access to four portals managed by the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications, the Ministry of Electronic Industry, the Education Commission, and the China Academy of Science, a chokehold that remains to the present day. On September 10, 1996, Renee Schoof, Beijing correspondent for the Associated Press, reported that the Chinese government blocked more than 100 "obscene or politically dangerous" Web sites. Using its bottleneck of four access points to outside networks, it prohibited Internet users from seeing the websites of US news media, Taiwan's government, dissidents and other politically sensitive groups. "No electronic warning appears when users try to connect to the banned sites," Schoof reported. "Requests for access merely go unanswered" (1996, C4).

As much as the debate over filtering seeks to present a simulacrum of the Worldwide Web and its ancillary technologies as a seamless, inescapable network where information is easily transferred and transmitted, the truth is that these experiences are part of its initial design. In what is called the "great switch" to TCP/IP protocols in 1983, the careful patchwork of locally controlled networks was designed to support the security of military information. As documented by David Clark's (1988) "The Design Philosophy of the DARPA Internet Protocols," TCP/IP was from the start used to segregate users—in particular, the military network from civilian researchers. This careful development of a logical separation of the different networks means that information on a military portion of the Internet cannot be accessed by users outside the domain. The first top-level domains (TLDs) were established in 1984: ARPA, GOV, EDU, COM, MIL and ORG. These so-called "generic" TLD were soon joined by country code TLDs. The .us, .uk, and .il domains were registered in 1986. In 1986, .au, .de, .fi, .fr, .jp, .kr, .nl and .se were added. This convention meant that each country would have to designate a registrar that would be able to authorize the creation of addresses in each. What is less appreciated, however, is the way in which this system could be used to support the logical segregation of these networks in the same way that the .mil domain was separated from the civilian Internet. This setup is what allowed the creation of the SmartFilter software in 1997 that is behind many of the filtering regimes today.

This uneven experience of the Internet can serve the purpose of liberation as described by Vattimo (1992) when it is made explicit through knowledge about how the Internet works. It is sometimes thought by academics and the public alike that the filtering of social media is a perversion of the original goals that created the Internet. However, quite the opposite is true; the initial goal of the technology behind the Internet was to create a service that could be segregated. By understanding this seeming paradox, policy makers and researchers can be ready to defeat the deterministic argument that social media creates democracy. Users in all three countries are enabled to view the ideas of others at the same time that the limit of their access is demonstrated. The differential of Internet experiences has made it possible for users to see how their political environments differ from Netizens in other countries. Contrasting with the expectation of the seamless web, the chaos of this transparent society makes users aware of state boundaries and thus provides them with an opportunity for political action. The differential of Internet experiences have in fact made it possible for users to see how their local laws and political structures differ from Netizens in other countries. From this awareness, users who are aware of its mediation have an opportunity to initiate political action.

REFERENCES

Arabic Network for Human Rights Information. *The Internet in the Arab World: A New Space of Repression?* 2004. Web. Accessed 15 June 2015 from http://anhri.net/en/reports/ net2004/ all.shtml.

Baudrillard, Jean. *Simulacra and Simulations*. Semiotext[e], 1983.

Clark, David D. "The Design Philosophy of the DARPA Internet Protocols." *Proceedings* of SIGCOMM 88 Conference on Communications Architectures and Protocols (1988): 106-114.

Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Clinic. Trans*. Alan Sheridan. New York: Random House, 1995.

—. "The Eye of Power." In C. Gordon, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings 1972-1977*, 146-65. New York: Pantheon Books, 1980.

Ministry of Information and Culture. *UAE Yearbook 2004.* Web. Accessed online June 15, 2015 from http://www.uaeyearbook.com/Yearbooks/2004/ENG/?page=255

Mosaic Group. *The Global Diffusion of the Internet Project: An Initial Inductive Study.* March 1998. Web. Accessed 15 June 2015 from mosaic.unomaha.edu/GDI1998/7IUAE.PDF.

OpenNet Initiative. *Internet Filtering in the United Arab Emirates in 2004-2005.* February 2005. Web. Accessed June 15, 2015 from http://opennet.net/studies/uae

Schoof, Renee. "China Blocks User Access to 100-Plust Sites on Web." *The Washington Post,* September 10, 1996, C4. Web. Accessed June 15, 2015 from ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

Vattimo, Gianni. *The Transparent Society.* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins UP, 1992.

RESEARCH IN DIGITAL ENVIRONMENTS: PROBLEMATIZING PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SPHERES

J.C. Lee
California State University, Northridge

Introduction: Explaining the Project's Context

In the Fall of 2012, I began a qualitative research project that explored knowledge making in public online forums. Because of its elements of human subject research (interviews and usage diaries), the project understandably required IRB review. However, the project also involved the rhetorical analysis of public forum posts, which, amid the broad category of "public texts," fell outside of the IRB's concerns. The following article discusses the project and its methodology, exploring questions, concerns, and categorizations of public, online texts and problematizing the conceptions public and private expression, online identities, and IRBs' stances on such matters.

This article presents the research methods that the 2012-2013 project employed. Throughout my formal discussions of research methods, a number of ethical and procedural questions emerge, most of which revolve around the nature of publicness in online spheres. While the formal, academic account of these methods reads accurately and ethically to the extent that it represents my choices and motives, researchers often face internal debates that do not survive the delete key when meeting word counts and generic conventions of scholarly journals. Much scholarship follows stylistic norms that favor an implicit tenor of confidence, leaving very little room for articles about the indecision and ambivalence that often accompany research design and execution. However, the ambivalence toward research methods exists in abundance in popular and often anonymous online arenas. Twitter, in particular, has hashtags for #fieldworkfails (with 286 followers), #overlyhonestmethods (with 6,153 followers), and the most popular #shitacademicssay (with 129,000 followers) (Paul 2015; Overlyhonestmethods 2015; Academicssay 2015). While scholars may be reluctant to stake their professional reputations on the open and honest deliberation of methodological ambiguities in their own work, these humorous, public declarations indicate just such a need across the disciplines.

My own previous project sought answers to the following questions: (1) How do participants use public writing to generate and share new knowledge through the community of the open, online forum? (2) In what ways does the medium of the online forum, including its public sphere and/or community dynamic, support or hinder the knowledge making process? Since this study discussed knowledge generation within public discourse communities, this project required awareness of the culture of the open, online forum in which these public writing acts occur. This follows Lester Faigley's suggestion that previously anthropological and ethnographic methods should become tools for reading cultures of writing (1992, 243). Therefore, this IRB-exempted human subject research used qualitative methods to capture the complicated nature of online forums and public writing, allowing for an emergent design that evolved with the project.

While, at the time, the methods chapter explained all research decisions, its academic tone—one common to such scholarship—omitted many dynamic, internal debates. Ultimately, many researchers face moments of indecision that they reframe with certainty by the time of publication. Convention dictates that experts appear certain or else their work may face poor reception. However, creating spaces in which to foreground the ambiguities of research design, specifically as they apply to emergent questions of publicness in digital spaces can open conversations and produce stronger researchers and stronger research.

