Make Yourself at Home

Networked domestic space, place and narrative in middle class South African everyday life

Jaqueline Elizabeth Hiltermann

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Supervisor: Associate Professor Marion Walton

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ABSTRACT

Domestic space and place, as well as how we conceptualise the home, are shifting in response to changes in digital and SNS technologies, and our relationships with such technologies. The home is not only the building in which we live, but a networked *assemblage* of material and digitally mediated space and place. This study examines predominantly white middle class arrangements of domestic space and place in South Africa, which provides insight into a relatively unexplored aspect of digital culture: the performance of domesticity via SNS, particularly Facebook. Furthermore gendered and racialised power dynamics and privilege in everyday life were investigated through a digital ethnography and critical discourse analysis of posts by 50 Facebook users. This data was supplemented by interviews and in-situ observations of five couples drawn from the broader sample. In combination, these methods revealed how space, place, and domestic responsibilities are secured through narrative practice.

Through this study I show how Facebook has emerged as a collaborative platform where storytelling practices are influenced by the site architecture and algorithm. Facebook has opened up the private space of the home allowing domestic space, place, and practice to steadily gain visibility. This visibility, analysed in conjunction with Actor-Network Theory, revealed that homes, and narratives about the homes, are networked and dependent on relationships between actants. The home, and the relationships that stabilise it, are also reflective of discourses and power relations. Human actors negotiated territory and network roles, and these negotiations reveal power and hierarchy. Women remain more tightly bound to the home because of cultural and historical gendered discourses, and as a result the white women participants in this study continue to create place and ascribe space in digitally mediated and material versions of their homes. Furthermore, the resurgence of middle class postfeminist accounts of domesticity have promoted domestic idealism and many women have migrated back to the home spurred on by popular media, and economic privilege that has allowed them to forego paid employment.

This study also shows that white, middle class women participants were offered choices to construct their own postfeminist narratives of domesticity. On the other hand, the black women employed as domestic workers by these middle class couples, were largely absent from such narratives and conversations. Findings further suggest that domestic space and place remained the domain of white women participants, and that white men were able to renegotiate their domestic responsibilities because they remained distant from domestic narratives and conversations, where they were largely associated with domestic inadequacy.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

What constitutes home? For me it is landing at O.R Tambo International Airport and hearing the familiar, 'Welcome home'. It is that particular moment when I drive on the N3 from Durban towards Pietermaritzburg. There is a certain point on the highway where the "borough" comes in to view, a hazy blur of the valley, and I know Hilton is just beyond that, swaddled in mist. Home is walking into my father's house and being hit by dad cooking smells. Seeing his meticulous coffee table with the remotes all "just so"... the family photos on the walls, Nana's couch, the sound of Bella the cat. Home is also stepping into my mum and stepdad's house, and going up to my room and seeing yellow roses next to my bed. That feeling of knowing that the heated towel rail has been turned on just for me, that there is "hooligan juice" in the fridge and the promise of a Durban style take-away curry. More recently my home is a small flat in Sea Point that I share with my partner Huck. I know it is home because my beloved collection of Mauviel pots and pans are lined up in the kitchen cupboard like the von Trapp children; it is also where the bills arrive. It is where the bank says I live. It is where Huck and I build forts so that we can binge watch Narcos and Ozark. These places are home, because I describe them so. My homes are alive with memory, and storytelling. Facebook is also my home. I also live there. I tell stories there. It is worth exploring.

J. Edward Chamberlin's (2003) novel, *If This is Your Land, Where are Your Stories,* discusses how narratives forge a sense of place. Narratives allow us to become cartographers because they enable us to stake a claim, to stamp our identity on something that we share with other people, to be able to say, 'this is *mine*'. Place and narrative cannot be separated because narratives allow us a history, *and* a geography.

Narrative gives power to individuals, and indeed groups, because it enables us to create place. In my description above, I claimed numerous spaces and places[1] as home, including a specific country, an airport, a highway, a village, and buildings; all have stories and memories attached to them. My description also illustrates the networked[2] quality of space and place, and the fact that home relies on non-human and human actors. My description of home is dependent on human actors; such as parents,

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[1] The terms space and place are not interchangeable and the theoretical nuances of each is important. Space is viewed as physical, whereas place is symbolic, as theorised extensively in Chapter 2.

[2] I acknowledge that the term 'network' has many meanings especially regarding its use in computer science and digital communications. In this thesis the term 'network' is used to refer to the connections between actants, particularly when referring to Actor-Network Theory (ANT). The home is viewed as relational and highly networked as well as comprising of both digitally mediated and material space and place.

my partner, Nana, and even Bella the cat. At the same time, home is created by technologies, non-human actors, such as heated towel rails and the television connected to Netflix. Other non-human actors include objects, or artefacts, such as pots and pans, flowers and couches, and services provided by the municipality, electricity department, Internet provider, bank, and so forth. These human and non-human actors, or collectively *actants*, make up my home as a network. The role of Facebook, is that it is a place which allows me to construct and present everyday life narratives. Hence, Facebook creates a sense of place that enables aspects of my private life to come into view.

This thesis is a study of South African middle class[3] domestic space and place: namely the home. As I will explain, the home is viewed as a complex configuration of space and place. This study examines both the material bricks and mortar home, and the digitally mediated home, as presented on Facebook. Furthermore, this research examines the behaviour of women participants in domestic space and place, and how they perform aspects of domesticity in South African everyday life. The home is theorised as highly networked and relational, and key questions are;

- How are domestic narratives constructed and distributed, and how do they contribute to securing space and place?
- How are domestic space, place, and labour, negotiated by participants?
- How do household networks stabilise?
- What resources are mobilised in order to ensure the functioning of household networks?
- How does Actor-Network Theory (ANT) contribute to understandings about the complexities of gendered and racial relationships in everyday South African life?

Studying space and place gives insight into relationships. It is this relational aspect of networked space and place that allows us to critically engage with complex power struggles. I explore how these struggles, particularly those related to gender and race, are enacted in domestic space and place. Furthermore, I examine the role of narrative in presenting the home, and how it contributes to self-presentation. Narrative is a crucial aspect of self-presentation, and is frequently aligned with discourse.

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[3] Middle class is defined according to the South African Audience Research Foundation's (SAARF) most recent Living Standards Measure (LSM). LSM is used as a way to look at markets and categorises individuals based on 'degrees of urbanisation', 'ownership of cars and major appliances' ((http://www.saarf.co.za/lsm/lsms.asp). It is useful because it negates racial categories and defines groups according to their living standards. For this study LSM 7 high to LSM 10 low was defined as middle class (https://www.mediaupdate.co.za/marketing/14286/making-sense-of-the-new-14-lsm-model.

In this case gendered and racial constructs of domesticity are introduced as a way of normalising prescribed roles, and continuing to secure women to the home.

This study contributes to existing research on South African domestic space and place, and builds on the findings of Ally (2011), Cock (1980, 1981), Dilata (2008), Gaitskell (1984) and Nyamnjoh (2005). However, rather than focussing on domestic workers, I have chosen to examine the everyday lives of predominantly white[4], middle class women, in an effort to 'study up'[5] (Nader, 1974). I believe that understanding the gendered, racial, and social power relations evident in domestic networks, helps to further knowledge of domestic everyday life in South Africa. Ferber argues that race and gender are 'inextricably linked', and that as constructs they serve to 'naturalise' and 'hierarchise' difference (1998, p. 48).

Ferber also suggests the 'need for theories that account for both race and gender to explain adequately the lives of women of colour' (1998, p. 50). Although I have chosen to focus my research on white women participants[6], I believe that this focus constitutes an original contribution and adds to understandings about power relations that continue to secure women to the home. In addition, by studying white middle class women, I aim to show the naturalisation of women's domestic roles, more broadly, through various discourses. These discourses disseminate in networks and serve as a commentary on race and class dynamics in post-apartheid South Africa.

Chapman (1955) and Rogers (1980) argue that women have adopted 'essentialist' attitudes towards their domestic duties, and that such roles are deemed 'natural'. Chapman argues that homemaking is a 'major element in women's behaviour', and that cultivating the home is still an important 'preoccupation' for white middle class women (1955, p. 24). I argue that the staying power of such essentialist discourses of domesticity, and "woman's place", is still considerable, despite the era in which these comments were made. Although the majority of women participants were employed outside of the home, observations and interviews revealed that domesticity is still a "preoccupation" for this particular sample of women. I explore the extent to which, six decades later, gendered discourses of

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[4] The Population Registration Act, Act no. 30, of 1950 classified the population of South Africa according to white, black, Indian and coloured. In post-apartheid South Africa these racial classifications are still used as a way to measure and readdress the racial inequalities that still exist within population groups (http://cs2016.statssa.gov.za/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/NT-30-06-2016-RELEASE-for-CS-2016-_Statistical-releas_1-July-2016.pdf).

[5] 'Studying up' is the need to study dominant groups in order to get a broader view of society. The argument is that this allows researchers to understand power relationships more thoroughly.

[6] 7 out of 50 women participants identified as black, Indian, mixed race or coloured.

domesticity still circulate in everyday practices across race and class boundaries, by analysing these women participants and their everyday interactions.

This thesis also contributes to the body of work known as Actor-Network Theory (ANT) developed by Callon (1986a, 1986b, 1991, 1992) Latour (1987, 1988, 1993, 1994, 1996, 1999, 2005) and Law (1992, 1994, 1999, 2002, 2004, 2009). I analyse the home as highly networked and relational, and show how actants negotiate and renegotiate their domestic roles. Furthermore, I show how Facebook is utilised as a recruitment method and how women participants recruit actants into networks.

A limitation of ANT is that it is impossible to scrutinise every actant within a network. Nonetheless, understanding social ordering as 'socio-technical'[7] (Doolin & Lowe, 2002; Knights & Murray, 1994; Law, 1992, 1999, 2009) allows us to account for the heterogeneous quality of networks, and the fact that all actants play an equal role in network stability. ANT highlights the importance of non-human actors (namely technologies, artefacts, objects etc.) in social arrangement. I apply ANT to interrogate the role of Facebook in the organisation of the social. I believe that Facebook plays a crucial role in constructing and disseminating narratives of domesticity, which influence our sense of place. Considering the linear narrative models of Kozloff (1987) and Scholes & Kellogg (1966, 2006), I provide a new way in which to analyse narrative transmission as highly networked.

This research contributes to knowledge that space and place, and spatial practice are dimensions of discourse (Foucault, 1986). I consider how Foucault's (1980, 1986, 2002) heterotopia, and Dolgopolov's (2003) domestopia[8] can be applied to understandings of domestic space and place. I examine both heterotopia and domestopia as discursively loaded, and influential in securing and maintaining network roles.

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[7] Socio-technical is defined in terms of Actor-Network Theory (ANT) and how the social and the technical are equally important within heterogeneous networks.

[8] Heterotopia is discussed in detail in Chapter 2 as counter hegemonic places of alternate ordering (Hetherington, 1997). Heterotopia is defined as 'spaces of alternate ordering' (Hetherington, 1997) and counter-hegemonic spaces that aim to subvert, and occasionally maintain, power relations. Domestopia is defined as an imaginary place that women strive for when presenting their own domesticity. The home is frequently aligned with discourses of lifestyle, and as a place it is reflective of a certain lifestyle. Attwood suggests that the home is an 'important marker of personal identity' and that 'the transformed home has become a key image for a culture dominated by a lifestyle ethos' (Attwood, 2005, p. 90). The pursuit of domestopia is heavily mediatised and reflected in television programmes, lifestyle magazines and so forth (Attwood, 2005; Bonner, 2000; Brunsdon, 2006; Dolgopolov, 2003).

I analyse the homes, and the domestic narratives, as revealed on Facebook, of fifty South African, predominantly white, middle class women. The fifty women were selected based on my own Facebook friends and were identified as 'weak ties'[9] (Granovetter, 1983) of mine. These women were identified through criterion based (purposive)[10], and snowball sampling[11], and were selected because of their high propensity to post content on Facebook that was domestically focused[12]. The women participants were between the ages of 25 and 30. My own heteronormative and predominantly white Facebook networks significantly affected the sampling.

This study is a qualitative and quantitative study of the home, which combines digital ethnography, critical discourse analysis (CDA) and content analysis to show how these particular women participants create a sense of place, and ascribe space within homes. The home is critically examined as a site for numerous power struggles, and I highlight the importance of narrative and discourse, the complexities of space and place, and beliefs about gendered and racial labour. In addition, the networked and relational quality of households is scrutinised, because in order for households to run efficiently, connections between actants have to be maintained.

The findings from this study cannot be inferred on other contexts, because of the limited size of the sample, and the scope of the study. Nonetheless, I complement my findings with extensive literature and case studies, which means that representational generalisations[13] (Ritchie *et al.* 2013) can be drawn. Insight into household connections allows us to understand power struggles, and the complexities of gendered and racial relationships that continue to persist in South African everyday life. Hence, this study adds original and significant insight into a relatively unchartered area of digital culture, and how South African, white, middle class women perform domesticity and negotiate domestic responsibilities in everyday life.

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[9] According to Granovetter (1983), strong ties are those which are formed between people who know each other well and interact often, weak ties on the other hand are ties between people who know each other as acquaintances and seldom interact.

[10] Purposive or criterion-based samples are those where researchers select participants based on shared characteristics or sets of criteria (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993).

[11] Browne (2005) defines snowball sampling as a sharing of characteristics that link people together.

[12] Chapter 4 explains the criteria for my definition of 'domestically focused'.

[13] According to Ritchie *et al.* representational generalisations are based on two factors, 'whether the phenomena found in the research sample (for example, views, experiences, behaviours or outcomes) would simply be found in the parent population' and 'whether other additional phenomena (or different perspectives on them) would be found in the parent population which are not present in the parent sample'. (2013, p. 265).

I apply social theory, human geography, ANT and digital media theory to explore the complexities of domestic space and place and a range of domestic practices that continue to fix women's place to the home.

Defining Domesticity

To begin it is necessary to define domesticity, because it is a key term in conceptualising practise, as well as space and place. I understand the term as a social and historical construct that is discursively loaded and reflective of power relations; particularly regarding gender and race. Yet, domesticity is also both a complex configuration of the multiple spaces and places of the home, as well as a range of practices associated with housework and homemaking.

From a geographical context Kaplan defines domesticity as, 'in tension' with the 'foreign', and she argues that the concept of *foreign* is 'out of doors' or, 'at a distance from the home' (1998, p. 581). Hence, the domestic is that which embodies the home; including one's country. This study defines domestic space as highly networked; comprising of material and digitally mediated space as discussed below.

In terms of domestic practice, the umbrella of domesticity encompasses both homemaking and housework. These terms are not interchangeable, and the nuances of each are important; key to understanding the difference is the notion of work and the associated value of the work. Housework is defined as, 'regular work done in housekeeping, especially cleaning and tidying' (Oxford Dictionary, def. housework, 2017) whereas homemaking is defined as, 'the creation and management of a home, especially as a pleasant place in which to live' (Oxford Dictionary, def. homemaking, 2017).

An important distinction is that housework is associated with the menial aspects of housekeeping (the tidying and cleaning) and is often undervalued, while homemaking encompasses management and domestic proficiency and is frequently viewed as a highly valued skill. I show how homemaking and housework are discursively loaded, especially concerning gender and race.

It should be noted that, for the purposes of this study, parenting, particularly motherhood, is analysed in conjunction with housework and homemaking. This is because children are responsible for creating housework, as members of the household, but also contribute to performing housework. Moreover, children form part of the performance and presentation of homemaking, and are frequently aligned

with images of 'domestic bliss' or domestopia. I examine depictions of motherhood, as presented on Facebook, and how homemaking practices frame mothers in a positive and idealised way.

Situating the Study in Material, Digitally Mediated and Networked Space and Place

The home, is central to this study, and is theorised as both material and digitally mediated space and place. Material space and place is that which we inhabit in our everyday lives. Graham describes these as 'spaces and places in which daily life is confined, lived and constructed' (1998, p. 166). Digitally mediated space and place is mediated by a digital interface such as a computer screen.

Separating the material and the digital is a theoretical dilemma. This is because the two spheres are not simple binaries, and seeing them in such a way is a fallacy known as digital dualism, where material space and place is seen as more "real" (Graham, 1998; Jurgenson, 2012). For example, when I narrate my everyday life on Facebook, I am positioned in digitally mediated space and place. I navigate digitally mediated space and place, by using a computer, yet I view the representation of my home and life, through a material screen. Hence, there is slippage, because in order to understand space and place, in this case the home, it is important to recognise the complex relationship between the material and the digitally mediated.

Furthermore, Lupton suggests that within space and place, bodies are increasingly digitised by both the individuals themselves, and by actors and agencies (2015, p.1). This is evident on Facebook where participants post updates and disseminate photographs and descriptions of themselves, which in turn become digital manifestations of themselves. In this way Facebook is not *just* a digitally mediated version of the home, but *also* a digital embodiment of each individual user.

For these reasons, I believe that it is prudent to view the home as an assemblage of both the digital and the material. Nonetheless, I do draw distinctions between the digitally mediated and material, while trying to avoid viewing them as binaries. This seems to be a contradiction, but the fact that my research methodology involved data collection from Facebook observations, Skype and email interviews, email questionnaires, and home visits, meant that I had to account for these spatial arrangements, and come to terms with distinguishing between spaces and places without separating them entirely.

Within this networked configuration of space and place discourses circulate and ascribe and normalise network roles. Hence, space and place are dimensions of discourse because they are reflective of power

relations (Foucault, 1986). This study analyses the home as it is presented on Facebook, how women participants display and present their everyday domestic lives using computer mediated communication (CMC), as well as how the material and physical home is negotiated.

Theories of space and place are explored extensively, considering the work of Bourdieu (1989, 1990), Foucault (1977, 1980, 1986, 2002), Lefebvre (1984, 1991, 1996), Soja (1989, 1996) and Tuan (1976, 1977, 1979). The arrangements of place and space are vital when considering domestic practices and such practices are revealed through the analysis of both the digitally mediated *and* material manifestations of the home.

While participants' digital domestic presentations and representations are useful for exploring narratives and patterns of organisation, they are not sufficient for a thorough analysis of the intricacies of domestic networks. As discussed, I utilise ANT as a socio-technical approach (Doolin & Lowe, 2002; Knights & Murray, 1994; Law, 1992, 1999, 2009) in order to analyse the household as highly networked and relational. Domestic practices and places are seen as increasingly networked and dependent on a range of actants to function effectively. This thesis examines how actants are recruited, or enrolled into domestic networks, as well as the aspects of translation[14] which result in the securing of network roles. The premise is that, if a particular actant is translated correctly, then their role is secured within a network (Callon, 1986a, 1986b; Gieryn, 2000; Latour, 1987; Law 1992, 1999).

For a network to be secure, 'ordering strategies'[15] (Law, 1992, 1994, 2004) have to be adopted. I propose that discourses are ordering strategies that secure network roles and 'embody characteristic forms of representation' and that they also '"script" the performance of those involved' (Law, 2004, p. 111). For these reasons theories on performance, impression management[16] and identity, as well as ANT, are utilised in order to scrutinise understandings of social theory and space.

Space and place are dimensions of discourse, and I show how women participants create utopic or "perfect" versions of the home in digitally mediated and material space. These representations align

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[14] Translation is defined as the process of negotiation that occurs before a network can stabilise. It is the process by which all of the actants reach agreement regarding their roles within the network. Callon describes it as the 'mechanism by with the social and natural worlds progressively take form' and that the 'result is a situation in which certain entities control others' (1986a, p. 19).

[15] This process explores how networks are ordered according to 'devices, agents, institutions, or organisations' and is concerned with how networks hold together (Law, 1992, p. 386).