This work focuses on the ethical quandaries that researchers may face when navigating public, online spaces, arguing that researchers need more spaces for honest discussion of the ambiguities of their research choices,

J. C. Lee is Assistant Professor of English and Stretch Composition Coordinator at California State University, Northridge. Lee has presented at numerous conferences, including the Conference on College Composition and Communication (CCCC), the Northeast Writing Center's Association (NEWCA), the Modern Language Association (MLA), and the Rhetoric Society of America's (RSA) Summer Institute. Her work has appeared in such publications as the Journal of *Popular Culture*, *Academic Exchange Quarterly*, and C*omparative Literature and Culture*. Her research interests include multimodality and public writing, as well as rhetorics of contingency, professional development, and labor in academic environments.

without fear of stigma. This article features excerpts of the formal discussion of methods as originally written for the project. Commentary follows each excerpted segment, elaborating on specific details that the preceding segment states more definitively and with more confidence than I had at the time of researching and writing the project, and it does so to complicate notions of public and private in digital research sites. Through a close commentary on excerpts of an original methods chapter, this article argues for further open conversations about research dilemmas amid an ever changing landscape of public and private identities in online environments.

The Field Site: Delineating the Forum

Christine Hine remarks that, when undergoing qualitative internet research, rather than fixed in place, researchers' choices continually draw boundaries on the field site (1-4). As she explains, "[w]hen a technology appears to offer up a clearly defined field site... these sensibilities suggest that one should become suspicious" (2009, 5). Hine advocates that researchers avoid prejudging site borders "and instead engage with situations that are found," a process further complicated by the internet's pluralistic roles as "a tool, a place, and a way of being" (4). I began with *Caudata* and *FrogForum*, two forums owned and operated by the same site creator: John Clare. My preliminary observation queries indicated that these forums run on the same software platform and feature similar international audiences of amphibian hobbyists ranging greatly in age and expertise. Since both forums have similar formats, designs, rules, and guidelines, they created a vast field site of herp (reptile and amphibian) forums.

My own involvement in the herp hobby partly motivated my choice of field sites: *Caudata* and *FrogForum.* Like many of these forums' members and the participants I interviewed, I had interest in reptiles and amphibians since childhood. Personally interacting on numerous forums in leisure time while preparing for my comprehensive exams made me view the forums' conversations as rhetorical texts, and I decided to pursue further scholarly analysis. I sent queries to a number of forum administrators, and fortuitously, John Clare agreed to cooperate with the project, largely because I had engaged with his forums in the past and I have experience with the care and maintenance of herps. My previous involvement and familiarity with the content increased my understanding of the community, and it helped me gain access among forum members. While I did not know any of the participants who volunteered for this project before the study began, they could view my public member profile, my past posts, and my reputation points to view me as an insider to the hobby, which helped legitimize my interest in this research project.

Shirley Brice Heath and Brian V. Street explain of participant observation in ethnographies that "the truth is that only rarely can we shed features of ourselves to be a 'real' participant" (2008, 31). My previous engagement within the community not only ensured sincere participant observation, but it also helped me shape the questions I asked in order to understand knowledge formation within this community. Like others before me, belonging to the community gave me pause, and I wondered how to integrate my own self-reflexivity on my role. Just as Ralph Cintron (1997) before her reviewed the epistemological debates surrounding ethnography, Brenda Jo Brueggeman has remarked that self-reflexivity "risks turning representation into a solipsistic, rhetorical position in which the researcher (the self) [...] usurps the position of the subject (the other) [...] we have now put *ourselves* back at the center of our talk" (1996, 19). I felt uncomfortable occupying such a central space, since I entered this project not to understand myself (perhaps a valuable byproduct), but to understand knowledge making in online forums. For this reason, while I remained self-reflexive in order both to understand my role as researcher and to better understand the community I scrutinized, I chose not to insert such self-reflection into my findings.

As ideas formed, I expanded outward to look variously at the forums' threads,[1] stickies[2] and supplemental documents, like care sheets.[3] I did this, following danah boyd's observation that "culture is socially proximate not geographically defined; creating boundaries by medium or genre not only confuses matters. Thus, it makes far more sense to find a sample population and try to flush out how they know and the culture that forms among them" (emphasis removed, 2009, 28). I observed which arenas explicitly circled this public forum and its posts, and I began with those. Inspired by grounded theorists' recommendations to analyze through comparison (Strauss and Corbin 1990, 84), I refer to other forums throughout the project as needed to provide perspective. Too much outward expansion would prove unwieldy, and it would limit this project's ability to answer the core research questions that drove it, and so, despite brief forays to other public, forum field sites, the bulk of this project focuses closely on *Caudata.org*: its threads, its members, its stickies, and its supplemental pages.

More than the ethereal place it occupies online, the culture of the forum creates the field site. Within the vast scope of the internet, one must remember that, unlike ethnographies of physical spaces, geographical borders do not delineate one inclusive space. Ulf Hannerz explains the greater significance of *cultures* rather than *places* (whether on- or offline), writing that "[a]s collective systems of meaning, cultures belong primarily to social relationships, and to networks of such relationships. [...] The less people stay put in one place, and also the less dependent their communications are on face-to-face contacts, the more attenuated does the link between culture and territory become" (1992, 39). I remained continually aware of the culture and community of the online forums I studied in order to understand the social processes of knowledge making.

I consider the larger community of herp hobbyists to be a framework for the field-site of online herp forums, and so I drew from it to provide meaning and depth to the online arenas I explored. Charles Bazerman also makes this point in *The Languages of Edison's Light*, when he explains that language alone does not provide complete insight into given phenomena. Bazerman states that "the environment for action is not always easy to know and is not always institutionally regulated" (2002, 342). To this end, I have drawn on the culture of the herp hobby to bring further depth to the rhetorical analyses throughout this work. As a member of the community, I understood phenomenon that might appear ambiguous, unremarkable, or enigmatic to an outsider, and I connected it to my rhetorical training.

Unfortunately, as with membership in any community, some facets appeared self-apparent to me: so ingrained in the culture that I could easily miss their significance as phenomenon to explore. Therefore I engaged in self-reflexivity that qualitative method research prescribes (Creswell 2009, 233). I followed boyd's advice: "*Never get too comfortable.* Always work to make the familiar strange; do not fetishize anything. When you start seeing patterns, try looking at what you're observing from a new angle. Try to make sense of practices in terms of the practitioner and the observer. Be reflexive of your own biases, and question any and all biases that you have" (2009, 29). My reliance on ethnographic and grounded theory frameworks helped me keep distance, and I continually sought feedback from friends and colleagues who would remark upon such moments, allowing me opportunity to reexamine their relevance.

Overall, this field-site focused primarily on *Caudata* and the participants from *Caudata* and *FrogForum* who volunteered for this study, and it did so to maintain depth while exploring aspects of knowledge making process. Overall, to make meaning amid so many sets of data, and to bring that meaning toward a clear conception of knowledge making on an online forum, I found ethnographic and naturalistic design helpful. However, in portions of the project, results naturally emerged into categories that could be examined further, for which I relied heavily on grounded theory methods as described by Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin (1990).

Commentary on The Field Site: The Forum's Public Space

The formal account of the field site begins by reviewing literature that supports the view that no online space exhibits a singular "clearly defined field site" (Hine 2009, 5). However, while researchers have to place boundaries, much can fall outside of their scope. Regardless of this reality, the boundaries I imposed, those that I defend in the preceding section, influenced my results through the spheres of study they allowed and those they limited. Had I spent years immersed within the lives of my participants—both online and off—I would have gained different insights. Given the impracticality of such in-depth immersion amid an international forum of members who typically engage with a number of amphibian websites, I did not believe this option viable. Still, our methodological discussions can spend more time in open discussion of these limitations to studies of public, digital spaces.

Another question that the field site raised regarded its creator, the aforementioned John Clare. IRB policies place John Clare's name as public matter. As a researcher, I knew this. I had spoken with him about recruiting members through the site. None of our private email exchange appears in any of my findings. His profile at the time listed him as a science researcher, and so he probably understood that the publicly posted, IRB-approved recruitment document and the interviews would culminate in a published, scholarly work. And as a public figure on the site, the IRB did not require me to discuss this with John Clare. And yet, inevitably, discussing the forum required discussing its creator and key administrator: the public figure whose consent I did not need according to IRB regulations. While immersed in developing pseudonyms for participants, this felt rather awkward.

I had not foreseen this at the time of participant recruitment, and while I could have spoken with him frankly, I faced the legitimate fear that, if he opposed the inclusion of his public, online identity, it might interfere with my ability to complete a polished work: a dissertation that determined when I would begin a formal, professional life as an academic. Stephen North has discussed similar concerns of research as a high-stakes, externally-influenced phenomenon, worrying that research in composition studies, while striving to model itself after scientific empiricism, often lacks rigor amid real-world constraints (1987, 17). While composition studies have grown since the publication of *The Making of Knowledge in Composition,* the field, along with other humanities disciplines, continues to struggle amid methodological designs and policies first tailored to fit the hard sciences.

The above defense of my choice to study the community in which I belong speaks to North's concerns. The hard sciences would easily find this a problematic aspect of the research. As a result, when drafting the formal methods section above, I took great care to frame my membership in the herp community as a boon, integrating previous scholarship that would help me defend this claim. Furthermore, the IRB did not review the online space personally. Early into the research process, I spoke with my Principal Investigator (PI), who called our institution's IRB office to confirm that—as a public online forum—any material posted in the threads of *Caudata* exceeded their purview. They accepted our description of the publicness of the site. While I do not view public conversations about amphibians as sensitive material, I do worry about the brief process through which I confirmed this with the local IRB, since discussions of herp care provide one example of public conversations, many of which involve far more personal matters.

This led me to investigate comparable public spheres for typically private topics, and, unsurprisingly, I found openly-accessible User Generated Content (UGC) about far more sensitive matters. For example, within the top ten results of an internet search for online forums on domestic abuse, *The Experience Project*, *Bella Online: The Voice of Women, The Survivor's Forum of Women's Aid: Until Women and Children are Safe, PsychForums*, and many more, all of which publicly display individuals' accounts of abuse. While the members of these sites might use pseudonyms more frequently than those of other forum sites, their publicly viewable stories feature real-life details that anyone can see without subscribing or logging in. Even amid the animal-related forums that I explored, off-topic, personal matters arise once a site member feels like a part of a close-knit, albeit public, community. While I omitted any such conversations from my own research, IRB provisions consider public texts public, leaving such decisions to the ethical compasses of individual researchers.

Data Collection: Participants

Despite the online forum's role as a space open to the public, I chose to privately contact this owner-operator to discuss the project and seek his blessing before posting my call for participants to an appropriate subforum for off-topic conversations. My preliminary observation of *Caudata* and *FrogForum* had shown the closeness of these forum communities, and also the active engagement of the site creator in the day-to-day operation of these forums. I decided that I wanted John's approval before moving forward for three main reasons: 1) if John did object, his voiced dissent would prevent participant involvement, or he could remove my query from the forums altogether; 2) if John understood the project's general purpose, he could assure members that this was, indeed, a genuine research project; 3) out of respect to John, his forums, and the work that he has done, I simply felt uncomfortable proceeding without his knowledge and consent, even though the public nature of the forum space meant that the IRB would allow it.

Through the private messaging (PM) system on *Caudata*, John and I discussed the scope, intent, aims, and needs of this project, and once he gave his approval, I posted the call for participants to the "Open Topics" subforums at *Caudata* and *FrogForum* (jclee 2012a & 2012b). 11 forum members contacted me in response to the initial call for participants, all of whom received a copy of the project's consent form and an e-mail detailing the nature of the project. Among the 11 people who expressed interest were two minors, as either listed as such on their forum profile or self-declared within their replies. I rejected these from the participant pool. Other forum members entered into private message exchanges wherein they queried me to better understand me, my role as researcher, my professional identity, and the information I sought, ultimately deciding whether to trust me. After this process, three more members declined participation.

Six forum members from *Caudata* and *FrogForum* committed to the project forming the narrow, purposive sample that I had sought. Following Matthew B. Miles and Michael Huberman's suggestion that "within case sampling helps us see a local configuration in some depth" (1994, 29), I collected waves of data in order to examine this particular group of active members on herp forums. This research included participants with diverse ages in order to establish an array of life and literacy experience. The six participants of these open-access forum communities for amphibian hobbyists ranged from 18-60: two women and four men. They reflected the international communities of both of these amphibian forums, as they were citizens of England, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, and the United States, and the group included two native English speakers (NES), three nonnative English speakers (NNES) with high fluency, and one NNES with fair fluency.

The recruitment of voluntary participants meant that I could easily have missed the lurkers.[4] Shani Orgad explains "[l]urking enables patients [in medical forums] to learn about others' experiences and to relate their own situation to that of others without having to necessarily expose themselves and their feelings" (2009, 43). For this project, I looked most closely at those who actively and directly engage with the forum, contributing to knowledge construction within the community. Fortunately, one participant who expressed concern about her NNES fluency also described her activities as those of a lurker. She predominately read threads and learned from them without writing and posting replies. Most of the threads she has posted feature dense visual images and a few simple sentences. While not aiming for representation, the inclusion of a lurker broadened my perspective on and awareness of varied degrees of engagement and activity that forum members exhibit.

The participants that volunteered for this study predominately hold professional jobs in specialized fields. Two of the participants moderate the forums, and while none has a degree in herpetology, one works in aeronautics, one teaches information technology at the college level, and one works on a special task force on the Dutch police. Of the other two participants, one double-majors in history and biology, and the other volunteers at a children's library and keeps children in addition to her pets. One pursued a graduate degree in psychology; one had a bachelor's and one year toward graduate school before he left; one has a vocational degree in electronics and telecommunications; two studied at the college level (one studying biology and the other double majoring in biology and history); and one participant left traditional educational paths after high school.