[16] Goffman (1959) suggested that impression management is a crucial aspect of social interaction and self-presentation. It is the conscious or subconscious practice of presenting the self in a specific and calculated manner.

them with discourses such as the "ideal housewife" and "domestic goddess". Dolgopolov (2003) refers to this practice as the creation of 'domestopia' where the home is represented as a utopia. Although the home is frequently portrayed alongside depictions of domestopia, there are frequent instances where these discourses are subverted. I adapt Foucault's (1977, 1980, 1986, 2002) heterotopia in order to show how participants create places of alternate ordering within their homes. These places emerge in material and digitally mediated space and subvert, or ascribe to, normative values. For example, I show how the "man cave" is created in order to assert power because it demarcates space and place as highly masculinised, and "other" in regards to the rest of the home. Although both domestopia and heterotopia are "other" places, an important distinction is that domestopia are imaginary utopian, or ideal versions of domestic bliss, whereas heterotopias are real spaces where alternate ordering occurs (Topinka, 2010).

The analysis of domestopia and heterotopias provides valuable insight into gendered, and often racialised, relationships and negotiations. This study shows how place and power are reflected in domestic networks, and how women participants negotiate domestic responsibilities and navigate home space. ANT enables us to analyse who the subordinate and powerful actants within households are, by scrutinising the relational quality of networked space and place. This study of networked place and space develops the argument that space is not hierarchical as posited by Bozzoli (1983), but rather sites for resistance and negotiation. Power relations are dynamic and fragile, and by analysing both digital and material space we are able to get a clearer picture of the 'ordering strategies' (Law, 1992, 1994, 2004) that allow for network stability.

Situating Facebook as Space, Place and Text

This study looks at the complexities of digital and material space, and takes this a step further by analysing Facebook, not only as digitally mediated space and place, but *also* a text. Facebook is a space and place to perform and narrate aspects of identity and everyday life, and it is also a media text that can be analysed in terms of its structure.

Haraway (1985, 1989, 1991, 1997) suggests that technologies are discursively loaded and enforce meanings and values, which assist in constructing or reinforcing identities. I suggest that Facebook creates numerous places to enact and perform domesticity. Moreover, by expanding on the work of Walther *et al.,* I show how Facebook has the potential to 'reinforce stereotypes and behaviours' (2008,

p. 45). Facebook plays a huge part in our everyday lives, and influences how users 'think about and live their lives in Facebooked ways' (McNeill, 2012, p. 70).

Domesticity and everyday life are key narratives on Facebook, and are highly influential regarding the identity performance of women participants. I argue that discourses of domesticity circulate within networks and secure space and place. In addition this argument constitutes an original contribution in that I illustrate how Facebook has opened up the home and allowed domesticity and domestic life to steadily gain visibility.

Facebook operates as a text, because it provides a narrative framework where descriptions and photographs of domestic life are able to be disseminated. I contribute to existing narrative theory by providing a model from which to examine networked and collaborative narratives by drawing on the work of Scholes & Kellogg (1966, 2006), and Kozloff (1987). The narratives of domestic life, facilitated by the architecture and algorithms of Facebook, although seemingly banal, often highlight integral, yet previously invisible work. This research shows that narrative work on Facebook is vital for women's domestic performance, and that such narratives continue to secure women to the home by normalising prescribed gender roles.

Although research on Facebook discourse analysis has been conducted, it is limited to the analysis of conversations and interpersonal communication (Page, 2010; Shlezak, 2015), 'small stories' and the 'breaking news format' (Georgakopoulou, 2007), and the narrativity of status updates (Page, 2010). Using principles from ANT, narrative theory and CDA, I show the networked narrative architecture of Facebook, as a text, and how authorship is not confined to individual users. Rather, narrative is collaborative, relational, and networked. My analysis explains and illustrates how Facebook, as a networked text, is being used to tell stories and stage presentations of everyday life; in this case domesticity.

Introducing Discourses of Essentialist Gender Identity

Domesticity needs to be examined alongside gender discourse. This is because gender is a crucial aspect of identity performance, and integral to understanding the discursive nature of domesticity.

I introduce domesticity as gendered practice by focusing on the work of Goffman (1959, 1961, 1971, 1972, 1981), and Butler (1988, 1990, 1993). Goffman (1959) concludes that gender display is about how successful the actor (in this case the performer) is at portraying himself/herself to an audience. The

success of the performance also hinges on how believable the performer is at displaying himself/herself, and these acts are an integral part of sociality. Goffman's view is that there is not one unified singular identity, but rather, a tension between the numerous roles one has available from which to draw; for example career woman, mother, wife, domestic goddess, and so on. Goffman also suggests that there are front stage and back stage personas with which we constantly grapple when we present ourselves to other people.

The front stage persona is how we behave when we know that we are being observed by an audience; although a lot of the time this may be habitual or subconscious (Goffman, 1959). Our back stage persona, on the other hand, is how we behave when we know that we are not being observed, most often when we are alone (Goffman, 1959). Goffman (1959) argues that how we display ourselves often takes into account our back stage and front stage personas. In this way our identities, and indeed our gender, are constantly undergoing impression management because we want to come across in a certain way.

Butler (1988) also refutes biological gender essentialism and maintains that gender is a cultural and historical construct. Butler argues that gender is a psychological 'act', rather than a contrived 'role' that we perform to an audience on a day-to-day basis, as suggested by Goffman (1959). Hence in many ways gender is discursive and Butler draws on de Beauvoir (1953) and Merleau-Ponty (1945) to illustrate this. Butler states that 'the body is a historical idea [and] a set of possibilities to be continually realised' (1988, p. 521). Here, Butler (1988) supports de Beauvoir's claim that 'one is not born, but rather, *becomes* a woman' (1953).

Using both Butler (1988) and Goffman (1959) I explore gendered discourses (as cultural and historical constructs) of domesticity. I also look at the performative aspects of gender, as presented on Facebook; both in terms of displays of domestic proficiency and failure.

Discursively and historically 'woman' is a gendered category that has been constructed, and arguments have been made about how gender has been regulated (Cho *et al.,* 2013; Crenshaw, 1989); for example women being confined to domestic space, particularly along racial lines (Cock, 1980, 1981; Gieryn, 2000; Moore, 1986; Nyamnjoh, 2005; Prussin, 1995). Gender, as a concept, is limiting because it cannot be compressed into a 'single analytical category' (McCall, 2005) because it is culturally and historically determined. This is why intersectionality needs to be addressed, because it posits that there are many social and political dimensions of gender that need to be considered.

Critiques on theorising gender as universal were made, particularly by women of colour, who asserted that conceptions of the female gender were exclusive to white women and too essentialist to provide any meaningful discussion (Collins, 1986; Crenshaw, 1989; Davis, 1993). These theorists argued that historical discussions of gender did not take into account the wide ranging influences such as experience, context, identity, location, and so on (McCall, 2005). Gender is therefore heterogeneous and unstable, especially when considering influences such as race and class.

Contextualising Domestic Work in South Africa, as Socially and Historically Constructed

Domesticity is a discursively loaded social, and historical, construct that is reflective of power. In South Africa, employing a domestic worker, to perform housework is the norm for many white people[17]. According to the latest Quarterly Labour Force Survey (QLFS)[18] data provided by STATS SA, South Africa has over one million domestic workers.

The practice of employing domestic workers has ramifications for gender and racial politics within households. Domesticity in a South African context differs along race and class lines, and even in post-apartheid South Africa, many black women still rely on domestic work which accounts for nearly 8% of the total workforce (BusinessTech, 2015, 2016b). As with Attfield (2002), Kaplan (1998), McKeon (2005), and Simon & Landis (1989), I conceptualise domesticity alongside geography and space, and I draw on European Colonial discourses of domesticity and domestic work.

As a marker of whiteness, domesticity is contested because it has been mapped out in specific ways. It remains deeply racial and political because historically it has been designated as work for black women, with low market value, as a form of poorly paid employment. Gendered western constructs of domesticity can be seen in the case of Africa during Colonial rule. Colonialism served to define black women, in particular, in a way that made them 'biologically and intellectually inferior to men and denied them any role in the progress of society' (Hansen, 1992, p. 4). These beliefs were imposed with the spread of European ideals, and discourses securing women to the home, spread to Africa and are still resonant in contemporary South African everyday life.

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[17] AMPS data revealed that nearly 13% of South African households, and 56% within the white population, employ one or more domestic workers (SAARF, 2015c). In my own study, forty one participants employed a domestic worker, with the majority of households employing a domestic worker once or twice a week. Eight participants employed a domestic worker on a full time basis.
[18] QLFS 2017 Data Retrieved from http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0211/P02112ndQuarter2017.pdf

From an African context domesticity is complex. In *African Encounters with Domesticity* most of the contributions explore domesticity as a European ideology related to work, space, gender and power. The power relations involved in domesticity often involve discourses around "taming" or "civilising" black women (Hansen, 1992). Domestic roles often resulted in servitude, because domestic labourers became dependent on their employers; it also challenged social roles that were already in place. Chauncey (1981), Denzer (1992), and Epstein (1981) argue that up until western influence, African women were incredibly independent and industrious; more often than not they worked outside of the home. On the other hand Marks & Unterhalter (1978) indicate that historically, in South African Bantu-speaking culture, women had always been controlled by patriarchal structures; be it by the chief, headman or head of the family. As a result of European Colonialism, African ideas of domesticity were transformed to accommodate western ideals. There came numerous challenges and contradictions to women's work, as black women, in many circumstances, became the family breadwinner (Denzer, 1992).

In South Africa, as in Europe and America, from a political and historical point of view, domestic work has a history of being low paid, or unpaid work, for women who are seen as economically inferior (Callaway, 1987; Cock, 1981; Marks & Unterhalter, 1978; Schmidt, 1982). Up until fairly recently, South Africans have referred to domestic workers as "servants". Moran remarks that, 'the category "servant" results not from the payment of a wage in a market economy, but from the status and prestige requirements of civilised households (and especially those of the female heads of such households)' (1992, p. 101). The very fact that Moran (1992) makes the distinction of a 'civilised household' is discursively loaded, because the assumption is that to be civilised one needs to employ servants.

The backlash of this servant and master/madam relationship is often rebellion as noted by Dilata (2008), Nyamnjoh (2005), and Schmidt (1992). These rebellious power plays by domestic workers, such as dawdling and forgetting to perform work (Schmidt, 1992), would often be mistaken or misinterpreted for ignorance or stupidity which furthered the belief that domestic housework is for a lower class and indeed lower calibre of woman.

Jacklyn Cock's (1980) analysis of the power relations afforded to women argues that both the "maid" and the "madam" are in subordinate positions and subject to discrimination. Both parties share social and political dependence in that the maid is dependent on the madam (her employer), and in an era where many women were not employed, the employer is dependent on her husband. It is for this reason that the madam often asserts her authority over the lesser domestic worker. Both Cock (1980)

and Nyamnjoh (2005) argue that dominant male structures have ensured that women in a higher class exploit women below them on the social ladder, in order to maintain an advantageous position. This perpetuates power structures and hierarchies that exist in domestic environments and indeed networks.

Furthermore, men often sidestep domestic duties because there is a woman to do this work for him; be it his wife or the domestic worker. For the 'madam' it means that she can avoid the domestic jobs that she doesn't enjoy and focus on the ones that she does (Cock, 1980). The men in Cock's study are heavily reliant on domestic workers as this 'absolves them from any involvement in domestic chores' (1980, p. 146) and this also helps their partners or wives because they have help with the domestic load. As a result of the availability of domestic labour middle class women can enjoy more leisure time, time with their families and time to pursue their own interests or careers.

Domestic work has no doubt changed since Cock's study. This is largely in part due to the emergence of a new democratic society which brought with it government regulation for domestic work. Domestic workers have the same rights as all other workers and are protected by government in terms of minimum wage, employment contracts, annual increases, severance pay, pensions and so on (Ally, 2011, p. 3). Nonetheless upward mobility for domestic workers is difficult as Ally remarks;

> Despite the broad-ranging efforts to turn South African domestic "servants" into workers, the iconic apartheid live-in African woman "servant" attending to the lifestyles of white, middle-class suburbia, remains a recalcitrant reality in contemporary South Africa. The continued shift to live-out and part-time "char" work has become more commonplace and nouveau-riche blacks increasingly employ domestic workers as well. (Ally, 2011, p. 7)

Thus employing domestic workers has become entrenched among South Africans who have become dependent on these women to perform housework. I examine the extent to which domestic workers contribute to household networks, and what roles they are expected to fulfil. Furthermore, I examine evidence of power relations as they emerge in digitally mediated and material space.

The Relationship between Postfeminism and Domesticity

Historically gender and feminism have been tied to ideas of whiteness (Ferber, 1998; Frankenberg, 1993, 1997; Heron, 2007) and it is important to understand the broad and nuanced scope of gender and race, particularly from a South African context. Furthermore, modernity was theorised from a masculine perspective, and did little to account for human subjects as women (Seidler, 2003). Hence, the only ties

that women had to the public sphere, was in their role as consumers (Tinknell *et al.,* 2003; Tincknell, 2011). In addition, the commodification of the female body has meant that women, usually understood to be white women, continue to be associated with consumption (Bell & Hollows, 2005; Featherstone, 1990, 1991a, 1991b).

Postfeminism is a reaction to second and third wave feminism, which acknowledges the ambiguities and complexities within feminist thought, while striving to refute gender essentialism (McRobbie, 2004). Feminism and domesticity continue to have a complex relationship, and this section traces postfeminism, while considering how domesticity fits in to its ideals. Postfeminism enables white middle class women to exercise their own feminism, by selecting aspects of domesticity that fit into their ideals, and indeed *preferences*. By negotiating their own network roles and responsibilities, based on their beliefs about domesticity, they are able to assert their power within the home. Furthermore, by recruiting domestic workers into household networks, in order to support their own absence in the housework aspects of domesticity, allows white middle class women more flexibility.

More recently increased understanding in feminism brought on by structuralist, poststructuralist and psychoanalytical theory has allowed diversity in the field (Gillis & Hollows, 2009). As a result feminism and popular culture have been probed more thoroughly, which has added much needed insight into the field. I consider these ideals of postfeminist domesticity in my analysis of how women participants are engaging with domestic everyday life in digitally mediated and material space and place.

Postfeminism examines how the relationship between feminism and femininity has changed. This is in part due to the increase of popular media texts that both subvert and promote femininity, as well as traditional conceptions of what it means to be a woman. Gill (2007) suggests that postfeminism is a 'sensibility' that considers women as subjects, rather than objects. Postfeminism is best understood in relation to popular media texts, and although there is huge debate surrounding what constitutes postfeminism, the postfeminist sensibility highlights women's ability to be subjective and autonomous in their own feminism.

 McRobbie describes a new 'gender regime' (2004, p. 262) which occurs because popular media texts provide women with alternatives to normative lifestyles (such as marriage and having children), and offer a sense of freedom. This aspect of choice is crucial to postfeminism. Women are able to choose how they present themselves, and what aspects of femininity they decide to adopt. This has an

empowering element, because it allows women to choose how to be in the world. Nonetheless this sense of choice is often an illusion, and the problem with choice is that it doesn't take into account aspects of everyday life such as peer pressure, indoctrination, media messages, advertising, trends, and so on.

I suggest that these choices are often framed alongside visions or discourses of 'domestopia', or what Hollows (2000) describes as, the 'makeover takeover'. These choices frequently shame women into believing that how they are engaging in domesticity is wrong, while offering enticing choices that emphasise the need for change. For example, in television programmes, such as 'What Not To Wear' (BBC 2, 2001-2003), Gok's Clothes Roadshow (Channel 4, 2011) and Changing Rooms (BBC 1, 1998-2004)[19] women are frequently offered the choice to accept help from experts, or to stay as they are. While this scenario offers the illusion of choice, the overarching discourse alludes to the failure associated with not accepting the vision of the perfect home or lifestyle. Hence women are frequently shamed into adopting new behaviours that aren't necessarily aligned with their own feminism. I examine the extent to which women participants are engaging in presentations, and acceptance of, domestopia as an achievable, albeit stressful, goal on Facebook.

Furthermore, such texts are frequently loaded with the anxiety associated with personal choice, and indeed the "right" choice". The idea of postfeminism is seemingly to re-evaluate the criteria for successful and adequate feminism (Gillis & Hollows, 2009; Matchar, 2013; McRobbie, 2004). Postfeminism is being self-reflexive about what kind of life you want to live and what type of woman you want to be.

For many, the idea that women take responsibility for domestic life is "anti-feminist", and the assumption is that housewives, in particular, are contrary to feminist goals (Gillis & Hollows, 2009; Hollows & Moseley, 2006). McRobbie (2004) explains that postfeminism is involved in, what she describes as a, 'double entanglement', where neo-liberal values and conservative values clash. I argue that domesticity is an aspect of postfeminism that is fraught with such entanglements because traditionally feminist discourse has highlighted the fact that you cannot enjoy the domestic realm while being a feminist. For example, Martha Rosler's (1976) infamous *Semiotics of the Kitchen* illustrated the feelings associated with being chained to the kitchen and domestic life. In contrast, Hollows (2000,

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[19] These British television programmes were available on BBC Lifestyle and TLC channels on DSTV (Digital Satellite Television). DSTV is a subscription service available throughout South Africa, and parts of Africa.

2003a, 2007) and Matchar (2013) introduce postfeminism as a backlash to second wave feminism, where there is a 'return to the repressed' (Hollows, 2003a) and that immense pleasure can be derived from domestic life.

There is also an entanglement because in order for white middle class women to progress in their careers, enjoy more leisure time and/or spend time with their children, they often recruit an additional actor, namely a black female domestic worker, to perform housework. This means that up until recently black women have seldom been included in South African postfeminist narratives. While the scope of black postfeminism is opening up in South Africa, with the popularisation of television shows featuring Siba Mtongane and Zola Nene[20], the vast inequalities of post apartheid South Africa means that upward mobility for black South African women has been slow.

The overarching fact is that there is no "true" feminism and that feminism itself means differently for different groups. Although postfeminism takes intersectionality and difference into account, postfeminist media culture is nonetheless "obsessed" with the female body (Gill, 2007); which continues to be represented as white. Postfeminism reimagines the relationship between feminism and domesticity while examining the tensions surrounding the relationship between feminism and domesticity. There has been a desire to return home reflected by women participants creating 'online projects of the self' (cf. Livingstone, 2008).

Yet, there is evidence of a backlash where white women are examining their roles within the home, and there are signs of negotiations regarding domestic space, place and practice. I examine presentations of domesticity on Facebook, and explore both the self-presentation aspects, as well as the aspects of domestic performance that are contrary to discourses of domestic idealism and bliss. Furthermore, I illustrate that for many women participants, their postfeminist embodiment of domesticity is made possible by employing a domestic worker to perform the unpopular aspects of domesticity such as housework.

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[20] Siba Mtongane is the popular celebrity chef from Food Network's Siba's Table, she appears as a judge on Chopped SA, and is the published author of the cookery book *Welcome to my Table*. Zola Nene frequently appears on SABC 3's morning show Expresso, is the new judge on SA Bake Off (season 3), and has published *Simply Delicious*.

Chapter Exposition

Chapter 2 theorises domestic space and place. Social theory, human geography, ANT and digital media theory are applied in order to investigate the practices and discourses of domestic space and place. This chapter draws on complex understandings of space and place developed by Bourdieu (1989, 1990), Foucault (1977, 1980, 1986, 2002), Lefebvre (1984, 1991, 1996), Soja (1989, 1996) and Tuan (1976, 1977 1979). I suggest that both the digitally mediated and material manifestations of the home are highly networked, and therefore ANT is introduced as a socio-technical approach, which scrutinises the relational quality of space and place (Callon, 1986a, 1986b, 1991, 1992; Latour, 1999, 2005; Law 1992, 1999, 2002, 20009). This chapter also introduces arguments about how discourse secures spatial arrangements, and Foucault's (1986) heterotopia is introduced as a key theory in analysing power relations.

Chapter 3 analyses Facebook as a network text which relies on collaboration (Arthur, 2009; McNeill, 2012) in order to develop narratives. I suggest that women participants use Facebook to create 'reflexive projects of the self' (Giddens, 1991) where women narrate the self through constant self-monitoring. In this way Facebook is used as a way to sustain narratives and presentations of the self. I contribute to knowledge of narrative theory by adapting Scholes & Kellogg's (1966, 2006), and Kozloff's (1987) linear narrative model in order to show how Facebook's site architecture facilitates self-presentation. I introduce a new narrative model that I have developed, using principles from ANT, to account for the relational and networked quality of Facebook. Facebook is conceptualised as a text, comprising of narrative, algorithm and discourse. I argue that discourse circulates in networks, and I introduce homophily as a reflection of shared discourse (di Gregorio, 2012; McPherson *et al.*, 2001) which results in homogeneity or sameness. Homophily is viewed as an 'ordering strategy' (Law, 1992, 1994, 2004) that secures actants to space and place, because of shared discourse.

Chapter 4 explains the mixed methodological approach (Creswell & Clark, 2007; Tashakkori & Creswell, 2007; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998, 2010) and rationale for this study. It outlines the quantitative and qualitative methods used, and reflects on the decision to use digital ethnography, CDA and content analysis. It also tackles the methodological dilemma of digital dualism (Jurgenson, 2012) and explains sampling methods. Taking into account Woolgar's (2002) 'technology theory relation', I argue for a 'technology methodology relation' which considers the socio-technical approach that I have applied throughout this study.

Chapter 5 examines the networked and relational qualities of the home using ANT. I suggest that the home is a 'gender factory' (Becker, 1965; Berk, 1985) that is reflective of gendered and racial power relations. ANT is used to determine how human actors negotiate space and place, and how actants interact with, and within their environments. This chapter analyses 'ordering strategies' (Law, 1992, 1994, 2004) that secure women to the home. Nonetheless, through changing practices and architecture I examine how women participants are gaining visibility in domestic space and place. Furthermore, I look at how women create space through narrative work, and develop a sense of place by drawing on discourses of domestopia. I show that heterotopia have emerged in white middle class homes, and subvert or ascribe to normative gender and class roles.

Chapter 6 continues the exploration of the home as a 'gender factory' (Becker, 1965; Berk, 1985) by analysing how labour and household responsibilities are negotiated and divided among actants. Child-rearing, weeknight cooking, grocery shopping, and cleaning are explored as complex negotiations that are reflective of gendered and racial discourse. Furthermore I interrogate how actants are translated into networks (Callon, 1986a, 1986b; Gieryn, 2000; Latour, 1987; Law , 1992, 1999), and how networks are maintained. I situate the findings from interviews, questionnaires and observations against those South African Audience Research Foundation's (SAARF) All Media Products Survey (AMPS), QLFS 2017 and NMW-RI to contextualise my homophilous sample.

Chapter 7 interrogates network stability and how certain actors retain dominance while others are marginalised (Doolin & Lowe, 2002). Hence, this chapter scrutinises power relations within networks, and how Facebook is used to recruit actants, and stabilise network roles. Facebook narratives are a crucial aspect of impression management and allow women participants to secure their role as domestic manager, and align themselves with ideals of domestopia. Facebook also creates platforms for 'kin work' (di Leonardo, 1987; Wellman, 2001), and domestic advice, which continue to promote domestic idealism and domestopia as achievable and realistic goals. I show how Facebook narratives reflect power relations because certain actors are alienated from interactions and as a result, 'whiteness' (Brekhus, 1998; Frankenberg, 1993, 1997; Kruger, 2016; Nakayama & Krizek, 1995; Nuttall, 2001; Riggs & Selby, 2003; Steyn, 2005; Steyn & Conway, 2010; Ware, 2013) is frequently black boxed. I show that analysing incidents of context collapse reveal power relations and allow researchers to examine network stability.

Chapter 8 concludes this study by summarising key findings and contributions to understandings of domesticity in contemporary South African everyday life. It highlights the theoretical and methodological contributions of this research as well as identifying potential areas for further research.

CHAPTER TWO: THEORISING SPACE AND PLACE

Introduction

This chapter theorises complex configurations of domestic space and place using social theory, human geography, ANT, and digital media theory. This study is located in the home, and domesticity is investigated as a constellation of practices and discourses centred on the home. These constellations of domesticity constitute a range of domestic places and spaces in the middle class South African environment inhabited by myself and my participants. Arguments around space and place are introduced drawing on the work of Bourdieu (1989, 1990), Foucault (1977, 1980, 1986, 2002), Lefebvre (1984, 1991, 1996), Soja (1989, 1996) and Tuan (1976, 1977 1979).

Place is sociological, and dependent on humans and how they interact with their environment. I argue that discourses circulate in domestic networks and are a key element in securing place and space. This chapter introduces narratives and discourses around space and place, by expanding on Bozzoli's (1983) Marxist feminist perspective[21] where she argues that domestic space and place, as well as labour negotiations, are dependent on economic and gendered power struggles. These power structures are based on discursive constructions of 'women's work', 'breadwinner status', and so on.

As discussed in Chapter 1, the work of Foucault (1977, 1980, 1986, 2002), particularly his concept of heterotopia, is a key theory in exploring place and space as representational and key to identity building. Furthermore, Foucault (1986) is useful in addressing physical spaces and spatial practices as dimensions of discourse. I situate heterotopia using ANT to show the networked character of domestic space and place. Here Callon (1986a, 1986b, 1991, 1992), Latour (1999, 2005), Law (1992, 1999, 2002, 20009), Gieryn (2000) and Topinka (2010), as well as more recent Internet and digital media theorists, such as Papacharissi (2009, 2015), Rymarczuk & Derksen (2014) and Lupton (2015) serve to outline arguments around networked space and place which are applied to the home.

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[21] Marxist feminism argues that women have been exploited by capitalism and have been sidelined from economic progress. This is owing to the fact that women have been associated with the domestic sphere where labour is unpaid (Bandarage, 1984; Barrett, 2014).

The Geography of Space and Place

The important distinction between space and place is central to my analysis of domesticity and the home. Tuan explains that 'space and place together define the nature of geography' (1979, p. 387) and that 'place is security, space is freedom: we are attached to the one and long for the other' (1977, p. 3). Tuan further suggests that space is demarcated and associated with notions of territory, whereas places are those that have a sense of value ascribed to them (1977, p. 4). Space is an abstract term that relies on place for a solid definition because space *becomes* place through human involvement and sociality (Gieryn, 2000; Low, 2003; Soja, 1996; Tuan, 1977). It should be noted that Lefebvre (1991, 1996), on the other hand, defines space and place somewhat differently as will be discussed in relation to places of representation.

Bourdieu (1990) describes place using a map where he depicts landmarks and structures that are assembled on certain geographic positions. However, he acknowledges the role of humans or *actors* who interpret and identify these representations; hence semiotic understanding is needed in order to interpret place. Gieryn (2000) argues that place can be anything from small objects, such as a favourite armchair, to a home, to a city, to a whole country. What defines place is the fact that people *make* places, and that they are 'an assemblage of things and social processes that happen through material forms' (2000. p. 464-465). Gieryn (2000) is almost suggesting that place is *networked*; it is an *assemblage* of numerous processes and forms as well as actors who interpret these processes and forms.

When space becomes embodied, Low states that this creates a 'model for understanding the creation of place through spatial orientation, movement and language' (2003, p. 10). As with Tuan (1976, 1977, 1979) and Gieryn (2000), Low insists that space and place are not interchangeable and that human involvement and emotional attachment create meanings of place. Embodied space is therefore tied to human subjectivities or as Low posits, it is the 'location where human experience and consciousness takes on material and spatial form' (2003, p. 9). The body cannot be separated from space, and place is therefore dependent on human agency (Low, 2003, p. 10). The physical bricks and mortar house is an example of embodied space that, through symbolic and social interactions and processes, becomes a place or a *home*. The symbolic and social aspects of a house discursively frame it as a home because it becomes relational to the people and the objects that it accommodates. This is particularly important in

terms of self-presentation where domestic place becomes a stage on which to enact domesticity and domestic life, as will be discussed in Chapter 3.

Furthermore, place has a sense of power. This power may be reflective of the ambitions of the individuals who create such places (architects, designers, city planners etc.) or perhaps may be through the meanings, identities, significance and names attached to these places (Gieryn, 2000, p. 471). Nonetheless place reflects hierarchy and structure, and the work of Foucault (1977, 1980, 1986), in particular, is valuable in regards to understanding how discourse secures power relations. Gieryn argues that because place reflects human sociality, it also 'sustains difference and hierarchy' and this is achieved through routinising and securing the meaning of places to groups of people (2000, p. 474).

In terms of this study of the home, hierarchy and the creation of difference can be seen through what Gieryn describes as, 'the spatial division of labour between home and work' which has 'profound consequences for women's identities and opportunities' (2000, p 474). As will be discussed in Chapter 3, the naturalisation of numerous discourses around 'women's place' secures them to the home because of gendered, and in some cases racial segregation (Gieryn, 2000; Moore, 1986; Prussin, 1995). This can be seen in numerous cases where domestic workers enter middle class home networks (Cock, 1980, 1981; Nyamnjoh 2005).

As introduced in Chapter 1, this study of domestic space and place is not limited to the bricks and mortar version of the home, but also considers the digitally mediated representation and configuration of the home on Facebook. Digitally mediated space, and Facebook in particular, is complex because it is both the digital architecture of the site that is important as well as how it is a representation of everyday life. In his argument about space and place Graham states that digitally mediated space is often described using geographical and spatial metaphors (for example *home* page, Facebook *wall* and *timeline*) that 'help visualise what are, effectively, no more than abstract flows of symbolic signals, coded as information, representation and exchange'(1998, p. 166). SNS, digital interfaces, digital networks and algorithms and the multiplicity of space and place have problematised geographical and social studies. Papacharissi argues that 'a new architecture must thus emerge' one that 'utilises technology to present solutions to how we organise walls and space, light and shade, in ways that are organic, living, and reflexive' (2015, p. 27).

Gieryn (2000), Graham (1998) and Purcell (1997) argue that websites are *not* places. I suggest that because Facebook is a social network that we form an emotional attachment with, as well as being a

representation of daily life and an 'assemblage of people's lives' (Bucher, 2012, p. 479), Facebook has a sense of place. Papacharissi argues that mobile technologies are used to 'traverse public and private space' and 'attain autonomy in how they connect with others and express themselves', furthermore they 'change both the scale and experience of space' (2015, p. 30). By doing this humans are able to forge their own sense of place.

Facebook is a space, an encoded system viewed from a physical screen, that users login to, as well as being a symbolic and social *place* where users connect with others and narrate and discuss various aspects of their everyday lives. Facebook descriptions, or photographs, of interior spaces are symbolic recreations and representations of homes in a digitally mediated place. These descriptions discursively frame the materiality of the place as a home, by seemingly allowing networks to access relatively private places that would otherwise be hidden from view.

Hence, both the material and digitally mediated versions of domestic space, namely the home, have to be critically examined. However, as discussed in Chapter 1, the material and digitally mediated versions of the home are not mutually exclusive, and my intention of separating them is not to advocate for digital dualism (Jurgenson, 2012).

Spatial Practice and Places of Representation

This study analyses the relatively private space and place of the home, and explores how it is becoming increasingly public through digitally mediated representations on Facebook. Rather than exploring space and place at the macro scale, for example urban spatiality, this research hones in on domestic space and place, namely individual houses, and how ideas of home have been discursively and culturally constructed.

The work of Lefebvre (1991, 1996) foregrounds the construction, or production, of space (place) as well as how representation affects space (place) and vice versa. Although Lefebvre uses the term 'space' his acknowledgement of the role of human interaction in creating space is indicative of 'place'. Despite this discrepancy in terminology the work of Lefebvre (1991, 1996), in particular his 'spatial triad', is a key theory in analysing the production of space and place.

Lefebvre (1991) argues that there is a spatial triad and observes how space is produced and reproduced according to society. This triad consists of 'spatial practice', 'representations of space' and 'representational practices' (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 33). Lefebvre argues that spatial practice concerns how

society ascribes characteristics to space as well as the relationship that a particular society has with this space. In this way space is performative, and dependent on the people who locate themselves within it. Representations of space are related to how order is imposed on space by ascribing signs, codes and what he terms 'frontal relations' to the space (1991, p. 33). Finally representational spaces are symbolic and bound to social life, namely how people live within such spaces.

Lefebvre's triad (1991) takes into account the importance of history, ideology, and so on, in the construction and production of space (place). This is because space and place cannot be disconnected from society and human interactions. From an African, and particularly South African, perspective a significant amount of research on space and place has been conducted in relation to how housing sculpts and forms urban areas. The work of Pieterse, in particular looks at spatial inequality and how informal African housing forms, what he terms 'shanty cities' which have become the 'real African city' (2013, p. 21). The tendency to focus on macro place and space (Ahluwalia, 2001; Amin & Thrift, 2002; Diouf, 2003; Mbembe & Nuttall, 2004; Pieterse, 2010, 2013) has meant that comparatively little attention has been paid to subjective experiences within individual houses or micro spaces and places.

Furthermore, my research prioritises private space and place and *women.* This is because historically research on space and place has had a masculine bias as demonstrated by Ardener (1978), Bramham & Spink (1996, 1997), Kwan (1999), Massey (1994), Mowl & Towner (1994, 1995) and Scraton & Watson (1998). Ardener (1978) observes that public space is constructed as masculine because it is largely perceived as a place for business and industry; for this reason historically women have been associated with the private sphere.

Scraton & Watson (1998) suggest that different groups use and perceive space differently and that urban environments have a range of different meanings and associations. Despite this, Massey (1994) argues that cultural geography and studies of space and place have been heavily theorised from a masculine perspective. One of Massey's fundamental arguments is that space is 'theorised from the premise of the universal male norm, where women (and one would add, racialised groups) are generally regarded as other' (in Scraton & Watson, 1998, p. 125). Furthermore Massey notes that postmodern and modern studies of space and place are largely patriarchal (1994, p. 213).

My decision to focus on the homes of predominantly white South African women thus contributes to knowledge of the persistence of racial privilege in South African spatiality. Domestic space and place in South Africa has largely been understudied. My decision to 'study up' (Nader, 1974) and focus on

predominantly white middle class women is because the majority of studies around women's domesticity have been from the perspective of the subordinate social classes (Ally, 2013; Cock, 1980, 1981; Gaitskell *et al.*, 1984; Hansen, 1992; Nyamnjoh 2005). My intention of studying up is so that I can be unapologetic about tackling research sites that have been marked as normative.

Steyn suggests that whiteness is an 'ideologically supported social positionality that has accrued to people of European descent as a consequence of the economic and political advantage gained during and subsequent to European colonial expansion' (2005, p. 121). Hence, race was constructed around privilege. Whiteness is seen as normative, and in contrast sites such as blackness, poverty, indigenous, and so on. are viewed as abnormal or different, and therefore garnered more attention in terms of research (Brekhus, 1998; Frankenberg, 1993, 1997; Nakayama & Krizek, 1995; Riggs & Selby, 2003). It was this very invisibility, and the fact that whiteness was been structured as universal (Nakayama & Krizek, 1995), that the research field developed, particularly in South Africa (Kruger, 2016; Nuttall, 2001; Steyn, 2005; Steyn & Conway, 2010; Ware, 2013). Nonetheless, the racial category 'white' still remains an unmarked term that allows it the benefit of appearing normative and invisible, while other races remain marked and noticeable in their difference.

Nader argues that in terms of power and responsibility the middle classes need to be studied in order to contextualise 'dominant-subordinate relationships' (1974, p. 5). Nader also asserts that there is a need to 'study colonisers rather than the colonised' so that we can ask 'common sense questions' from another, previously understudied perspective (1974, p. 5-6). Examining the everyday lives of white middle class women shows how power and subjectivities are formed through discourse and how gender and race are hierarchised in domestic space and place.

Power and Household Negotiations

Writing in apartheid South Africa in 1983, Bozzoli described the negotiations of household labour as dependent on economic power relations. Coming from a Marxist feminist perspective, Bozzoli argues that, 'vast cleavages of race and class in this [South African] society are paralleled by the equally vast one of sex' and that 'the legal system, wages, access to positions of power and authority, are all structured mechanisms whereby a hierarchical, unequal relationship between men and women is perpetuated' (1983, p. 140). Within an unequal society, Bozzoli conceptualises the home as a space where 'internal domestic struggles' over labour, income and property relations arise from financial and economic dominance of men (1983, p. 148). Bozzoli (1983) argues that the home is a complex series of

relationships and power struggles and suggests focussing on these 'struggles' as an alternative Marxist approach to studying gender relations, especially in South Africa (1983, p. 144).

Bozzoli identifies numerous struggles within the domestic domain namely, 'family income; home-ownership; access to the labour of children in domestic and non-domestic work; distribution of household labour; use of non-kin for domestic purposes; ownership and control of other household property; control over upbringing and future employment of children; family investment; extended family connections; access to and use of physical violence- and so on' (1983, p. 147). From a historical patriarchal western perspective, men are the household breadwinners and therefore have control over income and property, while domestic work (labour) is performed by women (McKeon, 2005). Hence the domestic struggle means that within these intricate domestic networks it is often women who perform housework because they don't have economic or property ownership to use as leverage in gendered power struggles (Bozzoli, 1983).

While Bozzoli's conception of struggle, and particularly 'internal domestic struggle' (1983, p. 148), is useful, it does little to consider the numerous complexities that arise from power and spatial negotiations. For example, it does not account for resistance to control and the fact that struggles are dynamic processes. Within household structures, both domestic workers and women participants often resist control by others and assert their own power within the home. In my conceptualisation of the household, as an intricate network, power is constantly negotiated and renegotiated by all of the actants present, and it is not a simple hierarchical structure as posited by Bozzoli (1983). Analysing struggle and power from a poststructuralist perspective allows us to view negotiations as networked. This reveals power relations, as well as the fact that these networks are in a constant state of flux.

For Bozzoli (1983) the house, or property, is very much a macro structure that is utilised for economic benefit. Yet seeing the house from a poststructuralist perspective allows researchers to analyse it as a sum of its parts. By looking at the different rooms and zones within a house allows us to view 'internal domestic struggles' (Bozzoli, 1983, p. 148) in a more complex and dynamic way. Viewing space as networked rather than a single economic structure allows researchers to analyse how context informs human sociality (Foucault, 1986).

Actor-Network Theory (ANT): Networked Space and Place

Despite critiques and discussions on the validity of ANT (Couldry, 2008; Gad & Jensen, 2010; Latour, 1999), I believe that ANT remains a useful way of theorising the complexities of networked space and

place. Place is heterogeneous and complex, and informed by sociality (human actors), as well as being made up of numerous intricate parts and processes (non-human actors). For this reason, and despite their critique of the limitations of ANT, Gad & Jensen suggest a, 'reflective engagement with ANT and its extensions in partial connection with other networks' as well as the unpredicatable 'consequences of such interactions' (2010, p.78). My engagement with ANT suggest that the home, in its numerous configurations, is a highly networked place where relationships between human and non-human actors (actants) are constantly configured and reconfigured. Actants are either human or non-human. Non-human actors are, as the name suggests, everything in a network that is not a human. Non-human actors can therefore be anything from a technology, to an ideology or belief, to an artefact. Tatnall & Gilding (1999) argue that human and non-human actors are not that different because they both function as intermediaries and sometimes *mediators* within networks.

Here marks the important and necessary distinction between intermediaries and mediators which is central to this study. The two terms are not interchangeable and should not be used as synonyms in ANT (Latour, 2005). For example, if one were to hire a domestic worker to perform housework, she would eventually fall into a cleaning routine, and her role within the network would stabilise and become fairly predictable. Hence, she would act as an intermediary within the home network. However, if the domestic worker were to renegotiate her network role, because of unfair labour practice for example, then she would destabilise the network, and function as a mediator. Mediators are unstable because they are subject to change. It is important to note that an actant can act as *both* an intermediary and a mediator depending on the context of the network, and how secure the relationships between actants are. If an actant is stable, it is an intermediary, but if it is unstable, it is a mediator. I analyse the ways in which actants behave in networks, depending on the situation or contexts, and how roles may change according to power negotiations.