This project relied on self-disclosures from participants as a sole means of establishing participants' demographics, such as their degrees of expertise with amphibian husbandry. However, categorizations of "novice" or "advanced expert" blur at their boundaries. Many herp hobbyists educate themselves and therefore lack the easy differentiation conferred by degrees. Their expertise changes as they continue to read and learn, self-teaching their hobby and sharing their successes and failures with others. As Stephanie Kerschbaum asserts, identities rarely stay fixed in place, and negotiating labels can be problematic among fluid, real life identities: far more situational and dynamic than they receive credit for (2012, 625). Identities continually metamorphose, shifting from one form to the next, hopping around our self-depictions, portrayals, and estimations like frogs, but far more difficult to dissect.

Furthermore, herp husbandry overlaps numerous related but distinct areas of interest. Some hobbyists may prefer simplicity in their animals' enclosures, while others construct elaborate vivariums[5] that feature waterfalls and live plants. Such dynamic specializations and diverse areas and degrees of expertise create difficulties with categorization, and yet, such categorization facilitates the understanding of the written interactions that allow forum users to share and generate knowledge that they possess and create. Kerschbaum postulates that composition should not focus on "fixing difference"; instead, she "argues[s] that teachers and researchers should admit to difference as rhetorically negotiated through a process named here as '*marking difference*'" (emphasis in the original; 2012, 619). Since this study queries user' perceptions of forum usage and knowledge making, I asked participants to self-identify such aspects as their degrees of expertise, thereby marking their own difference.

The decision to ask members to self-identify a variable like expertise also speaks to the larger reliance on self-disclosed demographics and identifiers when conducting internet research. Orgad discusses the dubiousness with which many approach online research sites, considering online spaces as genuine and reliable as offline (2009, 39). Azy Barak and Orit Gluk-Ofri (2007), John A. Bargh et al. and Nicole Ellison et al. have found that most people generally self-disclose accurate information. Kristine L. Nowak argues that online friendships require honesty to function (2013, 1457-58). While not to say that all online depictions feature honesty, Malcolm R. Parks and Kory Floyd's finding (1996) that many online friendships move offline over time reinforces the apparent role that honesty plays in the formation of community connections.

Jeffrey A. Hall and Natalie Pennington (2013) have found that, rather than lie directly about themselves, people may lie through omission rather than outright, depicting themselves as best they can and neglecting their negative traits. Because forum members give great importance to community, I saw no reason to challenge self-disclosed participant information. However, because (a) public user profiles can feature omissions, and (b) situations and people change, sometimes more frequently than profile updates, the first interview featured demographic background gathering to ensure that I had the same data sets from each participant and to ensure that the accuracy of information.

Commentary on Data Collection: The Publicness of Participants

In the above section, I mention that I contacted John Clare before posting the IRB call for participants in order to work with him to build confidence in the online environment. Specifically, I mention that I preferred to consult with John prior to recruiting participants from the public space that he managed, despite the IRB's acceptance of the space as public. Research ethics may vary amid such public settings. The situation intimates a balance between free reign over public spaces and the researcher's own attitudes and ethics. If I had chosen as a project to rhetorically analyze Donald Trump's feed on Twitter—a site that the Library of Congress tries to store as public record (Allen 2015)—I would not have asked consent for the simple and obvious reason that I would be unlikely to obtain it. The public online environment I engaged with, however, exhibited an active internet community led by a very involved site creator whose assistance with the recruitment process could help my research.

Recruitment itself brings particular challenges in public, online arenas that I did not devote time to in the above, official discussion of methods. As of the writing of this article, my original recruitment post, "Participants Wanted for Scholarly Research Project on Forum Writing" from 2012, has received 475 views on *Caudata* and 20 views on *FrogForum* (jclee 2012a & 2012b). While I cannot determine how many views occurred at the time of participant recruitment, the thread itself received no direct replies, and therefore, it would quickly have disappeared from the new posts newsfeed where heavy and regular traffic occurs. The majority of these 495 views likely during the participant recruitment stage. Much of this section discusses my willingness to trust participants' online self-disclosures as predominately honest engagement with a community of friends. While I trust the honesty of my participants' self-disclosures, many forum members were quite understandably dubious of my intentions as researcher.

Although the above sources make a convincing case that self-disclosures tend toward honesty, they also stipulate closed communities with online social interaction. Furthermore, the widespread assumption of lies and schemes amid the potential anonymity of the internet's public space instigate such studies regarding honesty. As a researcher, I engaged with the public online terrain in an alien way. My call for participants deviated from the community's typical discourse, and furthermore, it asked for something (trust and participation) while offering nothing in return. Furthermore, the academic, IRB-regulated nature of the project prevented me from engaging as a fellow hobbyist. While capable of prefacing my call with a personal discussion of my own history with and engagement in the hobby, I felt bound to the IRB's approved language and the discourse of my field. I also worried that, while a rhetorical move toward informality might earn the trust of my participants, it might also risk losing some ethos amid my academic discipline of rhetoric and composition theorists.

While I would guess that my six participants reviewed my public forum profile and post histories (I did not think to ask at the time), I can imagine that some of the 475 people who viewed my recruitment post did not, and that some of these people assumed my intentions neither honorable nor honest. After all, outside of academic spheres, people most frequently encounter commercial recruitments. The anonymity of a public, online arena makes this a difficult reality to combat. This challenge became prominent when, while querying forums for permission to post a public recruitment document (unneeded by

IRB regulations given the publicness of the space), one forum administrator declined such permission, noting that many of the forum's members were minors whose safety presented a primary concern. While trust among online community members can abound, online trust of strangers appears far scarcer.

Data Collection Procedures: Usage Diaries, Interviews, Participant Observation, and Textual Analysis

I used multiple qualitative methods, including usage diaries, interviews, participant-observation, and textual analysis to triangulate results with depth. Throughout the process of gathering and analyzing data, I quickly decided that, because of the already wide scope of the research questions and the amount of data I collected, I should not move beyond the established field site of the online environment. While Hine notes that on- / offline cannot be assumed to be automatic delineations that mark the relevant boundaries of people's experiences (2009, 18), I quickly learned that my participants' offline friendships with other herp hobbyists had begun online.[6] It became apparent that what began as a pragmatic decision to limit the scope of my field site provided the most relevant bounding of field site for this topic. Additionally, while both Kate Eichorn and Brian Wilson have advocated the combination of online and face to face data, neither studied environments that revolved around internet use,[7] and Orgad mentions that a distrust of online-only data often motivates the push to include offline data (2009, 39). As my discussion of participants' online identity explains, I believe that I can trust their online self-disclosures as much as I would those given face-to-face.

Participants kept usage diaries to record their online forum activities and provide a precise understanding of their perceptions of their public writing and knowledge generation. Such diaries asked participants to record the dates and times of their engagement for a span of seven-14 days. Below basic quantitative data fields for date, time, reason for visiting the forum and description of activities involved, participants engaged in self-reflection and about that day's forum activities. This established the frequency of users' participation, as well as their perceptions of their own forum posts and the dynamic of the forum: its public sphere and the potential of community. The usage diary's intended purpose followed William Hart-Davidson's description that usage diaries "hel[p] writing researchers learn more about the distributed, collaborative, and mediated nature of composing processes" (2007, 155). I could track data of post count and frequency through the online forum itself, which lists such information under the users' profiles in a section called "statistics," but as Hart-Davidson addresses, the usage diary provides a context through which to give such bare numbers significance (2007, 168). Because these diaries also instigated reflective response, they prompted open-ended discussion that helped guide subsequent interviews.