ANT provides a useful starting point to analyse the organisational structures of domesticity in both its material and digitally mediated manifestations. Of particular interest are the numerous negotiations and conversations about power within domestic space; such as those identified by Bozzoli (1983). The label 'theory' is something of a misnomer, because ANT is a way to describe *how* things happen rather than *why* things happen (Law, 2009). ANT sees society as heterogeneous and complex but reliant on a range of technologies. Hence social ordering is socio technical as posited by Doolin & Lowe (2002), Knights & Murray (1994), and Law (1992, 1999, 2009). This is because society and technology aren't mutually

exclusive and the relationships that we form with technologies are integral to how society is formed and organised.

In his discussion of place Gieryn observes that 'social life now moves through nodes in one or another network, through points of power or convergence or translation but not anchored at any place necessarily' (2000, p. 463). Gieryn acknowledges the networked potential of place, and how it is influenced by human sociality. Facebook has enabled many areas of everyday life, in this case domesticity and domestic work, to gain visibility. However, Facebook's digital presentations are only one aspect of domestic place.

ANT is inextricably linked to human geography and space and therefore highly useful in this study of digitally mediated and embodied presentations of domesticity. Space and place is neither fixed nor determined; it is an assemblage of local and global and "real" and imagined spaces (Hetherington 1997; Tatnall & Guilding, 1999). Actor networks are varied and Law (1992) argues that we are constantly in the process of building networks by recruiting actants and prescribing and assigning their roles. The interrelationships between actants form complex networks that become fundamental to how we perceive individual and collective interactivity and relationships (Callon, 1991). It is these relationships and the interaction between actants that are important to this study. Society cannot be separated from technology, and ANT has an important role to play because technologies, particularly SNS, are integral to our everyday lives.

Space, place and time are relational and boundaries between non-human and human actors are blurred; likewise both human actors and non-human actors are dependent on each other. Bingham (1996) argues that seeing human and non-human actors as distinct, and individual, is incorrect. Technology, for example, is not isolated but dependent on a range of processes in order to work. If one considers the working of a computer, it is made up of a network of numerous parts and wires as well as being dependent on a range of other networks such as electricity, the Internet, humans to operate the machine itself and so on. Latour (1987) suggests that space and time as well as human interactions within networks are continually constructed. I use ANT to show how participants construct their domestic space and place, recruit various actants into the space, and manage the roles of the actants within domestic networks.

Doolin and Lowe (2002) describe this process of assigning network roles to actants as 'enrolment'. They argue that 'allies in a network persuade other actors that they share a common interest or problem'

(Doolin & Lowe, 2002, p. 72). Recruiting actants into networks relies on the ability to secure ties and relationships and to convince actants to act as intermediaries. This is because if one element breaks down, or tries to renegotiate its role, then the entire network falls apart. As a result power and resistance, and the negotiation thereof, are crucial to assembling intricate networks of strong and weak ties. The actions of the various human and non-human actors are of concern to researchers in order to understand how networks thrive or fail.

A network stabilises if every enrolled actant is in agreement over their network role. I argue that discourses regulate prescribed network roles, and networks involve a range of discourses that maintain stability. In the case of domesticity, roles are regulated as gendered, because of beliefs about 'women's work', racial inequality, representations and discourses of domestopia, and so on. Law (1992, 1994, 2004) describes these as 'ordering strategies' which determine how networks are organised. Ordering strategies enable networks to thrive, and I suggest that discourses, which circulate within networks, allow such networks to stabilise because they normalise patterns of behaviour and role expectations.

Over time, where relationships between actants become normalised and stable, actants behave as intermediaries. Hence, networks function because every element acts in a predictable way (Callon, 1992). The survival and functioning of a network depends on all of the actants agreeing on their prescribed roles, and often power negotiations take place; if actants act as mediators, or cannot agree on their roles, then the network dissolves. Networks are unstable by nature because of the numerous possibilities for change. Changes to networks, such as the entry of a new actant, may cause the 'black box' (Callon, 1986b) to open and the whole network to be scrutinised.

'Black boxing' is the process where the internal workings of a network, or system, become invisible because actants adopt the role of intermediary. Hence, the network functions without any glitches (Latour, 2005). It is only when the network fails, or needs to be scrutinised in order to understand the relationships between actants, that the black box is "opened". For example, when a domestic worker goes on leave, the remaining actants in the household have to renegotiate their roles and responsibilities in order to account for her absence. Usually we do not notice the workings of networks because of black boxing (Rip & Kemp, 1998). This study looks at domestic networks, and how they are maintained through numerous processes, discourses and relationships, as well as some of the elements and artefacts that allow such networks to thrive.

Networks are not singular objects but rather patterns of movement from one point to another. Latour (1996) calls this 'network-tracing' where we record the movement between the various actants. As I have explained, each actant is of equal significance; so it is not just the human actors who are important, but also the various non-human actors that allow a network to thrive. The negotiation of network ties, or the 'sociology of translation', refers to the intricate functioning of actants and how they constantly negotiate and renegotiate their ties to each other (Callon, 1986a, 1986b; Latour, 1987 and Law 1992, 1999). Power is constructed through networks of both human and non-human actors and there is what Couldry (2008) describes as a 'spatial dimension of power'. As argued by Gieryn (2000), place sustains difference and hierarchy, and the organisation of space is reflective of power relations. Space is relational and thus the connections in a network are defined by spatial positioning of actants within networks.

This study analyses domestic networks as configurations of time and space, human and non-human actors as well as social and technological processes. Questions around social ordering and power, and who benefits from certain network configurations, have to be studied in order to gauge who the powerful and subordinate actants are. In terms of domestic networks, there are a range of people, processes, discourses, technologies, and so forth that ensure that home life is maintained; while at the same time ensuring that some actants work harder than others. Enrolling or recruiting actants into networks depends on a series of complex relationships made more complex by the fact that networks are, by their very nature, heterogeneous.

I suggest that Facebook is used as a way for individuals to create what Giddens (1991) refers to as 'reflexive projects of the self'. ANT helps to explain how participants narrate and present themselves on Facebook. I illustrate how the architecture of the system is a key element in shaping and changing narrative patterns. This is important because, as I explain in Chapter 3, Facebook narratives are co-authored and influenced by the site structure, algorithms, friendship networks, and so on. Furthermore, Facebook is the ideal platform for enrolment because of the ease with which narratives are transmitted and circulated. The chapters that follow show how women participants use Facebook to recruit actants into their own domestic networks, and how this influences narratives.

Facebook offers participants another platform to express their domestic identity. Lupton (2015) argues that the human body is able to produce and receive huge amounts of digital data using platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, YouTube etc. Lupton examines how humans are influenced by digital technologies and how technologies 'generate new knowledges and practices in relation to bodies'

(2015, p. 1). Lupton acknowledges the fluidity of identity and embodiment as well as the 'complexity of relationships between human and non-human actors' (2015, p. 2). Human and non-human actors operate in a relational way (Callon & Latour, 1981; Doolin & Lowe, 2002; Latour, 2005; Law, 1992, 1999, 2002; Tatnall & Gilding, 1999) and these relationships are in a state of permanent flux. Our relationships with technology as well as their impact on our everyday lives means that they become what Nippert-Eng (1996) refers to as 'territories of the self'. Exploring the digitally mediated and material place of the home I argue that our embodiment and sense of self is relational to non-human and human actors within our domestic networks.

ANT is helpful in accounting for these dynamic relationships evident in multiple and fluid networks. Networks are fluid because they hold their shape, even when relations are shifted, hence, seen from this relational perspective, ANT provides a framework to analyse relationships between actants. Bingham suggests that ANT is 'concerned with how all sorts of bits and pieces; bodies, machines, and buildings, as well as texts, are associated together in attempts to build order' (1996, p. 32). I use ANT to explore the space of the home as well as the relationships that exist between women participants, husband/partners, domestic workers, and the numerous household artefacts that allow homes to function efficiently.

ANT examines the symbolic aspects of domestic spaces and relationships because domestic processes are complex and interwoven. Latour (2005) analyses how material culture impacts on us and shows that space is a reflection of how society works. As a strong critic of sociology, he argues that we are not separate from the material aspects of existence and that space is a strong determining influence on us, and on our identities. Identity is shaped by discourse (Barker, 2001; Benwell, 2006; De Fina *et al.,* 2006; Ivanič, 1998). I show how discourse circulates in networks, in an effort to explore domestic networks and discourses of domesticity, as they emerge through interactions. The numerous spaces and places of the home are analysed, looking at how narratives and discourses surrounding domestic practices and domestic labour, circulate within these spaces.

Making a Case for Heterotopia

Foucault (1986) and Soja (1989) allowed for the study of space and geography to become central. Foucault maintains that whereas previous centuries focussed on history, there was a move to consider space and geography as key factors in social theory (1986, p. 22). Foucault further suggests that, because of the complexities of space and place, human identity has become more complicated and the

'anxiety of our era has to do fundamentally with space' (Foucault, 1986 p. 23). On the other hand Soja (1989) sees space and sociality as deeply political in that capitalism, in particular, demarcates space in relation to power. This section discusses Foucault's (1986) heterotopia, counter hegemonic places of alternate ordering (Hetherington, 1997), and how they reflect power and social order. I consider the usefulness of the term and how it may be applied to contemporary studies of space and place.

As discussed above, space and place are neither homogeneous, nor one dimensional, but rather a range of material, symbolic and digitally mediated presentations and representations. Barnes (2004), Callon (1986a, 1991), Foucault (1986) and Latour (1987, 1988, 1993) assert that place and space are central in terms of how knowledge is produced and maintained. Hence practice, space, place and discourse are inseparable and play a huge part in the organisation of the social. Materiality is further complicated because the places that we interact with are multiple, varied and fluid, and therefore sociality is complicated because of how place is organised and understood in everyday life. These understandings of space and place are vital in terms of human behaviour and social ordering.

Space is a reflection of society, and scrutinising network elements, particularly in terms of relationships, and power relations that occur in such spaces, is crucial. To my mind studies of heterotopia offer valuable insight into the relational and networked nature of space and place, as well as how agency and power are organised in such places. Although Foucault himself had reservations about the exact usage of the term heterotopia, and seldom used it after its introduction in the 1960s (Saldanha, 2008), I believe that in contemporary studies of material and digitally mediated space and place it has practical use. This is because studies of heterotopia consider counter hegemonic places (Hetherington, 1997), which is where the marginalised members of society often reside, providing much needed insight into social structure.

Heterotopology considers 'other spaces' from a marginal perspective; by analysing place from the perspective of the powerless or "other" it helps to examine ingrained societal power relations. Heterotopology also allows us to explore ambiguous spaces and places and how difference is often merged and juxtaposed as described by Hetherington (1997). For Lefebvre (2003), heterotopias are places that have no centre or core, and they are always in a state of flux. I argue that heterotopias are, by their very nature, networked because they are dependent on a range of social, political, economic, and discursive factors in order to exist.

In its most useful understanding heterotopia should be considered as a way to examine countersites where power and social ordering are negotiated. Furthermore, these countersites, or heterotopia, often allow us to identify groups, or individuals, who may not have the same liberation in terms of occupying space and place. This may be because they are socially or economically "other" for example. This is not to say that heterotopia are *only* inhabited by the marginalised or powerless, but rather that they are places of alternate ordering (Hetherington, 1997).

Heterotopia has a somewhat uneasy position in spatial and social theory because it has perhaps been understudied (Saldanha, 2008). One of the reasons for such criticism is because heterotopia has been used in so many different ways. Soja, for example, criticises Foucault's conception of heterotopia as 'frustratingly incomplete, inconsistent and incoherent' (1996, p. 162). Saldanha (2008) extends Soja's criticisms of heterotopology by arguing that almost any space can be described as heterotopic. Saldanha cites examples of what have been described as heterotopia, including Disneyland, women's colleges, cyberporn, and Greek-American fiction, and questions whether there is 'still space left for mainstream society' (Saldanha, 2008, p. 2083).

I suggest that perhaps these criticisms are *exactly* the point of heterotopias, and that such criticism adds to our understandings of alternate spaces. Heterotopias emerge out of so-called "mainstream" society, because of social structure and power relations, and therefore every site is likely to be heterotopic. "Mainstream" space and place is always a site for negotiation, because it is where the powerful and dominant groups of society reside. As with mainstream and alternative culture, the line between what is considered mainstream, and what is alternative, is often indistinct. This is because alternative culture has the tendency to be absorbed into mainstream culture and become heavily commercialised (Frank, 1998). *MAD* magazine famously illustrated this by arguing that there is 'no such thing as conformity and nonconformity, or mainstream culture and alternative culture' rather there is 'only consumer culture, everyone [is] part of it' (Thompson, E., 2011, p. 67). In much the same way heterotopias adapt and change because they are relational and dependent on human actors. Heterotopias are reflective of society and if the power dynamics of a particular space or place shift, then heterotopias may become "mainstream". I suggest that there are numerous examples of this in domestic everyday life.

I would argue that Foucault's (1986) heterotopia is a useful theory in underpinning the complexities of space and place in everyday life. Considering places of alternate ordering adds to our understanding of the networked complexity, and relational quality, of space and place. Foucault's (1986) heterotopias are "countersites" or "other" spaces that may exist within, or alongside, mainstream places and spaces.

Heterotopias may be "other" because they stabilise social order by confining and separating those considered outsiders, such as prisoners and psychiatric patients, in spaces such as prisons and psychiatric wards. They may also be "other" because they encourage society to progress in ways that are counter-normative; for example discussions about LGBTQ sexuality have gained visibility on SNS which have helped to solidify and entrench same sex marriage.

In the chapters that follow I argue that there are numerous demarcated zones within homes that have heterotopic qualities, and also suggest that Facebook facilitates the emergence of countersites. Considering Lefebvre's (2003) depiction of heterotopia i.e. that the utopian is planned and the heterotopian is unplanned and disruptive, I maintain that the term still has value and relevance. Viewing space and place as networked and unstructured allows us to see that heterotopias are ways of transforming and reconfiguring space and time in order to allow for new forms of sociality and behaviour (Maier, 2013, p. 79). It is this very relational quality of the heterotopia that makes it increasingly relevant to studies of networked space.

Reconfiguring Heterotopia

Auge asserts that 'we have to relearn to think about space' (1995, p. 36). This is significant because of the nature of domestic space and place, and the fact that spatial quality changes the context of communication. As discussed, the home is a place where the material and digitally mediated merge. My definition of home considers the heterogeneous quality of place where it is *both* the embodied place and space of the house, as well as the material presentation or symbolic depiction of the home through digital or online practices. The constant renegotiation of space and place is important because we are able to see it as something networked and fluid; altogether more complex than a single finite idea. Interactions within such spaces and places are increasingly complicated because situations for communication occur in both digitally mediated and material space and place.

The material home comprises different areas and zones that allow for different kinds of sociality and identity building practices to exist. The changing architecture of the home has meant that certain areas, such as the kitchen, that were previously hidden, and hid distasteful aspects such as servants (Bech-Danielsen, 2012; Huggett, 1977), are now foregrounded as visible spaces. Moreover home space reflects certain lifestyles and is a marker of "good taste" (Bech-Danielsen, 2012, p. 457). I suggest that the nature of domestic heterotopia is that they are strongly linked to discourses about feminine and masculine space. Home space has been discursively constructed and early research suggested that

certain rooms in the home are gendered (Mallett, 2004). Furthermore 'house designs reflected stereotypical gendered relationships peculiar to a given social and historical period' (Mallett, 2004, p. 76). Despite the fact that research has moved on from simplifying gender to a simple binary (Butler, 1988), my analysis of heterotopia considers these complex zones and domains within the home where power may be under negotiation. I also suggest that Facebook creates situations where power and agency are negotiated.

Goffman defines situation as, the creation of a coherent social reality where 'interactants share a physical location, a time-frame and a conceptual framework' (in Rettie, 2009. p. 424). Rettie explains that the 'mutual monitoring afforded by copresence helps interactants to identify and maintain a shared frame or 'definition of the situation', enabling concerted social interaction' (2009, p. 424). This is important because Facebook allows individuals shared contexts of communication because of homophily, as will be further discussed in Chapter 3. Goffman (1974) reiterates this by explaining that situation is dependent on how people organise their shared social experiences and I illustrate how Facebook creates digitally mediated situations.

Facebook provides its users with numerous situations for communication, and enables users to organise and share their experiences with weak and strong network ties. This allows for the creation of shared contexts of similarity, which maintain and stabilise social order. I argue that although Facebook is a mainstream space and place, there are countersites which emerge when social order is disrupted or stabilised. An example of such a countersite is the popular Bunmi Laditan Facebook Page. Laditan, as a popular social media figure and author, situates her own domesticity and motherhood in digitally mediated and material space, and creates contexts that are counter-hegemonic.

Topinka suggests that by 'juxtaposing and combining many spaces in one site, heterotopias problematise received knowledge by destabilising the ground on which knowledge is built' (2010, p. 54). This is evident in Laditan's comment on parenting and domesticity taken from her popular book;

> Note to Sanctiparents: Shut the fuck up. Nobody wants to hear your strategies for dealing with your perfect children who wear $300 European designer tunics and shit rainbows and gold coins. When we want to hear your amazing disciplinary techniques, we'll ask. Go ahead and keep Instagramming your family's meals of figs, brown rice, breast-milk lentil soup, and homemade goat cheese from your free-range backyard talking goats. But if you humblebrag one more time about how your toddler has been sleeping through the night since he was four minutes old, we're going to pull sticks out of your ass and beats you with it. P.S. Keep pretending

on Facebook that you're a perfect parent, but, remember, some of us know you in real life.

(Laditan, 2015, p. 4)

Although this particular extract is from her book, Laditan frequently posts similar sentiments on her Facebook pages. It is apparent that Laditan uses Facebook pages as a strategy to create shared contexts, and in her books, the use of "we" and "us" pronouns generates conversations. The conversations that emerge suggest that idyllic conceptions of traditional or conventional parenting, as disseminated through Facebook, are unrealistic. Furthermore, these emergent conversations on Laditan's Facebook pages, in particular, create sites where common beliefs or opinions 'collide and overlap' which create an 'intensification of knowledge' (Topinka, 2010, p. 55).

Many of Laditan's Facebook posts have gone viral, signalling that her irreverent personality appeals to women, and perhaps the postfeminist mindset. By creating shared contexts, Laditan creates heterotopias by destabilising popular conceptions of motherhood. In *The Honest Toddler: A Child's Guide To Parenting,* Laditan writes, 'Toddlers are misunderstood and the one in your life is probably disappointed in you' (Laditan, 2014, p. 1), and in Toddlers are *A**holes: It's Not Your Fault* she writes, '"Toddler Assholery" is a normal part of human development' (Laditan, 2015, p. vi). Laditan creates alternate places for mothers, which are counter to the perfect or dominant order, where motherhood is mythologised (cf. Barthes, 1972). Topinka suggests that the fact that 'heterotopias clash with dominant orders' and 'simultaneously produce new ways of knowing' (2010, p. 54) makes them worthy of study.

A further example of a digital heterotopia occurred in reaction to Facebook censoring breastfeeding content. A global group "Hey, Facebook, Breastfeeding Is Not Obscene!: Official Petition to Facebook" emerged, giving a voice to people who had been silenced by the architecture, algorithms and administrators of the site (Bianco, 2009; Van Laer & Van Aelst, 2010). This breastfeeding group mobilised people who had been censored, and silenced, and gave them the power to disrupt the status quo. I argue that within many of my participants' Facebook networks, there are heterotopias of whiteness, which are spaces that stabilise and secure white middle class arrangements of domesticity. Insight into these heterotopias happens during context collapse. Context collapse is the process where texts are misread because the reader misunderstands the intentions of the author (Marwick & boyd, 2011). This results in network scrutiny where the so-called 'black box' is opened, allowing insight into heterotopia.

In the chapters that follow, I argue that Facebook is both utopic, in its presentations of domestopia, and heterotopic. According to Foucault (1986) utopias are imaginary and placeless spaces that are reflective

of a perfect society. These imaginary places and spaces exist "outside" of material life and provide an idealised view of the world. In many ways Facebook presentations are utopic because they are heavily bound to 'impression management' (Goffman, 1959). Facebook is a way for users to present the best versions of themselves and their everyday lives to their network (Qiu *et al.*, 2012).