Following basic interview protocols, the research shaped the questions, which were open-ended, often beginning with prompting phrases, such as "tell me about. . ." as recommended by Stacy A. Jacobs and S. Paige Furgerson (2012, 2-4). I designed each interview tool based on the research and data that came before it, and in the event of an omitted or incomplete answer, I sought further follow-up questions per e-mail. As Earl Babbie suggests, I maintained a neutral stance to (and role with) my interviewees, and because I conducted the interviews via e-mail, I had no trouble applying the same exact wording across all interview tools and recording exact participants' responses, since all were sent the same documents (191).

Combined with usage diaries, interviews established the frequency of users' participation, as well as their perceptions of their own forum writing and the dynamic of the forum. Interviews provided insight to participants' perceptions of forums, usage, and knowledge generation. Three interviews spanned the duration of participants' engagement. The initial interview established relevant educational or vocational background, as well as experience with amphibians and with writing. These questions sought general information about the members, how they became interested in the content, why they participated in the online forums, whether they did so often, and their opinions on these processes. Shortly after completing this first interview, participants began their usage diaries. Once they completed those, I sent them the second interview. While building on the questions of the first interview, this second interview focused on the community of the online forum. It probed members' attitudes toward each other and the overall dynamic, as well as the credibility and trustworthiness of the User Generated Content (UGC) that they read when they visited the forum, which aligns with Jacobs and Furgerson's suggestion that easy questions come first (2012, 4). The second interview followed the usage diaries, and it queried the social environment of the forums, as well as members' opportunities to share their special interest in herps outside of these online spheres.

Like the second interview, the third built on those that came before, this time adding questions that specifically targeted writing attitudes and behaviors. Staggering the interviews allowed the flexibility to tailor each based on its predecessors in order to examine specific writing behaviors and messages that ongoing participant observation indicated. The first interview revealed close connections between forum members,[8] which led me to redesign the second interview tool in order to follow-up more specifically on community dynamic and personal connections. I focused the third interview on writing attitudes because of comments from usage diaries that indicated diverse attitudes toward writing that bore closer inspection.

While participants completed their interviews and usage diaries, I collected data through participant observation. This added another tier to the data set as I engaged with and observed the forums, focusing on *Caudata*. I took profuse notes, bookmarking some threads and saving an annotated document with URLs. This participant-observation began before completion of participant selection, and it continued throughout the process of collecting data from participants. Concurrent to my copious observation notes, I also kept a usage diary, following the same guidelines that I had provided to my participants.

In addition to participants' data and my own participant-observation, I needed to analyze the forum environment and the writing on it. The IRB does not require permissions for texts on public, online spaces like online forums. To appease my own ethics, I decided that, for textual analysis of public forum writings, I would only refer to (a) threads with which my participants had not engaged and (b) closed (inactive) threads at least three years old. As Malin Sveningsson Elm explains, "[i]f we start to compare environments, we will probably discover that we are not faced with a dichotomy between public and private, but rather with a continuum in which several different positions are possible between the variables, public and private" (2009, 75).

Elm presents a four-point continuum of public, semi-public, semi-private, and private, delineating the boundaries by ease of access (2009, 75-6). Elm's definitions place online forums like *Caudata* and *FrogForum* between public and semi-public spheres. According to Elm, "[a] public environment is one that is open and available for everyone, that anyone with an internet connection can access, and that does not require any form of membership or registration. Public online environments can for example be represented by open chat rooms or web pages" (75). This differs from a semi-public, which Elm describes as "one that is available for most people. It is in principle accessible to anyone, but it first requires membership and registration. In this category we find most web communities or social network sites" (75).[9] Forums like *Caudata* and *FrogForum* complicate matters because they do require free membership to *post* on their sites, but they do not require such membership to *read* the material that others have posted.

However, such definition schemes delineate spheres by degrees of *access* rather than *intent*. How many people posting to public sites such as *Caudata* consider the wide array of use their words will find over time and through recontextualization? *Facebook* exemplifies a semi-public site by Elm's definition, yet I doubt many people would expect their status updates to be reproduced on other sites or within scholarship. As Elm posits:

> In some cases, the fuzzy boundaries between public and private parts of online environments may make it difficult for users to grasp the gradual transition between private and public spaces. According to this view, people may perhaps not be aware of the fact that their actions and interactions may be observed by other people, even perfect strangers. Or even if they are aware of the publicness of the arena, they may forget about it when involved in interactions. It can sometimes be that even if a certain internet medium admittedly *is* public, it doesn't *feel* public to its users. (Emphasis in the original; 2009, 77)[10]

Facebook, in particular, challenges these categories, because even while accessible to anyone with a membership, individuals can choose privacy settings that prevent strangers from using search engines to locate profiles if they understand how to adjust such preferences. Otherwise, *Facebook's* default settings leave profiles entirely public unless a user adjusts privacy settings. In other words, even on that one site, some members behave very publicly, while others might behave very privately (adjusting their settings accordingly).

Elm resolves this conundrum by stating that "[r] esearchers may instead focus on a slightly different question about their ethical path: [*sic*] Is the environment *public enough* for us to study it without getting informed consent?" (2009, 76). The extreme ends of public and private present clear situations that apply to IRB rules and regulations, while the intermediary zones create greater ethical quandaries for the researcher. For this project, I considered how exposed these public posts become when used for scholarship. If any reader searches online for any exact quote from a forum thread, it will be the first internet search result. Because one cannot both quote threads and maintain confidentiality, despite the IRB's general view of forum posts as public documents, I set my own boundaries and used dated, closed threads with which none of my participants engaged. This raises interesting questions about the need to further classify internet research, and future research should explore this further.

Commentary on Data Collection Procedures

Public texts online present many ethical complications, since, as the previous section discusses, many people generate content without fully intending an audience of everyone and all that entails. Many conversations revolve around corporate efforts at research, such as Facebook's manipulation of newsfeeds to affect users' emotional states (Goel 2014) Certainly, few bloggers and tweeters imagine their content will become the focus of academic projects. Furthermore, fees and membership do not correlate well with privacy, since many sites now keep content public, relying on advertisers to generate revenue instead of closed memberships. Additionally, relying on user's chosen settings places the onus of publicness on the user – a problem that demands further inquiry. Default settings incline toward publicness, and many users, particularly those with lower technological ability, retain these default settings without awareness of alternate options and larger implications. Furthermore, social media sites' privacy options change as the sites themselves change, as Aran Khanna discovered when he realized the Facebook messaging app he worked on could track users' movements effectively enough that he could predict the weekly schedules of mere acquaintances (Clark 2015).

Elm's continuum provides a functional spectrum of public through private that I used within my research, and would use again. However, while the official methods discussion that precedes this raises some questions about what Elm calls "the fuzzy boundaries between public and private parts of life" (2009, 77) as they pertain to my own research, I would like to discuss this further here than a constrained methods document originally allowed. Elm places ethical responsibility on the researchers. While I previously reference domestic abuse forums that operate the same way as the amphibian forums, and posts on amphibian forums that sometimes enter personal terrain, many researchers would not use them in the same way. However, this individualistic approach to research ethics raises concerns, particularly when public discussions on research face constraints and professional stakes. Researchers need more safe, communal spaces for open dialogue on ambiguous research situations.

One colleague of mine, Bryna Siegel Finer, has encountered such problems amid her research into the writings of those diagnosed with the BReast CAncer (BRCA) gene in a project about pedagogies of research writing (2015a). Throughout this project, she had cut and pasted segments of public blogs in order to organize her notes, only to find later that some of the bloggers writing about their experiences with BRCA had withdrawn their blog entries. She grappled with the ethical decisions regarding whether to use this once-public material, and throughout various stages of drafting, submitting, resubmitting, and revising the article, she variously cited, anonymized with a pseudonym, and ultimately, removed these posts from her work (2015b) Her choices in this one instance matter less than that the situation arose, leaving her to face new, ethical and individual decisions without a roadmap beyond experience, judgment, and the decisions made by past research. As a study of public texts, she had not undergone IRB review, but while the IRB did not worry about these public materials, she did. Such situations demonstrate the need for open and safe spaces for researchers to discuss their quandaries without professional ramifications.

Conclusion

The ongoing conversations at *Caudata* and *FrogForum* provided a rich research experience, the value of which increased through learning about the members of these forums and visiting this portion of their lives. Through their kindness and generosity, I have come to the understanding of knowledge construction in specialized areas that I share in this project. As Miles and Huberman write, "[q]ualitative data, with their emphasis on peoples' 'lived experience,' are fundamentally well suited for locating the *meanings* people place on the events, processes, and structures of their lives [...] and for connecting these meanings to the *social world* around them" (1994, 10). As I conceptualized the field site, the participants, the instrumentation, the forums, and knowledge making itself, I realized that each influenced the others. My continually fluid notions of each of these elements testify to the merits of qualitative research, which can allow for emergently designed projects.

Caroline McNeil explains the overworked and increasingly outsourced nature of review boards, and that amid independently-run, local IRBs, conflicting opinions arise (2007, 502-503). While the Office for Human Research Protections (2015b) "Code of Federal Regulations. Title 45. Public Welfare Public Welfare" details exemptions to include a wide array of public and unidentifiable behavior, few updates specifically addresses the unique and ever-developing situations of online, public behavior. Furthermore, once deemed exempt, the PI alone monitors the situation and faces the ethical challenges that accompany it (OHRP 2015a). Open conversations among scholars might allow further guidelines—whether officially adopted by oversight agencies or individually advocated within fields—that would allow for a more specific review of online public texts to ensure their appropriate use. Such discussions need to happen to broaden understandings of public versus private material and the role of authorial intent. While the Library of Congress indexes tweets (Allen 2015), despite their publicness, many of their authors forget the scope of their actual audience, remembering only those handful of friends with whom they interact (see Love 2011, for one of many examples). One can easily forget the wide-reaching implications of public discourse, and popular magazines and websites produce countless articles about employees who get fired for their social media postings.

While I found the experience and its results valuable, the originally unspoken questions of publicness and privacy lingered in my mind. While Western culture often faces debates and open conversations about privacy amid growing corporate monopolies with ever-increasing abilities to mine data and adjust marketing strategies discretely, the ethical questions of privacy that academic communities face must also move to the foreground. Most importantly, researchers must open space for such conversations. This piece deliberately pairs the official discussions of methods with commentaries that follow each because, in developing methods for IRB and publication, I phrased a case as impenetrably as possible. I shelved some concerns or addressed others to move forward: an unfortunate necessity of professional life. However, spaces must open up in which academics can openly discuss their quandaries in order for humanities research to grow. This would require the cooperation of journals, which can show willingness to engage with uncertainties in methodologies as prevalent in humanities disciplines. This would be, not their downfall, but their duty, and it would foster a willingness to share and learn from the experiences of fellow scholars.

END NOTES

1. A thread is a threaded conversation: a series of posts that reply to and build on one another to create an ongoing asynchronous conversation.
2. A stickie is a thread that an administrator or moderator has made a permanent feature of a forum or subforum. Stickies feature important conversations that recur on the forum to which moderators and administrators would like to draw attention.
3. A care sheet is a document that lists basic care and maintenance needs of a species.
4. A lurker is someone who watches an online conversation but does not participate.
5. A terrarium is an enclosure that includes both living plants and animals.
6. There is one exception that is discussed later.
7. Eichorn studied paper e-zines in 2001, and Wilson studied ravers and youth activists in 2006, whose physical actions were as significant, or more so, than online.
8. By this, I mean the connections between members of the forum community: not between the different research participants in this study.
9. Elm defines semi-private as an arena wherein membership has "formal requirements," rather than being free and open, and a private arena is "hidden or unavailable to most people [with…] restricted [access]" (75).
10. Elm also notes that archiving practices and privacy policies change over time, so that the understood rules of public or private may not be the same later as they are at the time of a post.

REFERENCES

Academicssay (@academicssay). *Twitter.* 2015. Web. Accessed August 9, 2015. https://twitter.com/ AcademicsSay

Allen, Erin. "Update on the Twitter Archive at the Library of Congress." *Library of Congress: Blog.* January 4, 2015. Web. Accessed August 9, 2015. http://blogs.loc.gov/loc/2013/01/update-on-the-twitter-archive-at-the-library-of-congress/

Babbie, Earl. *Survey Research Methods.* Belmont CA: Wasworth Publishing Company, 1990. Print.

Barak, Azy and Orit Gluk-Ofri. "Degree and Reciprocity of Self-Disclosure in Online Forums." *CyberPsychology and Behavior* 10.3 (2007): 407-17.

Bargh, John A., Katelyn Y. A. McKenna, and Grainne M. Fitzsimons. "Can You See the Real Me?: Activation and Expression of the 'True Self' on the Internet." *Journal of Social Issues* 58.1 (2002): 33-48. Print.

Bazerman, Charles. *The Languages of Edison's Light.* Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002.

Bella Online: The Voice of Women. Bella Online. 2015. Web. Accessed August 9, 2015. http://forums.bellaonline.com/ubbthreads.php?ubb=postlist&Board=72

Boyd, Danah. "A Response to Christine Hine." *Internet Inquiry: Conversations about Method.* Ed. Annette N. Markham and Nancy K. Baym. Thousand Oaks CA: Sage Publications, 2009. 26-32.

Brueggemann, Brenda Jo. "Still-Life: Representations and Silences in the Participant-Observer Role." *Ethics and Representation in Qualitative Studies of Literacy.* Ed. Peter Mortensen and Gesa E. Kirsch. Urbana IL: national Council of Teachers of English, 1996. 17-39. Print.

Caudata Culture: The Information Resource for Newt and Salamander Enthusiasts. Caudata.org. 2013. Web. Accessed January 6, 2013. http://www.caudata.org/cc/

Caudata: The Newt & Salamander Portal. Caudata.org. 2013. Web. Accessed January 6 2013. www.caudata.org

Cintron, Ralph. *Angel's Town:* Chero *Ways, Gang Life, and Rhetorics of the Everyday.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1997.