Countersites, or heterotopia, often exist between utopia and reality and for this reason they disrupt everyday places and break down boundaries. Facebook is a place that is both singular and multiple; as users we view Facebook on a screen as a singular place but as we interact with it we are drawn into a network of multiple narratives. From this perspective Facebook is a heterotopia where users perform their identities with impression management being a central feature. Facebook may not intentionally offer users countersites to stabilise social order by creating homophilous networks, nor disrupt it by offering places to react to normativity, but nonetheless the site has allowed 'spaces of alternate ordering' (Hetherington, 1997) to emerge. And this very reordering is vital to the production of knowledge because, as Topinka suggests, 'heterotopias reorder, and reordering is fundamental to both knowledge and power' (2010, p. 65).

Hence Foucault's heterotopia has increasing relevance in exploring social difference while allowing us to view power relations in place as crucial to human arrangement. In Saldanha's own words it helps in 'finding out where, how, and for whom difference erupts and maintains itself' (2008, p. 2081). Facebook allows for the creation of contexts of utopic presentations of domestic everyday life as suggested by Laditan (2015). However the very nature of heterotopia is that they provide contrast to, as well as disrupt structures of utopia (Foucault, 2002). Moreover, in Foucault's own words, they 'dissolve our myths' (2002, p xix), for example the mythologised depictions of domesticity and parenthood as presented on Facebook.

Conclusion

This chapter has drawn on social theory (Bourdieu, 1990; Foucault, 1977, 1980, 1986, 2002; Lefebvre, 1984, 1991, 1996) and human geography (Soja, 1989; Tuan, 1976, 1977, 1979) in order to explore the complexities of space and place. Furthermore, it has provided an overview of domestic space and place that looks at the physical and material dimension of the home, understandings of symbolic space and place, and conceptions of digital materialism. The home is examined as a complex networked configuration of place and space, where discourses of domesticity circulate in order to recruit and enrol actants, as well as maintain network stability.

I have introduced narratives and discourses of domestic place and space in order to show how domestic place, space and practice are constructed. Here Bozzoli's (1983) internal domestic struggle is useful to begin analysing how power is negotiated within household networks. The networked quality of domestic space is situated using ANT (Callon, 1986a, 1986b, 1991, 1992; Gieryn, 2000; Latour, 1999, 2005; Law, 1992, 1999, 2002, 2009; Topinka, 2010). ANT allows us to view households as complex networks of human and non-human actors that negotiate and renegotiate roles. ANT also concerns what is narrative worthy and why some discourses are more salient than others. In the chapters that follow I explore some of the narratives and discourses that circulate in domestic networks and how these secure actants' enrolment within networks.

Finally, I have situated heterotopias using ANT in order to show the networked and relational character of domestic space and place. Heterotopia are theorised as spaces of alternate ordering where power and agency is negotiated (Foucault, 1986, 2002). I have shown how, within material homes, and digitally mediated space, there are countersites or gendered and racial heterotopias, which enable discourses to be propagated or subverted. These may be demarcated zones in South African homes, or countersites that emerge on Facebook. Such heterotopia destabilise depictions of utopian presentations of domesticity facilitated through impression management. Regardless heterotopic spaces and places both disrupt and maintain social order because they are counter hegemonic (Hetherington, 1997). In the case of this study heterotopias of whiteness are both stabilised and disrupted depending on 'ordering strategies' (Law, 1992, 1994, 2004).

SNS are a harbinger for change in terms of how identities are constructed, as well as how individuals communicate and act within digitally mediated space. Papacharissi states that 'technologies of mobility thus provide locative and storytelling autonomy, situating the narrator locally and permitting connection beyond locality' (2015, p. 30). Here Papacharissi highlights how narrative is changing and expanding owing to the mobility of networked space. Furthermore the creation of knowledge is increasing because heterotopias 'combine and juxtapose many spaces in one site' which creates an 'intensification of knowledge that can help us resee the foundations of our own knowledge; but they cannot take us outside of this knowledge or free us from power relations' (Topinka, 2010, p. 70). Hence the relational quality of networked space and place means that narratives are able to disseminate in new ways and create new spaces by negotiating power and social order.

CHAPTER THREE: NARRATIVE NETWORKS & THE CIRCULATION OF DISCOURSES OF DOMESTICITY

Introduction

This chapter conceptualises Facebook as a network text that relies on numerous actants to contribute to its multifaceted narrative. I adapt Kozloff's (1987) model of narrative transmission, in order to examine Facebook as a highly networked text, consisting of narrative, algorithm, and discourse. I argue that, not only is Facebook a complex manifestation of space and place, as discussed in Chapter 2, but it is *also* a media text worthy of examination. Facebook as a text combines three elements; (1) narrative, which is *how* the story is told, (2) algorithm, which influences the narrative *selection* and distribution, and (3) discourse, which relates to *who* tells the story (cf. Kozloff, 1987).

Our expressive behaviour in digitally mediated space and place is an integral part of networked society, and we use SNS to construct narratives or stories of the self (Gubrium & Holstein, 2000). Participants narrate their everyday domestic lives on Facebook (using both text and images), and ideas of authorship have become increasingly complex owing to Facebook's site architecture. The architecture of Facebook promotes collaborative storytelling (Arthur, 2009; McNeill, 2012), and narratives are facilitated by these architectural elements, as well as networked authorship. I argue that it is the relational quality of Facebook that encourages homophily.

Homophily is the idea that networks are prone to homogeneity through shared discourse (Di Gregorio, 2012; McPherson *et al.*, 2001). Because of the nature of Facebook storytelling, and in order to deal with Facebook as an 'assemblage of people's lives' (Bucher, 2012), we need to broaden the scope of narrative theory. As with Garde-Hansen (2009) McNeill (2012) and Van Dijck (2013a, 2013b), I suggest revising traditional linear narrative transmission structures (Kozloff, 1987) in order to reformulate narratives as networked.

I adapt Scholes & Kelloggs (1966, 2006) and Kozloff's (1987) linear narrative transmission model, using principles from ANT, in order to argue for a new networked narrative model. This model considers the site architecture of Facebook, how algorithms influence authorship and readership practices, as well as networked authorship, narration, and reception.

Facebook allows participants to perform and construct their identities, and engage in self-presentation. Within these complex narrative networks, discourses circulate and ascribe normative value to everyday

belief systems. As discussed in Chapter 1, these discourses of domestic space and labour have been culturally and historically constructed. Domesticity itself is framed in relation to the naturalisation of certain discourses about race, gender, space, and so on. These discourses are reflective of power relations in the home and how roles are ascribed to various actants. Furthermore, such discourses are investigated in terms of everyday life, and how "new" forms of domesticity are emerging within material and digitally mediated domestic networks.

Narrative Networks: a Selective Summary of Everyday Life

Facebook offers users numerous ways in which to present the self, and everyday life, to chosen networks of weak and strong ties. Identity is shaped through storytelling and communication (Burck, 2005; Gee, 1991, 2005; Gubrium & Holstein, 2000; Kirkman, 1997; Riessman, 2001) and Facebook allows users to narrate and present the self in a variety of ways. Participants write themselves into being (cf Gubrium & Holstein, 2000) and Facebook profiles become a digital embodiment of the self. This is because Facebook profiles are an assemblage of participant's thoughts, discourse, and data (Bucher, 2012). Facebook enables users to construct individual narratives, using text and visuals, however, as I discuss, the site architecture influences self-presentation in a number of ways.

Participants engage in self-presentation in material and digitally mediated space. As discussed in Chapter 1, Goffman (1959) introduces key ideas regarding self-presentation, performance and impression management. He argues that humans are actors, or performers, who present themselves to an audience on a daily basis. The actor either believes his/her performance to be a true reflection of the self, or he/she acknowledges that it is an act (1959, p. 17). How we present ourselves in everyday life (whether on Facebook or in material space), is determined by the 'I' persona or the 'me' persona and we swap roles throughout the day (Goffman, 1971). The "real" self is the back stage persona, which is the one that we ultimately draw back into. Goffman argues that we present a 'front' by controlling what we choose to express and concealing that which we want to hide, in order to create a good impression (1959, p. 27). Goffman (1959) refers to this practice as impression management where perceptions are managed during conversations with others to avoid judgement.

Goffman (1959) suggests that people navigate 'front stage' and 'back stage' depending on their context. The advent of SNS has problematised notions of back stage and front stage because it complicates our conceptions of the self, space and privacy. As with material space, digitally mediated space allows the same potential for identity building. Bullingham & Vasconcelos (2013) argue that through the creation of

narratives, individuals strive to recreate their offline selves online creating a voice that remains true to their offline voice. They argue that this is accomplished by publishing personal details and 'anchoring' offline selves to online selves (2013, p. 10). There is often a conflict between the material self (offline self) and the digitally mediated self (online self) (Bullingham & Vasconcelos, 2013), and this is where impression management occurs, where individuals present an authored version of themselves on Facebook.

Where participants engaged in impression management there was evidence of postfeminist discourse. This is because many participants tried to manage their own beliefs and values around women and domesticity; for example having feminist ideals while still enjoying baking and aspects of homemaking. In this respect, Hollows (2002, 2003a, 2003b, 2006, 2007), and Matchar (2013) are particularly useful because they suggest that identity is not unified around a singular or coherent self, but rather it is in a continual state of negotiation. This perspective helps to explain how participants use SNS to narrate their identities, particularly in terms of digital embodiment. Gubrium and Holstein famously stated that, 'we talk ourselves into being' (2000, p. 101), and whether in a digitally mediated or embodied space, we construct and perform our identities through the narratives that we tell and these become versions of ourselves.

Facebook provides narrative affordances, which allow users to circulate narratives through profile creation and status updates. Affordances concern how we create relationships between ourselves and the object of understanding (Gibson, 1979). Understanding is relational because it relies on how we perceive objects within our networks. Fox & Moreland suggest that the reason Facebook is so popular, is because of the 'scope of affordances it provides for users' (2014, p. 168). Affordances such as 'commenting on', 'sharing' and 'liking' posts, as well as being able to post photographs and other visual images, makes Facebook interactive, versatile and easy to use.

McNeill argues that Facebook uses suggestive architecture, such as 'checking boxes' or 'filling in blanks', which makes it difficult to analyse where humans and software end and begin (2012, p. 66). Furthermore, because of the commercial and social agendas of many social networking sites, McNeill (2012) suggests that autonomy may come into question. This is because, in terms of networking, site design 'means that at the same time users are reading the sites, the users themselves are being written and "read" by the network, which consists of both other site members and the site itself' (2012, p. 66-67).

As a platform for self-presentation, Facebook has a live and immediate quality. The Facebook algorithm operates as an automated and scripted storyteller, and users often give off signals via Facebook even when they aren't actively authoring them (for example 'liking' and 'sharing' content which indicate engagement without actually authoring narrative). McNeill explains that, 'these designs, based on software platforms and algorithmic data-crunching, show us Haraway's cyborg in action, producing selves from a human-machine interface' (2012, p. 67). Nonetheless, McNeill (2012) admits that these "new" forms of narrative transmission and identity building do not mean that "older" forms are thrown out. On the contrary, McNeill states that 'these programs re-enact highly traditional concepts of selves and narratives', because 'Facebook builds on both human and posthuman concept of the human subject in compelling, and arguably posthuman, life narratives, as its users produce and are produced by accounts of digital life' (2012, p. 67). Haraway (1985) and Hayles (1999) have written extensively on posthumanism. Haraway views posthumanism as entrenched in the idea of the cyborg where the boundaries between biology and technology become blurred. Posthumanism does not see the eradication of the human subject, but rather sees humans as evolving with technology. I argue that, in the case of posthuman narratives, ANT shows us that authorship is as much about the human authors as it is about the non-human authors.

Towards a New Narrative Theory

Burck (2005), Gee (1991), Kirkman (1997), and Riessman (2001) theorise narrative analysis from the perspective of self-presentation. Individuals use narrative to 'make sense of our lived experience', and 'we draw on the forms and genres of narrative available to us to 'emplot' our own story of the self' (Burck, 2005, p.252). I show how templates, or genre expectations, afforded by the Facebook architecture are employed in order to construct the self in a specific way. Furthermore, I explore how participants 'construct their self-accounts' (Burck, 2005) on Facebook, by authoring content and collaborating with their own networks to produce narratives.

Using principles from ANT it is clear that narratives are no longer singular pursuits, but rather influenced and authored by a range of actants within narrative networks. McNeill (2012) points out that, users on Facebook act as both producers and consumers of stories, and that the structure of the site demands constant activity and engagement. McNeill also argues that this engagement positions the subject in, what she terms, a 'networked auto/biography' (2012, p. 71). The Timeline and News Feed structure has also foregrounded the idea of the network, rather than the individual which creates a 'post-human

collectivity', where the self is a collaboration of numerous factors including 'virtual self-inscriptions' (McNeill, 2012, p. 71).

Bolter (2000) reiterates this arguing that the self is networked because the people, groups and organisations, with whom we are associated, are integral in terms of identity building and self-presentation. Eakin (1999) and McNeill (2012) argue that narratives and stories do not happen in a 'social vacuum' (McNeill, 2012, p. 73), but that they are heavily influenced and intertwined with others. Hence, I argue that narrative and discourses of domesticity are influenced by a range of actants; including the participants themselves, other people within Facebook networks, and the architecture of Facebook.

The narrative architecture of Facebook has the appeal of being live and immediate with a strong sense of continuity. Writing nearly thirty years ago, Kozloff suggested that 'liveness' emerged and became sought after because it was 'rather exciting and intimate' (1987, p. 65-66). Since then, liveness has become a major feature of digital narratives, and the Facebook News Feed, in particular, relies on liveness to provide the user with an experience that is up to the minute and newsworthy.

The News Feed is a major feature of the live and immediate quality offered by Facebook. As McNeill (2012) highlights, it also means that stories are searchable, and that content, such as photos, have increased prominence and circulation. McNeill argues that 'Facebook's framing of the Profile, as a narrative act, signals its positioning as a meaning-making mode for member' and that this is largely done on Facebook's terms (2012, p. 71). The fact that stories are intertwined with others is important because, what people say about you, and how they interact with you, verifies you as a person. For example, if a participant's cooking skills are praised by women within her Facebook network, then this adds to the participant's identity as a domestic success, or a domestic goddess.

Networked Narrative Transmission

Much research on discourse and narrative has focussed on soap operas (Allen, 1987; Kozloff, 1987). I argue that structurally soap operas are not dissimilar to Facebook; not least of all because soap operas are networked narratives comprising of multiple characters. Yet, despite commentators making this connection (Anders, 2013; Swinbourne, 2015), there has been no scholarly work on Facebook as a form of soap opera to speak of. Hence, I have used Kozloff's (1987) work on soap operas as a starting point to build on existing theories of narrative transmission and to broaden the scope of research in this area.

One of the numerous similarities between soap operas and Facebook is that there will never be a final resolution. If a "character" (user) deletes his/her account, or dies, there are still a host of other characters to follow, as well as new ones who will enter networks. This means that characters are unstable in terms of their position within networks, and may move from the centre to the periphery in terms of activity. Furthermore, plots are ongoing and unpredictable, and this adds to the addictive quality of following these narratives. And, as with soap operas, there are elaborate networks of relationships that Facebook algorithms constantly remind users of; Facebook asks questions such as 'do you know so-and-so' or, 'so-and-so likes this, do you'? The subtle rhythms of Facebook mean that as users we seldom look at the bigger picture of the text, because we are so immersed in the social network.

As with soap operas, Facebook presents users with multiple ongoing plots on the News Feed. As each status update merges into the next, users negotiate the frenetic nature of narratives. Users move between one plot line to the next, and find stories with high action and others that are comparatively banal. Allen (1987) wrote about narrative redundancy in soap operas, which are the parts of the narrative that are seemingly irrelevant to the main plots. These narratives serve no other purpose than to provide contrast to the more interesting storylines, and in this way the main plots are heightened because they are contrasted with trivial or predictable subplots. My observations show that Facebook is littered with narrative redundancy. Posts such as, 'I just made the most delicious cup of tea', or 'I ate the most delicious lunch', are commonplace, yet uninteresting to the majority of Facebook users. Yet, these posts do heighten the quality of more narrative worthy posts such as, 'John and Mary are no longer in a relationship' which piques interest once again. And, as with soap operas, which were essentially a means to sell soap, between every couple of posts, tailored adverts remind us that Facebook is fuelled by commercial interests. These adverts are determined by the Facebook algorithms, and are tailored to each individual user, as will be discussed below in the section on algorithm.

Not only are such stories important, but so too are the conversations that would then emerge on Facebook. Allen suggests, 'the regular viewer, familiar with the paradigmatic structure of that particular soap, will know that *who* tells *whom* is just as important as *what* is being told' (1987, p. 86). Our Facebook connections say a great deal about who we are, and there is an exclusivity and hierarchical structure between friends. There are the PYMK (people you may know) (Bucher, 2012) low-ranking friends, or 'weak ties', and the friends with whom we communicate on a day-to-day level, or 'strong ties'

(Granovetter, 1983). These relationships and ties are important because they illustrate the main characters in each story.

Facebook has a clear chronological linearity by way of the News Feed, but what makes the News Feed come alive, and bustle with activity, is the way in which narratives are *told.* Working from Scholes & Kellogg (1966, 2006) and Kozloff (1987) I have revised a model to analyse Facebook's networked narrative transmission.
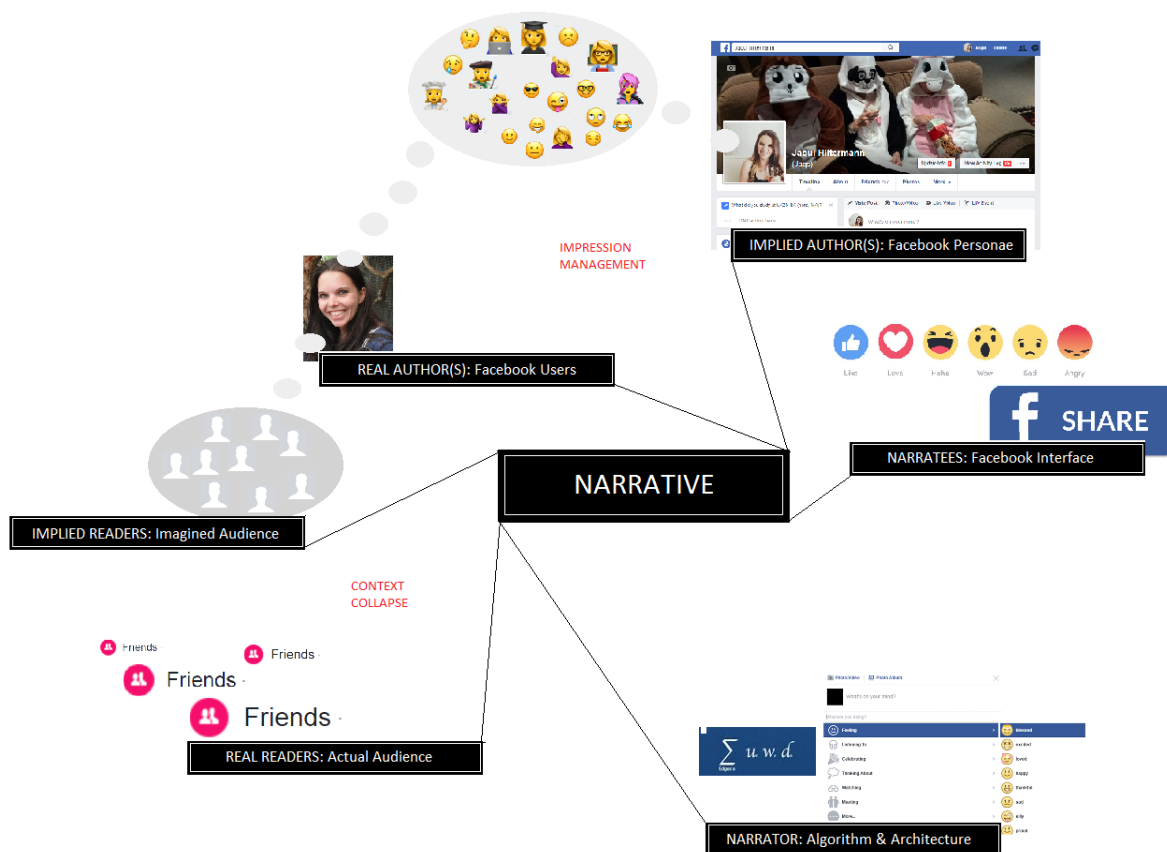
Figure 2.1: Facebook's Narrative Network Model

Figure 2.1 shows the narrative network model applied to Facebook. The model augments narrative construction and illustrates how authorship has changed from a linear author to reader configuration (Kozloff, 1987), to one that is multiple (i.e. many authors), networked, and a lot more complex. This is because each actant within the network has the ability to influence or enhance the narrative.

The *real author* is the Facebook user, the person behind the computer, or who Goffman (1959) calls 'back stage persona'. Kozloff refers to this as 'the flesh and blood writer' (1987, p. 55). The *implied author* is the idea or *representation* of the author, or the 'front stage persona' (Goffman, 1959); the Facebook persona in this case. Impression management occurs when the *real author* decides how to position himself/herself in terms of his/her front stage and back stage personas.

The *implied readers* are best described as the 'imagined audience' (Goffman, 1959). *Implied readers* are a construct of *ideal* readers who read and engage with the text. These readers are imagined as individuals who have the same values and ideas as the author, and have a potential interest in the story; people who may potentially comment on, like, or share a Facebook post. Sometimes *implied reader*s are imaginary constructs, and in some cases they are a select group of existing friends on Facebook with whom the author has an established rapport. The *real readers* of the Facebook narrative are the Facebook users/friends/friends of friends who read the final story.

How *real readers* respond to the narrative or text, and how they make meaning from it, is largely dependent on the structure of the text, as well as their own ability to read the text (Allen, 1987; Eco, 1984; Iser, 1978; Poulet, 1969). The text and the reader have a relationship, and the decoding process is a 'battle of wills between the intentions of the reader and those of the author' (Allen, 1987 p. 77). For this reason the meaning making of texts is a performative act because texts don't have singular meanings. Hence, there is often the risk of context collapse which happens because misunderstandings occur during the reading of a text. Context collapse is the situation where the imagined audience is unable to read the intended cues of the author, or may be a completely different audience that the author imagined, and therefore the text is misread (Marwick & boyd, 2011).

Marwick & boyd (2011) suggest that the success of SNS relationships is because they draw on affiliation, intimacy, and authenticity and sincerity which gives the impression that they are accurate reflections of a person. Regardless of whether the relationships are weak tie or strong tie, as defined by Granovetter (1983), online audiences are given access to both front stage and back stage depictions of an individual. SNS collapses audiences to become part of a single context and the 'imagined audience' becomes the receiver of participant's narratives (Marwick & boyd, 2011). SNS gives strong and weak ties the impression that they are granted back stage access into another's life (Marwick & boyd, 2011). Hence, SNS allows for the appearance of back stage access, because personal information is presented in a candid and authentic manner. This is done predominantly through language and images, allowing identity to be built through interactions and conversations.

The *narrator* is the narrative architecture of Facebook, as well as the EdgeRank algorithm that organises individual's News Feeds and and prompts them to author or read texts. It should be noted that the algorithm functions as both a narrative device, and as a crucial element of the text itself. The algorithm influences the storytelling, and also has an overarching influence on how these particular stories are ordered on the News Feed, as will be discussed in the next section.

Unlike in traditional linear narrative transmission, the *real author* and the *implied author* are not the only actants that create Facebook content; authorship is also mediated by Facebook itself. Texts are participatory because they combine authorship with readership. However, ANT has expanded notions of participation and agency (Biggs & Travlou, 2012), which has complicated authorship in particular. In the past, creative endeavours were viewed as outcomes but, by analysing distributed authorship, it is possible to consider creativity as part of social interactions, and as collaborative (Biggs & Travlou, 2012). The *narrator,* or narrative architecture and algorithm of Facebook, brings together numerous actants including users, groups, systems, tools and so on, in order to distribute narratives across a massive platform where multiple authors and readers exist.

As a narrator, the Facebook architecture guides us to write in certain ways, by offering numerous tools, or *affordances*, to express ourselves. It constantly asks the user, 'what's on your mind?'[22], and then prompts us to respond, by offering a status box with numerous options to enhance the narrative. Users are able to write unlimited statuses, while being afforded the opportunity to add videos, photos, and life events, as well as the option to tag people, add feelings and check in to locations.
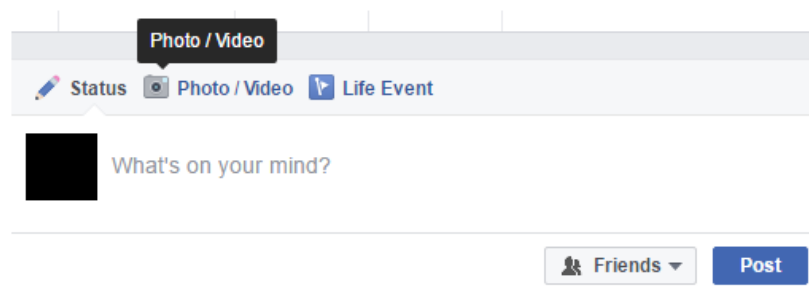
Figure 2.2: Narrative Affordances of Adding Photo/Video (Edited screenshot taken from Facebook, 2016)

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[22] At the time of conducting this study the Facebook status box (as depicted in Figure 2.2) asked the user 'What's on your mind?'

Figure 2.2 illustrates the collaborative quality of the Facebook architecture. Users are given a status box where they can add text to update 'what's on their mind'. They are also able to add photographs/images, and more recently video and live video, to visually enhance Facebook posts. These visual devices add to the narrative quality of posts and updates, as will be discussed in the section on visual narrative.

Facebook users are also able to include more characters (other users) in their individual narratives by tagging friends. These individuals may be *implied readers,* for whom the post is intended, or they may be *real readers* of the post who read and interact with the text. The collaborative act of "tagging" affords other Facebook users the opportunity to enter into more narratives and become part of a network of multiple narratives. As opposed to mentioning friends and acquaintances in posts, tagging enables users to link their posts directly to friends and acquaintances in their Facebook database. Friends and acquaintances, relevant to a particular story, are tagged in the status update, thereby linking it to their News Feed and Facebook Timeline, which increases the reach and readership of status updates.

Facebook also affords users the opportunity to add activities or feelings to their individual narratives. This suggestive act, provided by the architecture of the site, not only encourages users to share their feelings, but also encourages regular updates by prompting users with formulaic devices such as 'feelings', 'thinking about' and so on. Hence, the collaboration between the author (real or implied) and the *narrator* (Facebook architecture and algorithm) allows for a complex network of narratives to emerge.

Figure 2.3 lists some of the emotive affordances that appear if users click on, 'add what you're doing or how you're feeling'. This menu provides further drop down options offering even more options to expand the story. These affordances add to the emotive texture of narratives, while also encouraging people to provide more information than perhaps they would have if it were just a status box to fill in (McNeill, 2012). Facebook also offers users the ability to indicate their exact location by checking in to locations, this draws attention to numerous business pages on Facebook through word of mouth.
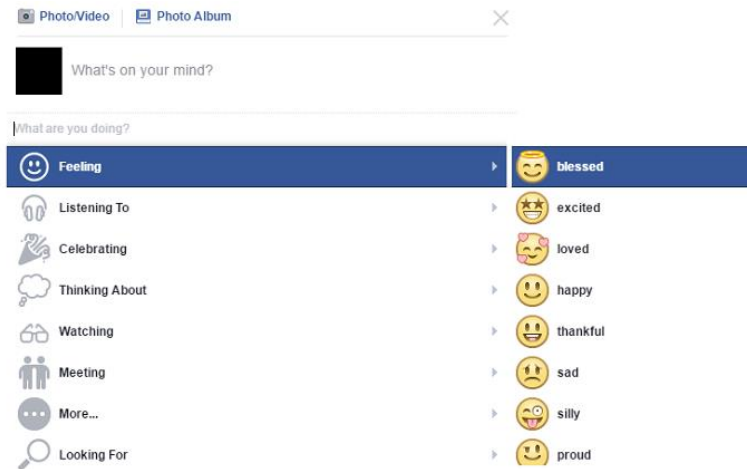
Figure 2.3: Formulaic Emotive Affordances (Edited screenshot taken from Facebook, 2016)

Whereas the *narrator* is the somewhat rigid and formulaic structure of the Facebook architecture and algorithms, the *narratee* concerns emotional response. These affordances enable the performative aspects of narrative to come alive, and prompt *real readers* to get involved in narrative by stirring emotions. Individuals can click on "like" or "share", if emotionally compelled to do so, and both of these practices increase the readership of a post. Liking and sharing also enable the *real author* to establish readership by having a visual representation of responses. Furthermore, sharing posts extends the narrative potential of the story. If a *real reader* shares a particular Facebook post, it appears on his/her wall and his/her network are able to read the post and comment on it. Therefore a single post is able to have a range of different narratives connected to it[23].

Kozloff describes the *narratee* in a television sitcom as the laughtrack. The suggestion is that 'the viewer isolated at home can now get a sense that he or she is experiencing the narrative communally', and that 'in such cases, the track does not serve to enliven the performance but only to prompt the home viewer's responses'(1987, p. 58). I propose that the like button, and other more recent responses added by Facebook, are similar to laugh tracks and are a ubiquitous feature of Facebook usage. The like button enables users to express affirmation extraordinarily quickly; Bucher describes it as a 'one click

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[23] More recently Facebook has added 'love', 'haha', 'wow', 'sad', and 'angry' to the list of responses but these were not available during my study. These responses enable the author and audiences to identify the popularity of certain posts as well as to identify trends.

sentiment' (2012, p. 485). As a *narratee,* it prompts users to respond to posts immediately and effortlessly and also guides users to experience the narrative simply by clicking on one button.

Visual Narrative

At the end of the nineties, Nicholas Mirzoeff wrote that 'modern life takes place on screen' and that visualisation is 'not just part of everyday life, it is everyday life' (1999 p. 1). In line with this, Tiidenberg & Gomez Cruz posit that, 'images play an important role in how we experience being in the world', and that they 'shape' our sense of being, particularly because of our relationship with digital and online platforms (2015, p. 79). Hence, understanding Facebook narrative is about the textual elements, and visual elements. Mitchell (1994) coined the term, 'Image/text' which explains that visual images and written texts should not be separated when exploring meaning, because they are interrelated. Thus, visuality is a crucial aspect of meaning-making, and although this study is not a visual analysis, it is vital to consider photographs and images as an integral part of narrative and discourse.

Hall (1997) suggests that images have no true or correct meaning, and that the analysis of images is largely an interpretive act; hence there will always be contested readings. However, using principles from social semiotics (Halliday, 1978; Jewitt & Oyama, 2001; Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996) allows for a solid framework from which to interpret visual representations. Images are representations, but they are also interactive and relational, because they rely on relationships between the reader/viewer of the image and the image itself (Halliday, 1978; Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996). Whether representing something from a narrative or conceptual perspective, the creator of the image is making meanings in the representation (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001 p. 141).

The emergence of what Chalfen (1987) calls 'Kodak culture' was an important milestone in domestic photography. Here Chalfen (1987) refers to the popularisation of inexpensive cameras which lead to an increased number of amateur photographers and snapshots, which were predominantly domestically focussed. Kodak Culture allows people to share oral stories concerning images, with other people in their networks, who can then share and build on these narratives (Miller & Edwards, 2007). Cobley & Haeffner (2009) argue that snapshots are bound to sentimentality, however despite this idealisation we should seek to analyse other emotions when dealing with such images. Furthermore researchers should consider that, 'emotions are central to critical reasoning, not a distorting "filter" that has to be removed before we can see clearly' (Cobley & Haeffner, 2009, p. 127). Thus, domestic photography allows for 'a

different sort of photographic communication—one that involves telling stories with images' (Miller & Edwards, 2007, p. 348).

In terms of storytelling, Chalfen (1987) argues that the context in which photographs are produced is vital, because using a camera in the domestic setting, what he terms the 'home mode', creates a 'symbolic world'. Such symbolic worlds are discursively loaded, in that idealisations and aesthetics are often celebrated or highlighted such as, 'the joy of motherhood', 'the innocence of childhood', 'domestic bliss', and so on. Cook (2013) suggests that such idealisations are often advertised to us, and that meanings are attached to images that are often dependent on social and cultural values; the idea of taste for example.

As I introduced, postfeminist texts often ascribe good taste and domestopia as an aspiration for women to strive for. Families, and mothers in particular, carefully select images of family and domestic life that present a good impression and construct certain narratives of home life (Pauwels, 2008). Furthermore, photographs and images are used by women to show how they respond to motherhood and deal with parenting for the first time (Rose, 2004), as well as how proficient they are at maintaining relationships (Mendelson & Papacharissi, 2010). Marwick (2013), in particular, refers to the labour concerning photographs and images that reflect positive self-presentation and self-branding. I suggest that these acts are performed by women participants as an important aspect of kin work and self-presentation.

My analysis of Facebook not only looks at the textual elements of the narrative, but also at how these narratives and discourses are circulated through complementary images. Images of domesticity and domestic selfies are relevant to this study but are only analysed in conjunction with textual elements, and how they contribute to the idea of the self starring in one's own narrative. Georgakopoulou argues that the selfie is an, 'autobiographical self-presentation', and should be studied as a form of narrative (2016, p. 301).

Coleman (2008, 2009) argues for the notion of 'bodies as becoming' and Tiidenberg & Gomez Cruz (2015) extend this to account for postfeminist discourses about relationality and agency. Moreover, Tiidenberg & Gomez Cruz (2015), suggest that the body and the selfie have a relationship which enables women to take control of their sexuality in particular. Warfield (2015) examines the selfie as relational and explains that selfies are examples of convergence, because they are not *just* photographs but mirrors, stages and billboards. The selfie is a material artefact that is discursively loaded and highly influential when it comes to constructions of the self (Burns, 2015; Murray 2015). Georgakopoulou

considers the selfie as a way to analyse small stories and says that they can be used to, 'challenge the assumptions and modes of analysis of conventional narrative and life writing' (2016, p. 300). She extends this by saying that the affordances offered by SNS allows the self to be constructed and presented in numerous ways (Georgakopoulou, 2016, 300).

Selfies destabilise traditional meanings and aesthetics (Rokka & Canniford, 2016) and are therefore useful in this study because they help to interrogate gendered accounts of domesticity. This is because participants use selfies as a way to perform their domestic everyday lives and they portray themselves as central to these narratives. Furthermore, selfies communicate and present the self while highlighting connections among acquaintances in networks (Hess, 2015), enabling women, in particular, the ability to display their accounts of domesticity in everyday life. Warfield (2015) suggests that researchers should engage with selfies, and analyse them, not just as simple texts to be looked at, but rather as 'image making processes'. By forming relationships with the image producer, researchers are more likely to understand selfies as products. Hess regards selfies as social practice and cultural reflections that, 'provide insight into the relationships between technology, the self, materiality, and networks' (2015, p. 1630). Selfies illustrate the fact that the postmodern self exists as material, and as digital, and therefore able to occupy the multiple networked spaces of everyday life.

I examine images of domesticity that are presented in conjunction with status updates on Facebook. According to Turkle, the fluidity of visual images is that 'we come to see ourselves differently as we catch sight of our images in the mirror of the machine' (1996, p. 287). Additionally Walker Rettberg (2013) claims that selfies, in particular, allow us to see ourselves through others because they enable complex process of self recognition to take place (2013). In terms of domestic photography, it often allows aspects of the banal and everyday to become more exciting; Georgakopoulou suggests that it makes the 'familiar look unique' (2016, p 315). I analyse how both language and images are used on Facebook in order to construct accounts of domesticity, as well as how they reflect participants in their everyday lives.

Algorithm: Filtered Reality

The next component of the text is broadly based on Kozloff's (1987) 'schedule', or what I term *algorithm*. As with television schedules, SNS algorithms influence how we interact with online narratives. The Facebook News Feed format was introduced in 2006, and has had a massive impact on

how users interact with the site. The News Feed is driven by algorithms, which determine how stories are presented and ranked (Blue, 2010; Bucher, 2012; Madrigal, 2010; Tufekci, 2017).

EdgeRank is the algorithm that decides the importance of each Facebook interaction, update etc. and thus controls what we see on our News Feeds; and this includes friends and stories (Blue, 2010; Bucher, 2012; Madrigal, 2010). However, what Facebook deems important, is not necessarily what is most newsworthy. EdgeRank is one of the most important actants in the narrative network of Facebook because it has the capacity to highlight which stories are important, and which people we hear from most often.

McNeill states that the friendship groupings suggested by Facebook (close friends, work colleagues etc.) means that '"news" is filtered in ways that clearly influence their interactions with others as well as their own posts' (2012, p. 76). As discussed in the section on narrative transmission the algorithm, as a narrator, has a huge impact on drawing attention to particular stories and thus encouraging networked authorship. Facebook's algorithm essentially determines which stories are newsworthy to a particular user, and 'these algorithms encourage certain activities and value some experiences over others' (McNeill, 2012, p. 76). In homophilous networks certain stories are higher ranking than others, and trending stories are shared and disseminated at a higher rate because of where they feature on News Feeds (Tufekci, 2017). Furthermore, videos, photos and other data-rich content are generally higher ranked than textual posts (McNeill, 2012).

The algorithms affect how users read and interact with posts, and this has a massive impact on the narrative and the discourses that circulate. This was evident in the controversial mood experiment conducted by Kramer *et al.* (2014), which showed that Facebook has the ability to alter its users' moods by tailoring News Feed content (Flick, 2016; Jouhki *et al.,* 2016; Puschmann & Bozdag, 2014). Bucher argues that technology is neither innocent nor neutral, but rather a 'mediating and productive force' that ultimately influences how users 'relate to themselves and others as friends' (2012, p. 480). Our SNS narratives exist as stories that we tell, and who and what we leave out of the narrative in our discursive practices. EdgeRank presents what users see, and what they don't, by selecting information for News Feeds, suggesting certain people as potential friends, and so on. Bucher (2012) suggests that so-called 'algorithmic friendships' help us to understand the numerous ways that software influences our Facebook experience and is as much an active participant in our SNS friendships as people are.

Ultimately Facebook determines the nature of the content that is allowed on the site, as well as what appears on News Feeds. Facebook controls what content is removed, censored, and suppressed and this is often because of business, commercial and legal pressures (Tufekci, 2017). Regarding this, there have been numerous instances of Facebook censorship and the Facebook administrators have come under fire for many of their decisions regarding censorship (Tufekci, 2017). Recently Facebook's content moderation process has been scrutinised (Grierson, 2017; Hopkins, 2017) and it is worth noting that moderation is performed by humans, rather than algorithms. Roberts explains that, 'to guard against digital damage to their brand that could be caused by lewd, disturbing, or even illegal content being displayed and transmitted' Facebook, and similar user-generated content sites, employ 'commercial content moderation (CCM) workers and firms, who screen the content' (2016, p. 1). Ethically this is highly problematic because 'workers act as digital gatekeepers' and often such workers are underpaid and exploited (Roberts, 2016, p. 1). Furthermore these workers are often exposed to highly unsavoury and immoral content. Such content may be racist, homophobic, sexist and highly disturbing, and moderators have very little agency when it comes to complaining about working conditions (Grierson, 2017; Hopkins, 2017; Roberts, 2016). Roberts describes the work of a commercial content moderator as 'hidden labour' even though they are a 'critical component to the curation and creation of social media sites and the content they disseminate' (2016, p. 8).