Clark, Liat. "Facebook Revokes Internship after Student Points Out Privacy Flaw." *Wired,* August 13, 2015. Web. Accessed August 15, 2015.http://www.wired.co.uk/news/archive/2015-08/13/ facebook-messenger-lets-you-stalk-people-mauraders-map

Creswell, John W. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches.* Thousand Oaks CA: Sage, 2009.

Eichorn, Kate. "Sites Unseen: Ethnographic Research in a Textual Community." *Qualitative Studies in Education* 14.4 (2001): 565-78. Print.

Ellison, Nicole, Rebecca Heino, and Jennifer Gibbs. "Managing Impressions Online: Self Presentation Process in the Online Dating Environment." *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication (JCMC)* 11.2 (2006): 415-41. Print.

Elm, Malin Sveningsson. "How Do Various Notions of Privacy Influence Decisions in Qualitative Internet Research?" *Internet Inquiry: Conversations about Method.* Ed. Annette N. Markham and Nancy K. Baym. Thousand Oaks CA: Sage Publications, 2009. 69-87.

The Experience Project. The Experience Project. 2015. Web. Accessed August 9, 2015. http://www.experienceproject.com/groups/Am-A-Victim-Of-Domestic-Violence/896

Faigley, Lester. *Fragments of rationality: Postmodernity and the subject of composition.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1992.

Finer, Bryna Siegel. "Hello everyone!" Reply to a Message to jclee. March 26, 2015a. Email.

—. "Methods and Publicness." Reply to a Message to the Author. July 23, 2015b. Email.

FrogForum. Frogforum.org. 2015. Web. Accessed August 9, 2015. www.frogforum.net

Goel, Vindu. "Facebook Tinkers with Users' Emotions in News Feed Experiment, Stirring Outcry." *The New York Times,* June 29. 2014. Web. Accessed August 11, 2015. http://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/30/technology/facebook-tinkers-with-users-emotions-in-news-feed-experiment-stirring-outcry.html?_r=0

Hall, Jeffrey A. and Natalie Pennington. "Self-Monitoring, Honesty, and Cues on Facebook: The Relationship with User Extraversion and Conscientiousness" *Computers in Human Behavior* 29 (2013): 1556-64.

Hannerz, Ulf. *Cultural Complexity: Studies in the Social Organization of Meaning.* New York: Columbia UP, 1992.

Hart-Davidson, William. "Studying the Mediated Action of Composing with Time Use Diaries." *Digital Writing Research: Technologies, Methodologies, and Ethical Issues.* Eds. Heidi A. McKee and Danielle DeVoss. New York: Hampton Press, 2007. 153-170.

Heath, Shirley Brice and Brian V. Street. *On Ethnography: Approaches to Language and Literacy Research.* New York: Teachers College Press, 2008.

Hine, Christine. "How Can Qualitative Internet Researchers Define the Boundaries of Their Projects?" *Internet Inquiry: Conversations about Method.* Ed. Annette N. Markham and Nancy K. Baym. Thousand Oaks CA: Sage Publications, 2009. 1-20.

Jacobs, Stacy A. and S. Paige Furgerson. "Writing Interview Protocols and Conducting Interviews: Tips for Students New to the Field of Qualitative Research." *The Qualitative Report* 17 (2012): 1-10.

jclee. "Participants Wanted for Scholarly Research Project on Forum Writing." *Caudata.* Caudata, October 9, 2012a. Web. Accessed August 9, 2015. http://www.caudata.org/ forum/f1-general-topics/f5-general-discussion-news-members/f1167-off-topic/86676-participants-wanted-scholarly-research-project-forum-writing.html

—. "Participants Wanted for Scholarly Research Project on Forum Writing." *FrogForum,* October 23, 2012b. Web. Accessed August 11, 2015. http://www.frogforum.net/showthread.php?t=18837

Kerschbaum, Stephanie L. "Avoiding the Difference Fixation: Identity Categories, Markers of Difference, and the Teaching of Writing." *College Composition and Communication* 63.4 (2012): 616-644.

Love, Dylan. "13 People Who Got Fired for Tweeting." May 16, 2011. Web. August 9, 2015. http://www.businessinsider.com/twitter-fired-2011-5?op=1

McNeil, Caroline. "Debate Over Institutional Review Boards Continues as Alternative Options Emerge." *Journal of the National Cancer Institute* 99.7 (2007): 502-3.

Miles, Matthew B. and A. Michael Huberman. *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook.* Second Ed. Thousand Oaks CA: Sage Publications, 1994.

North, Stephen M. *The Making of Knowledge in Composition: Portrait of an Emerging Field.* Montclair NJ; Boynton/Cook Publishers, Inc., 1987.

Nowak, Kristine L. "Choosing Buddy Icons That Look like Me or Represent My Personality: Using Buddy Icons for Social Presence." *Computers in Human Behavior* 29 (2013): 1456-64.

Office for Human Research Protections (OHRP). "FAQ: Must there be review by someone other than the investigator before a research study is determined to be exempt?" *Health and Human Services.* 2015a. Web. Accessed August 8, 2015. http://www.hhs.gov/ohrp/ policy/faq/exempt-research-determination/review-by-someone-other-than-investigator-before-research-study-is-exempt.html

—. "Code of Federal Regulations. Title 45. Public Welfare." *Health and Human Services.* 2015b. Web. 8, Aug. 2015. http://www.hhs.gov/ohrp/humansubjects/guidance/45cfr46.html#46.101(b)

Orgad, Shani. "How Can Researchers Make Sense of the Issues Involved in Collecting and Interpreting Online and Offline Data?" *Internet Inquiry: Conversations about Method.* Ed. Annette N. Markham and Nancy K. Baym. Thousand Oaks CA: Sage Publications, 2009: 33-53.

Overlyhonestmethods (@overlyhnstmthds). *Twitter.* 2015. Web. Accessed August 9, 2015. https://twitter.com/overlyhnstmthds

Parks, Malcolm R. and Kory Floyd. "Making Friends in Cyberspace." *Journal of Communication* 46.1 (1996): 80-97.

Paul (@Fieldworkfail). *Twitter.* 2015. Web. Accessed August 9, 2015. https://twitter.com/ Fieldworkfail

PsychForums. PsychForums. 2015. Web. Accessed August 9, 2015. http://www.psychforums.com/domestic-abuse/

Strauss, Anselm, and Juliet Corbin. *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques.* London: Sage Publications, 1990.