Although humans decide what content to moderate, from a networked perspective Facebook's algorithms sort through content in order to determine which stories to highlight and which to hide. Therefore, as users and participants in networked narratives, we are given a selection of stories as determined by EdgeRank. Tufekci argues that 'algorithmic control of content can mean the difference between widespread visibility and burial of content' and thus 'for social movements, an algorithm can be a strong tailwind or a substantial obstacle' (2017, p. 154). Furthermore, because these algorithms are undergoing constant change, it is difficult to anticipate what may be more newsworthy on the News Feed (Tufekci, 2017).

Although Facebook users are led to believe that stories are ranked according to the nature of the story, our connections, commentary on stories, and likes, it is ultimately the algorithm, and content moderators, that decides what is present on the News Feed (Tufekci, 2017). Facebook has a keen interest in getting to know more about its users for advertising and data purposes and therefore it creates an environment that is more prone to positivity (Flick, 2016; Jouhki *et al.,* 2016; Puschmann & Bozdag, 2014). Many commentators suggest that by engaging users and encouraging them to 'like'

products and posts means that the site has huge commercial value (Kirkpatrick, 2010; McNeill, 2012; Tufekci, 2017). McNeill comments on the visibility of adverts and states that adverts 'reflect and also produce their [users] life experiences' (McNeill, 2012, p. 76).

In terms of networked narratives, which stories we see, and which discourses are most prevalent, the algorithm has a huge role to play. And, in regards to homophily, algorithms no doubt reduce the heterogeneous quality of networked sites.

Discourse: The Naturalisation of Roles in Homophilous Networks

The final element of the text is discourse, which explores how historical and cultural values circulate within texts. Texts are performative, and actants interact with each other in order to create networked narratives. As I have begun arguing, discourses circulate in networks. This study explores discourses of domesticity and how they produce a specific kind of knowledge (Foucault, 1986) about women, in particular, and their position in everyday life. These beliefs and values ascribed to domestic everyday life are in part due to homophily.

Although I have argued that actor-networks are heterogeneous, it is important to account for homophily. McPherson *et al.* argue that the 'homophily principle structures network ties of every type', and the 'result is that people's personal networks are homogeneous with regard to many sociodemographic, behavioural, and intrapersonal characteristics' (2001, p. 415). Di Gregorio suggests that the 'coalescing force in dense networks is not necessarily a collective identity, but the similarity in values (value homophily) or a shared discourse' (2012, p. 1). Homophily is thus a key determinant in terms of cultural and historical values, how we formulate information, and how we interact with others.

Discourses are 'a coherent pattern of statements across a range of archives and sites' (Green, 1990, p. 3), and homophily often ensures the permanence of discourses. For this study I consider the combination of the textual and visual elements of Facebook posts. Textual analysis is vital because media and cultural products need close multidimensional readings. Parker (1992) argues that discourse analysis is about asking *why* something in particular was said rather than something *else,* and it constructs representations of the world that we often take for granted. As representations discourses often support institutions, reproduce power relations and have ideological effects (Parker, 1992). Using principles of ANT I analyse the power relations that operate within domestic networks, as well as the discourses that circulate. I do this by looking at discursive behaviours, and how actants are recruited into networks, as well as how space and labour are negotiated.

While some discursive behaviour is more common than others, Fairclough (2011) argues that language is an integral element of material social processes. Social life is an interconnected network of such practices, and both the structure, and the practice of the interaction are important. As discussed in the analysis of narrative structure, this is true of Facebook, because of the architecture of the site. Papacharissi argues that the architecture of virtual spaces 'simultaneously suggests and enables particular modes of interaction' (2009, p. 200).

A number of studies on human sociality have been conducted, especially regarding 'impression management' (Goffman, 1959), and the motivation to manage how we come across in day-to-day interactions (Baumeister, 1982; Jones & Pittman, 1982; Kowalski & Leary, 1990,). Impression management may simply be self-promotion, but sometimes, because modesty is a highly valued quality, both in material space and in digitally mediated space, people often seek to present their accomplishments and talents in a more indirect way (Schlenker & Weigold, 1992). Another common form of impression management is that of complaining. Complaining may be used as a social process to receive sympathy and in particular, attention (Alberts, 1988; Alicke *et al.*, 1992; Sezer *et al.*, 2015), particularly in homophilous networks.

Discourse analysis is a way to analyse 'orderly ways of talking', and looks at how individuals interpret and understand themselves and their environment (Shotter, 1993). It looks at how people use language to construct and represent certain aspects of everyday life; it emphasises that language is not neutral but is used in a particular way to reflect normative values (Burr, 2015; Wetherell, 1998). The world that we inhabit is constructed, and our cultural and social beliefs influence how we behave, and the rules that we impose. Therefore meaning is not a given, it is not singular, but rather has many layers that are up for interpretation. Hence discourses of domesticity have been constructed and incorporated into the language that we use, as well as in the texts that circulate in everyday life, and particularly within homophilous networks. These discourses ultimately influence how we negotiate domestic space and labour in everyday life.

The Home as 'Gender Factory'

Sara Berk (1985) describes the home as a 'gender factory', where gender is constituted and developed through social practice and organisation. In this way households are theorised as networks, or 'small factories', that 'combines capital goods, raw materials and labour to clean, feed, procreate, and otherwise produce useful commodities' (Becker, 1965, p.496). Not only are domestic commodities

produced, but so too are gender expectations and roles, because housework is promoted as women's work. Hence Berk (1985) argues that the household's gendered organisation has perpetuated and reproduced gender roles so that women are inextricably linked to the home, reiterating the fact that discourses circulate in networks.

As discussed in Chapter 1, domesticity is both a historical and cultural construct that clearly divides public life from private life, as well as public space from private space. From a hermeneutic point of view, domesticity draws on domestic fiction, women's magazines, and household manuals, and its central focus is on the home and family life, childcare and housework. These areas of domestic life have become gendered because they are culturally and historically perceived as women's work. There is also a class element because just like today, housework was often performed by the working classes who would have had little access to advice manuals, domestic fiction and so on, because they were quite possibly illiterate.

Part of this perception of women's work comes from the historical and geographical perspective where there were gendered domains and domestic idealism was heavily promoted. The perception of the perfect home was largely a Victorian ideology according to Thiel (2013). Thiel argues that, 'the idyllic home was eminently achievable for all and the family within its hallowed walls could and should be suitably perfect' (2013, p. 3). Victorian England viewed the home as inextricably linked to God and was therefore a sacred space, and ultimate depiction of the perfect family. Thiel asserts that one of the reasons that this particular myth survived, was because it was disseminated through children's literature which showed 'a world in which father and mother, devoted to the moral and/or spiritual well-being of their offspring, were ever-present and ever-mindful of their duties' (2013, p. 5).

Leavitt's (2002) analysis of domesticity and women's work is that it is embedded in discourses of domestic fantasy, and that domestic advice manuals had a huge part to play in how women viewed their place within society. Leavitt argues that 'domestic advice manuals originated in the 1830's with the Victorian era and its emphasis on home and family' (2002, p. 9). Advice was spread through books, newspapers, magazines and so on and reaffirmed that women belonged at home. According to Leavitt (2002) the advice came from predominantly white, middle class women who were, in some or other way, experienced with homemaking and housework.

Throughout the nineteenth century discourses of women and the home prevailed and 'in the second half of the nineteenth century, important topics that concerned women included suffrage and the

treatment of minorities' (Leavitt, 2002, p. 18). Despite this, domestic advisors continued to reassert the fact that women's natural place was at home. Domestic advisors were defiant in their attitudes to women's work, and they presented the home as a place where domestic fantasy could be played out (Leavitt, 2002). They encouraged women to view their homes as utopic, where something positive and fulfilling could be achieved. However, this utopian domestic space did not always extend to the working class who were expected to "know their place". In the chapters that follow I argue that Facebook creates new spaces and places for domestic advisors to perpetuate discourses about women's domestic proficiency, as well as disseminate information about housework and homemaking. In this way, such advisors still maintain an integral role within household networks, and continue to secure women to the home because of the promotion of domestic idealism.

The political aspect of domestic life as gendered cannot be ignored because it is an arena of unpaid, low status work for women (Kaplan, 1998). As discussed in Chapter 1, Kaplan (1998) argues that men conquer territories and women stay at home living within their own domestic fantasy. Women are therefore 'anchors' (Kaplan, 1998) for home life and thus, in relation to gender politics, domesticity is politically loaded and gendered as a female pursuit.

Towards a "New" Domesticity and Domestopia

Despite the political nature of domesticity, aspects of the domestic have steadily gained popularity on SNS; illustrated by the rise of Pinterest , YouTube videos, and a plethora of Facebook pages relating to cooking, "cleaning hacks", and so on. As discussed in Chapter 1, it is clear that domesticity and the idea of home has had an uneasy place in the feminist's lexicon (Gillis & Hollows, 2009; Hollows & Moseley, 2006). For many women, domesticity and homemaking have become guilty pleasures, and there has been a massive resurgence in baking, crafts, gardening and so on. On the other hand, there is also a latent snobbery about domesticity among women; there is the feminist view that educated women should not be interested in domestic pursuits and that domesticity is a crime against feminism. However, as introduced in Chapter 1, postfeminism has offered counter discourses which have altered the perception of domesticity among women. Matchar (2013) explores this phenomenon in her account of 'new domesticity'. Moving on from second wave feminism, where domesticity and housewifery were seen as taboo, this new hipster or "boho" homemaking is now mainstream.

Discourses around authenticity and simplicity are widely circulated and are appealing because they counter many popular discourses about 'trying to have it all'. Matchar's postfeminist exploration of

domesticity questions women's role in society and whether or not the 'career woman [is] the new spinster' (Matchar, 2013, p. 4). She argues that there has been a huge cultural shift where career women are becoming nostalgic about the place of domestic pursuits in their lives. There has also been backlash by women who wish to prove that they are not like the feminists who dismissed domesticity. The argument is that women can be feminists while embracing domestic pursuits and that 'new domesticity' is all about looking for a 'more authentic, meaningful life in an economically and environmentally uncertain world' (Matchar, 2013, p. 5). The very notion that domesticity can be reframed as 'new' is, in itself, discursively loaded. This is because the word 'new' constructs this form of domesticity as different, exciting and modern.

Domesticity plays an important role in the current media landscape. Dolgopolov (2003) refers to this phenomenon as 'domestopia' and Bell & Hollows (2007) discuss new domesticity and domestopia in terms of 'returning home'. This postfeminist discourse has been framed to appeal to women, and Brunsdon (2006) highlights this in her analysis of lifestyle television programmes. Brunsdon (2006) looks at the relationship between the resurgence of domestic pursuits on television, and feminism. These discourses have also been widely accepted perhaps, in part, due to homophilous networks, where like-minded people tend to have similar values and beliefs.

Facebook offers women a platform to engage with narratives of domestic fantasy while being embedded in their own domestic reality. Narratives of domestic fantasy, popularised in the Victorian era are making a huge resurgence according to Matchar (2013). Matchar argues that we are living in 'an era of anxiety' and there is a new type of domesticity emerging (2013, p. 11). Aside from seeing it as a backlash to traditional feminism and the pressures that women have been put under to maintain the image of "being able to do it all" it is also about seeking "authenticity". During Victorian times domesticity and spiritual wellbeing were closely linked (Leavitt, 2002; Thiel, 2013) and there is a growing trend to reconnect the home with a sense of spirituality. Matchar insists that 'traditional "women's work" such as cooking, crafting, and raising children has been devalued' (2013, p. 6) and that it should be reinstated as important.

In regards to leisure time I analyse homemaking as a resurgent discourse that has increased in popularity (Matchar, 2013), as well as a practice that is intrinsically linked to conspicuous consumption. Chapman (1955), Slater (1997), and Veblen (1899) discuss conspicuous consumption and illustrate that historically housewives have been the major consumers in household networks. Purchasing goods is

often associated with frivolity and the woman's need to fill the space of the home and historically homemaking was a major way for housewives to build their identity (Miller, 2001).

From this perspective housewives are given no autonomy and seen as valueless in society contributing very little in terms of economic weight. These disparaging views of homemakers; those who purchase goods to fill the void associated with boredom and to perform their identity, as well as the low value associated with housework, perpetuates gender divisions. The domestic role of shoppers suggests the importance of conspicuous consumption (Featherstone, 1990, 1991a, 1991b; Silverstone, 1999; Slater, 1997; Veblen, 1899) in relation to the home and domestic identity performance. Hollows (2006) illustrates that consumption practices sustain our latent beliefs about class, race and gender. Discourses of conspicuous consumption are thus gendered as the pursuit of women. Slater argues that one such discourse is that women are 'irrational' and 'manipulated' when it comes to domestic consumption (1997). Yet for Featherstone (1990, 1991a) consumer culture offers an escape into a more hedonistic and enjoyable lifestyle and is somewhat of a fantasy building practice. We are now in the position where we are not only consuming products and services, but very particular lifestyles that add to our own identities and presentation of self. The consumption of domestic products has become part of our everyday lives and is an act linked to self-presentation.

Consumption is displayed as a form of status performance. Participants consume domestic products and display their acts of consumption by posting about them on SNS. Silverstone states that consumption 'is noticed only in excess' and 'only when it is conspicuous' (1999, p.80). Consumption is part of our identity display and thus the manner in which we consume goods, and display these goods, is crucial to how we present ourselves in everyday life. Hence it is not only the process of consumption but also the sharing and the display of our consumption that is important.

Domestic Roles and Responsibilities

Cock's (1980) exploration of the dominant western ideology of domesticity explores the notion that men and women have separate and distinct roles. As an ideology 'domesticity reinforces a particular view of women' (1980, p. 266) and women should not be involved in the economic or political sphere. Over time this ideology has been naturalised and accepted hence, the 'ideology of domesticity reinforces women's subordinate position in society' (1980, p. 266).

Rather than examining domesticity as an 'ideology' I prefer to analyse it in terms of discourse and how women are represented within various narratives. From a Habermasian perspective 'women's role in

the home' (Attfield, 2002; Kaplan, 1998; McKeon, 2005; Simon & Landis, 1989) can be further acknowledged by their clear absence from the traditional public sphere. From this point of view there is a clear binary where women belong in the private sphere (inside) and men belong in the public sphere (outside). McKeon argues that 'the domestic ideology of separate spheres spatialises an incremental and long term sexual division of labour- a separation out of men's and women's work' and there is also the practice of viewing '"outside" and "inside" labour in terms of the dichotomy between waged and unwaged labour' (2005, p. 170).

Not only is the role of men and women divided between the inside and the outside, the private and the public, but also in terms of the unpaid and paid. Hence the connotation of women's work is thus that it appears frivolous and unproductive. Aside from these aspects of domesticity, Shelton & John (1996) add the notion of 'time availability' to the layers of gendered discourse. Time availability is the assumption that men work during the day and therefore do not have time to fulfil any domestic duties. In cases where women have outside employment Bianchi *et al.* (2000), Descartes & Kottak (2009), Jacobs & Gerson (2004), Kemmer (1999, 2000), Marshall & Anderson (2000), and show that this does not necessarily influence the division of labour within households. This is often because of essentialist discourses of domestic work as "women's role".

Writing in the 19th century, Weber discusses gradual changes to "traditional" gender divisions based on discursive gendered constructs. In particular he refers to the division of labour among couples and poses three relationship structures that emerged regarding the division of labour namely;

> **AFFECTUAL-TRADITIONAL RELATIONSHIPS:** Weber (1978) describes these relationships as 'affectual-traditional' and argues that in these cases "traditional" gender roles dominate housework and household labour.
>
> **AFFECTUAL-ASSOCIATIVE RELATIONSHIPS:** Here partners negate strict gender roles and strive towards sharing housework equally.
>
> **AFFECTUAL-PRAGMATIC RELATIONSHIPS:** Here the household work is divided according to preference. Individual preference is highlighted rather than equality.

Where Weber (1978) is most useful is that his relationship divisions suggest a historical continuum. Weber's use of the word "traditional" implies that gender roles are normative and that traditionally (historically) women are situated in the house. The assumption is that affectual-associative and affectual-pragmatic relationships were born out of affectual-traditional relationships because of growing gender equality and women entering the workplace.

In her role as 'home anchor' (Kaplan, 1998) the woman's role is often seen as maintaining and connecting with domestic networks. Traditionally and historically it is the responsibility of women to maintain family and friendship networks; namely kin work (di Leonardo, 1987; Wellman, 2001). 'Kin/friendship' work is integral to my working definition of domesticity because as Wellman (2001) argues, this practice is essential in everyday domestic life for women in particular. Wellman argues that historically, in western society, kin work has been assigned to women because of the emotional support that they provide to their communities and families. He also argues that domestic duties are traditionally seen as a woman's role because this is an 'extension of kinkeeping' (2001, p.235).

Di Leonardo defines kin work as, 'the conception, maintenance, and ritual celebration of cross-household kin ties' (1987, p. 442). This practice includes most of the communication with the family (and extended family), the organisation of holidays and celebrations, the purchasing of gifts and food for these gatherings and essentially maintaining and sustaining kin relationships.

SNS are part of everyday life for middle class women in South Africa and the digital manifestation of the home has emerged as a new space for identity performance (Balsamo, 1996; boyd & Donath, 2004; Turkle, 1996; Wellman, 2002,). The Internet has reinstated the idea of community after a period where individuals were incredibly solitary and isolated, and Rheingold (1993, 1994) refers to these online groups as 'frontier homesteads' which has its own sense of 'cyberbole'[24] (Woolgar, 2002). Networked communication provides new spaces as well as opportunities for connecting with people.

Another important role for women is that of shopping and purchasing household goods. One of the critiques of consumerism is that it emphasises the repetitive nature of everyday life because grocery and household shopping epitomises the mundane and parochial flow of everyday consumer culture. Felski (2000) argues that the very essence of femininity is moulded by consumer culture. Furthermore critiques of consumer culture view women as 'formed through mass production and mass reproduction, disseminated through endless images of female glamour and female domesticity' as a result 'women become the primary emblem of an inauthentic everyday life marked by the empty homogenous time of mass consumption' (Felski, 2000, p. 82-83). I argue that although there is an element of repetition associated with household shopping it also instils a sense of agency and importance to many of the women who perform this task.

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[24] Cyberbole is a portmanteau word combing hyperbole and cyber. Woolgar (2002) uses it to describe the hype around new technologies.

However there are some domestic activities that are discursively loaded as enjoyable and rewarding. Discourses of home and everyday life frame certain domestic activities, particularly cooking and baking, as escapist and enjoyable. While home cooking has undergone a decline owing to consumerism and market forces it has also enjoyed a resurgence through clever branding of 'celebrity chefs' and ideas such as 'the slow food movement' (Bell and Hollows, 2007). Discourses of authenticity are associated with 'hipster', 'boho' and even 'bobo' (Brooks, 2000) identities. Narratives of the "artisanal", "authentic", "organic", "simple ingredients" associated with these identities strive to make cooking a more pleasurable activity associated with leisure and enjoyment. Such discourses also mark an upper or middle class identity which allows the leisure or disposable income to engage in such activities. What these discourses fail to account for in this resurgence of time-consuming domestic activities and "slow food" is that these tasks can be highly stressful for busy women. The very fantasy that these pursuits encourage may lead to angst; this may be a reason why constant affirmation is needed by women who post photographs of their domestic pursuits as reflected on Facebook.

Felski (2000) contends that although everyday life is a challenging idea to grasp, it is part of feminist discourse because all activities included under the umbrella of the everyday and the domestic are seen as an essential part of women's work. Felski (2000) also asserts that the mundane and habitual nature of the everyday undermines this work as routine and part of their existence. Hence the division between men and women is furthered by separating the intellectual world of men (the public sphere) from the habitual and monotonous world of women (the private sphere). Lefebvre (1984) argues that this is why 'everyday life weighs heaviest on women' and hence why they refashion domestic ideals, and escape into the realm of the make believe or fantasy.