The Survivor's Forum of Women's Aid: Until Women and Children are Safe. The Survivor's Forum. 2015. Web. Accessed August 9, 2015. http://www.womensaid.org.uk/topics.asp?section=0001000100080021000&sectionTitle=Survivors+Forum+Messageboard

Wilson, Brian. "Ethnography, the Internet, and Youth Culture: Strategies for Examining Social Resistance and 'Online-Offline' Relationships." *Canadian Journal of Education* 29.1 (2006): 307-28. Print

POEMS: AMERICA," "1984," & "CAMERAS"

Donna J. Gelagotis Lee

America

search everyone. Check every
thing. Are you listening? What
stars are they that telescope
the night? What satellite

has my GPS? Who's tracking
our phone calls, our foot
prints? I'm sure he doesn't
have a horse. If you know

my friends, my likes and
dislikes... If an ad pops up
for the item I just searched...
If a note comes up at the bottom

of my screen to find that person
I just emailed, what am I to think?
If you see me at the supermarket,
the gas station, the bank, the corner

I'm waiting at for the light...
If you can map where my phone
goes, where my car goes...
If I'm an open book

that's now digital... If what I say
can be recorded... If anyone can
take a video... If a snapshot is always
within reach... If no one is

anonymous... If you are concerned
about putting your foot out...
If we are terrorizing ourselves fighting
an invisible war... If fear is

believing in fear... If if if...
If I need three IDs... If you
need to know where I live...
If I can't keep a secret... If

no one else can either… If
being right is being elected...
If going along is patriotic...
If taking off our shoes proves

we have nothing to hide...
If you are always looking
for the bad act / guy / gal...
If if if

If it's okay to monitor
a citizen's goings... If
if the Latino has to prove
he belongs here, or is

deported... If we pat down
our students, our seniors,
our physically challenged...
If our minorities are stopped

and searched... If speech
is regulated... If we're afraid
of making a joke that could
be misinterpreted... If we

seem to have lost that 50s
innocence... If a neighbor
hesitates to be neighborly... If
Big Brother *is* watching... If if

If I think twice about writing
this poem... If writers now self-censor...
If video surveillance exists on
public streets... If our

belongings are x-rayed and
searched... If we can't bring
liquids on a plane... If next
week, it's okay... If we are told

to tape shut our windows...
If we're afraid of the mail…
If a politician has to prove it's
safe to ride the subways... If

everyone avoids eye contact...
If each package is a potential
threat... If a poem causes a
poet laureate's position to be

abolished... If whites / blacks are afraid
to speak about blacks / whites... If 9/11
tore a hole in our psyche... If
the towers can never truly be

rebuilt... If terror is self-hate
turned outward... If we cannot blame
/ shame our poor, our hungry,
our mentally ill... If, America,

you are a beacon for everyone
seeking riches... If if if
this were a poem about
freedom...

Donna J. Gelagotis Lee's book, *On the Altar of Greece*, is the winner of the Seventh Annual Gival Press Poetry Award and recipient of a 2007 Eric Hoffer Book Award: Notable for Art Category. Her poetry has appeared in literary and scholarly journals internationally, including *Feminist Studies*, *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, *Making Connections: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Cultural Diversity*, *The Massachusetts Review*, and *Women's Studies Quarterly*.

1984

2014. That's thirty years. Count.
Though you read that book in the 70s,
when women thought anything was possible
and men were watching. Who said

to put a camera on your phone? Who thought
it was a good idea to camera the streets, every
bank and business? Are homes next? And why
wouldn't you let the government take your picture?

You have nothing to hide. . . but your privacy. Nothing
to lose. . . but freedom if every movement is monitored.
The masses watch and judgment takes place. It's
a lovely place, with high hedges and peace flowers.

But then you can't see, and all the flowers smell
the same. You want to pick one, but someone is ready
with a camera in one hand and a "no" sign in the other.
You comply, because it's 2014 and someone flew planes

into the towers—and the towers fell, and the cameras started
taking pictures, never stopped taking pictures, had to take pictures,
had to put pictures up, had to remember what we had
to hold close to us. Don't come too close! There's danger

in the air. You should even take your own picture, again
and again. And soon everyone will take his/her own picture
and carry a phone with a GPS. Snap snap. Who and where are you?
Where are you going? Who are your friends? What's your affiliation?

Cameras

"Inward-looking cameras" to be installed
in train cabins. Look look look. . . What
will you do that you should not do?

Careful. . . Help us monitor our goings.
On the highway. On the rails. Are there
cameras in cockpits? I know about

recorders, but do we watch that pilot?
How about going into a store, or a bank?
A restaurant? Can you watch how I eat?

Now, let's rally around it on social media
and TV. Then it's okay. Cameras in the schools.
Cameras in the nursery. Cameras on the doorstep.

And watching the driveway. Camera in the elevator.
(Is there a camera in the restroom?!) Camera over
the parking lot, at the airport, at the mall. Cameras

at offices. Cameras to take a selfie. But, no, that's
your choice. But a photo posted by someone else?
Camera on your person, on everyone else's person?

Camera in church? Camera on cops. Film me,
America! No wonder we're all celebrities. Hurry up,
undisclosed. What is private in public? Hurry, blur

my face. Shoot me from behind. Camera at
the toll plaza recording my license plate. Camera
on the way to heaven? O spiritual ritual of self

containment. Give me a pass to righteousness.
Camera on buildings in neighborhoods. Click Click.
Photo-shop everyone in passing, in case of criminality.

NOTES ON INTERVIEW WITH *PROTEUS* LECTURER, CHRISTOPHER SOGHOIAN

Crystal Conzo
Shippensburg University

Dr. Christopher Soghoian presented the 2015 *Proteus* Lecture at Shippensburg University on November 4, 2015. A leading expert on privacy, surveillance, and information security, Soghoian earned his doctorate at Indiana University and is named a "top innovator under 35" by MIT Technology Review. Soghoian's lecture concentrated on privacy in the course of American history, why the issue of privacy matters, and which companies keep information private.

Prior to the lecture, Soghoian graciously volunteered his time for an informal chat and private interview. Students in attendance responded well to Soghoian given his young age and sense of humor. Soghoian was equally comfortable, urging students to ask questions and engage in conversation. What follows is a condensed version of the informal chat and interview.

Who Spies and Why

Soghoian took interest in privacy research with a desire to learn "how the government spies." He was surprised to find that companies are involved in the pursuit to collect personal information from their users. He claims, "There are people who work at Google whose job it is to collect data from us." When asked why companies keep data for data mining and analytic purposes when they have the option to protect privacy, Soghoian explained that "ad revenue pays the employees." In other words, companies share the information with advertisers who pay them to display ads.

Who Keeps Information Private

There are services that exist for those who want to keep their information under wraps. Soghoian claims that "Dozens of programs advertise themselves as being able to communicate anonymously." For those who truly wish to preserve their private information, he suggests applications such as Facetime, iMessage and Whatsapp.

Recent Developments in Privacy Research

Soghoian warns that computer security can now analyze selfies to see a reflection in the retina. The reflection can then indicate smudges on the screen of a device that allows technologists to decipher pin numbers.

Other Ways to Protect One's Privacy

Certain privacy breaches can be avoided with a single action that Soghoian claims is a must. He says, "Sticking a sticker or band aid over your webcam is the easiest thing you can do." Furthermore, he urges everyone to follow this practice.

Crystal Conzo received her BA in English from Shippensburg University where she conducted this interview. She recently received an MS in Communication Studies, also at Shippensburg University, and she is currently an Account Management Associate at Sacunas.

SHIPPENSBURG UNIVERSITY
1871 Old Main Drive
Shippensburg, PA 17257-2299