Conclusion

Facebook has allowed for collaborative authorship through its networked architecture. As I have argued traditional conceptions of the text as layered with meaning (Kozloff, 1987) are somewhat outdated. By positioning narrative as a networked endeavour I have shown how authorship is not a linear structure but rather a highly networked collaboration of numerous actants. Furthermore the combination of written and visual texts means that as a narrative platform there are many options for self-presentation.

Narration is a form of self-presentation (Burck, 2005; Gee, 1991; Kirkman, 1997; Riesssman, 2001) and allows participants to construct their identities in numerous ways. Drawing on Goffman (1959) I have illustrated how Facebook is a platform for complex self-presentation in that back stage and front stage

performance should be considered. Furthermore participants are constantly engaged in impression management in order to appeal to their imagined audience.

The site architecture and algorithms also encourage homophilous networks to thrive. Within these networks discourses of domesticity and racial and gendered conceptions of domestic work circulate. In many cases these discourses are naturalised but in some cases, where context collapse occurs, discourses may be subverted.

In the chapters that follow I show how women participants negotiate labour and space in relation to naturalised discourses of domesticity such as "women's work" and "women's place". I also suggest that these narratives and discourses of domesticity are used as a way to stabilise and maintain, as well as to recruit actants into domestic networks.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter provides a rationale for the methodological approach used in this study. It serves to outline the quantitative and qualitative research methods applied; namely digital ethnography, CDA and content analysis. The decision to conduct a mixed methods approach is because it 'emphasizes the humanistic conceptualisation of research' and 'closely parallels everyday human problem solving' (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010, p. 273). Furthermore, the nature of research questions, particularly in human and social sciences, means that 'researchers immersed in a topic area are typically not only interested in what has happened (causal effects) but also in how or why it has happened (causal mechanisms)' (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010, p. 274). For this reason mixed methodologies are advised (Creswell & Clark, 2007; Tashakkori & Creswell, 2007; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998, 2010) because they provide a more thorough approach to analysing social behaviour and broaden our understanding of practice and place (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010, p. 276).

I investigate how 50 predominantly white, middle class, women participants, and to a lesser extent 20 of their husbands/partners, negotiate domestic labour, space and place, as well as how they recruit actants into household networks. Front stage and back stage self-presentation (Goffman, 1959) is analysed in digitally mediated and material space and place, as well as how participants write, or 'talk themselves into being' (Gubrium & Holstein, 2000 p. 101) on Facebook. Domestically themed Facebook posts (written and photographic/visual) were analysed over a period of time.

Although largely an empirical investigation that has taken place in digitally mediated and material space and place, I also examined naturally occurring data through participant observation. For this reason an anthropological approach, specifically that of *digital anthropology* (Boellstorff, 2012), was employed. Virtual ethnography, or 'digital ethnography', which is my preferred term, allows for the immersion into an online, or digitally mediated, community or 'affinity space' (Gee, 2005). Gee (2005) describes affinity spaces as places for learning, but they are also places where groups who share common interests congregate together. Hine (2000) suggests that ethnography and qualitative research can now take place on social media and SNS and this enables research to take place on the internet or digital space increasing flexibility for researchers who no longer have to travel to research sites.

As discussed, the "separation" of the digitally mediated and material is a methodological dilemma. Although I do not advocate for digital dualism it is necessary to distinguish between the two spheres. This is because my digital ethnography required different stages of data collection. There has been a move to view SNS as a place and space that is not *just* online. Postill & Pink argue that ethnography that deals with SNS are more complex and that the 'nature of social media as a research environment that is dispersed across web platforms, is constantly in progress and changing, and implicated physical as well as digital localities' (2014, p. 125). For this reason Law (2004), O'Reilly (2005) and Postill & Pink (2014) describe SNS as a 'messy web' that complicates ethnography and how researchers conduct it. The overarching suggestion is that we should view the 'online' and 'offline' as interrelated and inseparable when dealing with SNS ethnographies (Postill & Pink, 2014)**.**

Although there is no prescribed and set methodology for digital ethnography, it is agreed that it should be a self-reflexive process (Hine, 2009; Marwick & boyd, 2011). Postill & Pink argue that social media practices and technologies influence how individuals navigate their 'wider social, material and technological worlds' and should therefore be included in ethnographic practice (2014, p. 123). SNS helps researchers to understand how 'concepts of routine, movement and sociality enable us to understand the making of social media ethnography knowledge and places' (Postill & Pink, 2014, p. 123). Postill & Pink suggest that the growth of SNS has created new sites for fieldwork, new forms of ethnography to emerge and new ways of thinking critically about theory and methodology (2014, p. 124). Pink (2009) in particular proposes that SNS creates 'ethnographic places' that 'traverse online/offline contexts and are collaborative, participatory, open and public' (in Postill & Pink, 2014, p. 124).

My research involved numerous steps incorporating both digitally mediated and material space and place. This multimodal approach (Kress, 2009; Van Leeuwen, 2015) meant that I was able to conduct a more thorough discourse analysis by analysing a combination of written and visual Facebook posts through participant observation, conducting questionnaires, interviewing participants, and visiting 5 couples in their homes. This method allowed me to explore the networked power relations as presented on SNS and material space and place in order to investigate 'systems of social meaning' (Tonkiss, 1998) specifically those involving conflict and the negotiation thereof. Initially my aim was to conduct research on SNS only, however after careful consideration and a heightened focus on context I decided to extend my research space to five homes.

Multi-sited fieldwork is now commonplace (Haythornthwaite & Wellman, 2002, 2008; Kelty, 2008; Leander & McKim, 2003) but it is not without difficulty because it may require travel which is not always practical or financially possible. The focus of this study is primarily on the digital, because I concentrate on the back stage and front stage behaviours of participants on SNS. These personas are then explored against the background of the "offline" component where five women (and their partners/husbands) were also observed and interviewed in their homes.

Woolgar (2002) refers to a 'technology theory relation' and the same applies to methodology. I argue that there is a 'technology *methodology* relation' that needs to be considered because we tend to apply old methods to new technologies. The rapid growth and advancement of technologies and digitally mediated space and place means that we need to be self-reflexive about the ethnographic approaches that we use. As discussed in previous chapters, domestic spaces and places are not the same manifestations of the 'living room' that Morley encountered in the 1980's. Owing to the advent of CMC and SNS the researcher's presence in the research environment has changed radically.

It has been roughly twenty five years since David Morley's (1991) seminal text 'Notes from the Sitting Room' was published. As discussed, in Chapters 1 & 2, notions of home have become increasingly complex and we need to consider both digital and material configurations. Moreover, the mediatisation of domestic life has meant that researchers, such as myself, who are interested in human geography have to rethink how we approach research and ethnography. Researchers are no longer mere observers who are accepted into people's homes where we get to observe them in everyday life. We now have the opportunity to be invisible; we can "lurk" in the shadows of social networks and make ourselves known when our research guides us. This slightly precarious position has ethical implications[25], but I do believe that we are heading towards a more varied picture of everyday life. Instead of *just* being the proverbial elephant in the sitting room the researcher can now *also* be a fly on the Facebook wall.

Researchers are able to gain insight into interactions as they unfold and "lurk" online. It should be noted that it is virtually, and I use that word deliberately, impossible to maintain a true fly-on-the-wall perspective. However through the combination of both "elephant" and "fly" strategies and by using data from both digitally mediated and embodied space I believe researchers are able to gain a much broader and richer insight into research sites.

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[25] The ethics for this research were a self-reflexive process as discussed in the section on Ethics & Informed Consent.

This chapter also outlines the complex ethical considerations associated with SNS research as well as the developing relationships that enabled me to observe a few participants and their husbands/partners in their everyday lives. As my research developed so too did a number of the relationships that were formed and this meant that ethical considerations, as well as research methods, were self-reflexive.

Knowledge, or meanings of domesticity, are spread and in some cases *regulated* in everyday life through SNS. Although generalisations cannot be drawn from this study, within the context of this sample both global trends and distinctively local (e.g. ethnic, linguistic, or nationalist) 'South African' configurations of discourse are explored. These discourses are examined against gendered social beliefs and attitudes towards domesticity by analysing 50 participants' Facebook interactions.

Participant Selection for Digital Ethnography

Exploring interactions in both digitally mediated and material space is critical when engaging with digital ethnography (Bennett, 2004; boyd, 2015; Kendall, 2002; Kozinets, 2010; Miller & Slater, 2000). As boyd notes, 'people wrongly think that they can interpret online content without understanding the context in which it is produced' (2015, p. 83). Some scholars, such as Boellstorff (2008) for example, argue that in some cases an online-only ethnography is appropriate and that context is not necessary. However, his application of this is to specific communities, such as Second Life, where members are embodying completely different personas and not their "real" selves as is the case with Facebook for example.

This ethnographic study is based in the realist tradition which, as described by Van Maanen (1998), allows one to observe culture. The realist ethnographic study is one which is bound in the search for authenticity, hence why I broadened my focus to both digitally mediated and material space, despite my limited sample. Participant observation conducted on Facebook formed the majority of my research. This is why I focused on the numerous tangible ways that women are interacting and displaying their domesticity in everyday life particularly on SNS.

My limited sample was selected based on my own social networks. This method allowed me to identify an affinity space because of my own homophilous networks. As discussed in Chapter 3, homophily is the idea that 'similarity breeds connection' resulting in the individual's networks become 'homogenous with regard to many sociodemographic, behavioural, and interpersonal characteristics' (McPherson *et al*. 2001, p. 415). Looking at my own Facebook networks allowed me to select 50 women who fit a prescribed list of criteria as seen in the Table 3.1. I also included 20 of their husbands/partners who agreed to participate in this study, albeit in a secondary capacity. Glaser & Strauss (1967) suggest that

data collection is not a specific phase but rather an ongoing process; it is collected and re-examined continuously. My research method evolved throughout a three year period.

Initial Criterion-Based Sample

My own social networks on Facebook seeded a small purposive or criterion-based (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993) sample. Purposive or criterion-based samples allow researchers to select participants based on shared characteristics or sets of criteria (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993). My first sample of 30 women was identified because these women had a high propensity for posting content (textual and visual) that was domestic in nature. I defined domestic content as posts that showed or described the home as well as housework or homemaking practices. Housework and homemaking practices were identified as cooking, baking, cleaning, gardening, grocery shopping, household DIY, homemaking projects, home renovations, purchasing household appliances or household goods, parenting (specifically motherhood), and domestic workers.

I applied the following criteria when selecting women from my own Facebook friends circle before approaching them to participate in my study.

25-35 year old women	Age was specified on Facebook
Middle class	This was ascertained using SAARF's LSMs
South African	Each participant was asked whether she was South African
English speaking	Candidates didn't have to be first language speakers but they had to be proficient at understanding and using the language. The majority of Facebook posts needed to be written in English.
Married or living with a partner	Candidates were identified who were married or living with a partner.
Domestic content on Facebook	Candidates were identified based on their Facebook posts. Any domestic content was flagged and if they fulfilled the other criteria they were approached to participate.
Weak ties	Women who were my Facebook friends but not in my closest circle of friends.
No close contact for +5 years	Five years was the minimum and in most cases it was above this. Close contact' was defined as not having social involvement with these women in material space as well as not engaging with them on Facebook (other than wishing 'happy birthday' or offering congratulations for big milestones).

Table: 3.1 Selection Criteria

As seen in Table 3.1 women in their mid-twenties to early thirties were selected because from my initial observations I found that this was the age group where women and their partners were most likely to get married or set up home. For Strong *et al.* (2005) one of the major cultural determinants of gender role learning is marriage because it creates expectations and prescribes the *roles* of husband and wife; hence my decision to study heterosexual newlyweds and couples who were in the early stages of living together. For Kemmer *et al.* early marriage, and co-habiting is, 'a period in which roles and behaviour patterns are being *consciously* negotiated and therefore brought into focus, highlighting individuals' awareness of both their own and their partners' norms and values' (1998, p. 49). My decision to select heterosexual couples was purely because of my own largely heteronormative networks and I also wanted to 'study up' (Nader, 1974) as discussed in Chapter 2.

Middle class South Africans were chosen; and although I didn't specify a particular racial group, my own predominantly white, heteronormative Facebook networks, meant that most participants were white and all were heterosexual. A few black, mixed race and Indian women who fit the criteria were selected as shown in Table 3.2.

I asked each participant whether she considered herself middle class before asking her to use the LSM calculator[26]. If she fell between LSM 7 high and LSM 10 low then she was considered middle class. Defining middle class in South Africa is particularly difficult because of the huge inequalities in terms of income and property (Finn *et al.*, 2014; Visagie & Posel, 2011). I used South African Audience Research Foundation's (SAARF) Living Standard Measure (LSM) because it 'cuts across race and other outmoded techniques of categorising people' and 'groups people according to their living standards using criteria such as degree of urbanisation and ownership of cars and major appliances'[27]. I determined middle class based on LSM 7 high and LSM 10 low according to Media Update's categories[28].

Although a number of the participants were bilingual, they had to be English speaking and post content on Facebook written in English. They were selected because they demonstrated a high propensity to post content that was domestic in nature and were actively engaged with domestic content in digitally mediated and material space. Finally they had to be 'weak ties' (Granovetter, 1983) in terms of our

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[26] The LSM calculator is available from: http://www.eighty20.co.za/lsm-calculator
[27] http://www.saarf.co.za/lsm/lsms.asp
[28] https://www.mediaupdate.co.za/marketing/14286/making-sense-of-the-new-14-lsm-model

relationship. I defined this by selecting women who I had no close contact with for at least five years; i.e. no social involvement in material and digitally mediated space.
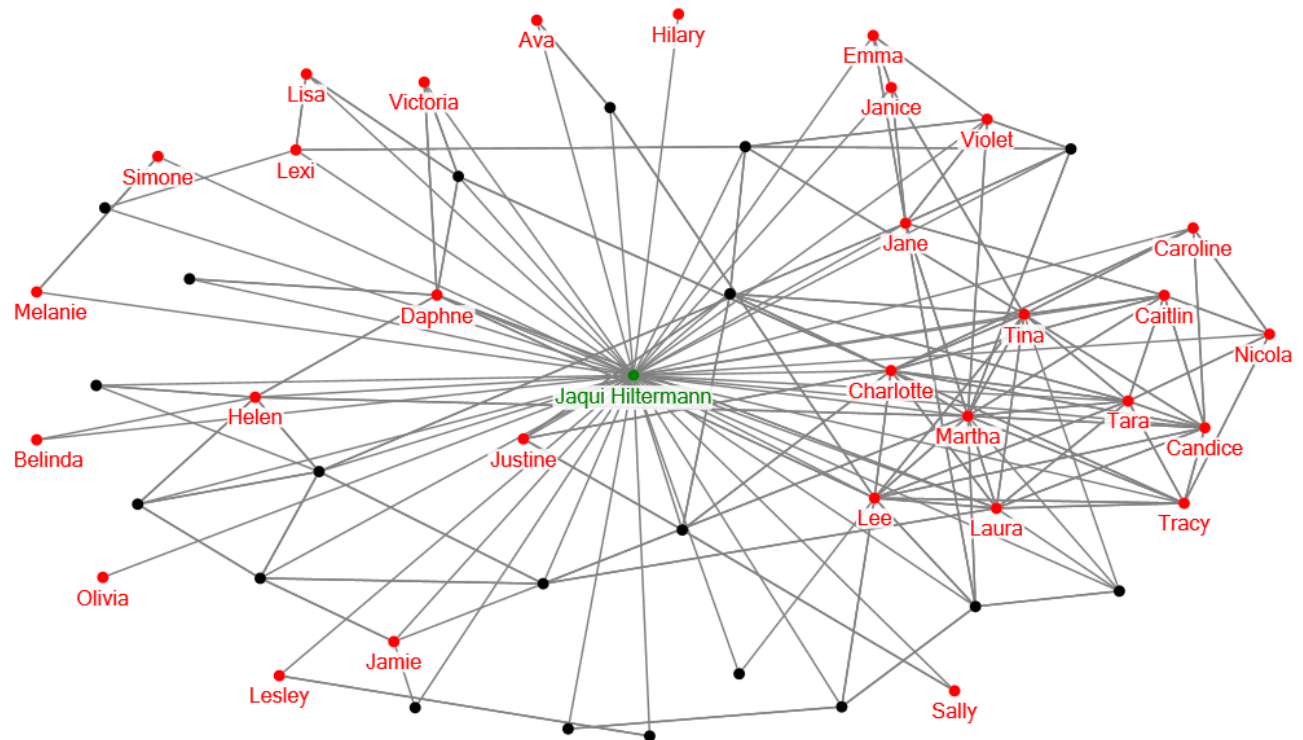
Figure 3.1 Criterion Based Sample of 30 women

Figure 3.1 above illustrates the 30 participants in my criterion based sample. They were weak ties and were selected based on the fact that they met the criteria in Table 3.1. I had no face-to-face contact with them for over five years and also had relatively little contact with them on Facebook; barring the annual happy birthday message or offers of congratulations for milestones. Nonetheless this minimal contact via Facebook enabled me to open up conversations with them about their Facebook activity and to establish a rapport.

Once I identified the 30 participants I assigned them each a pseudonym and entered them into a NodeXL spreadsheet. I then logged onto Facebook and searched for each participant's connections within the sample. This was done by looking at the 'mutual friends' category under each participant's friendship list. There were participants who were connected to a number of other participants (such as Tara),

others who were connected to only a few participants (such as Victoria), while some were only connected to me (Olivia for example).

Using NodeXL I was able to analyse the connections or 'edges' among participants by entering each participant's data into the vertices provided as well as some of my own prescribed vertices. Once I had entered the participant's data into the vertices I was able to analyse the edges in a web-like diagram which illustrates the networks of connection among the initial criterion-based sample.

Linguistically, as a white middle class researcher I am more equipped to deal with analysing these particular domestic spaces. The fact that I come from the same cultural background also meant that I could identify and understand both the context and my participants even when our views were distinctly different. McPherson *et al.* state that homophily occurs because similarities exist among people (2001, p. 415). Networking allows homophilous relationships because people with similarities can be easily identified. However networking is also problematic in regards to sampling because of the Facebook algorithms that influence co-selection. My first 30 participants were selected based on activity on my News Feed so the architecture of Facebook affected my sampling.

During 2012 I emailed each of the 30 participants outlining my research and asking for their consent to participate in my study[29]. After I obtained consent from them I emailed them Questionnaire One[30] regarding their SNS activity to further assess their suitability for the study. Only one woman responded that she was unhappy to participate in my study. I did not feel that it was ethical to 'delete' her as a friend simply because she did not want to be part of the study. However I decided to use Faecbook's functionality to hide her from my News Feed, and there were no instances where she commented on another participant's content. If this had happened I would not have included that particular post in my study.

The recruitment phase in 2012, where I identified suitable candidates and collected Facebook data, was a relatively lengthy process. By January 2013 I had secured 30 participants who had consented to participate in my research, answered Questionnaire One, and allowed me to use their Facebook data that was domestically themed. These women formed the core of my sample and allowed me to expand it to their own networks. This method allowed me to identify, very early on, whether there were enough participants to take part in my study who produced suitable content. Facebook observations allowed me

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[29] See Appendix One
[30] See Appendix Two

insight into individual's domestic lives. Ordinarily (in material space and place) domestic life is hidden from view whereas Facebook, as digitally mediated space, allows insight into an area of everyday life that is usually private.

Extending the Sample

Through the process of 'snowballing' (Browne, 2005; Miller, 2012) I expanded my sample to 50 women participants. Browne (2005) defines snowball sampling as a sharing of characteristics that link people together; in this case domestic behaviour. This method allows researchers to expand samples by recruiting individuals who are referred to them by existing members of their research sample. These individuals are recommended because they demonstrate certain behaviours that link them to existing subjects.

I adopted this selection process because it enabled me to select 20 additional participants who were part of an affinity space. Having 30 participants in my initial sample meant that I was able to get recommendations and suggestions for other participants who engaged in domestic performance and self-presentation on Facebook. Snowball sampling means that existing participants are likely to have access to similar women because of homophily; particularly in terms of Facebook networks.

The sample was extended to 50 women in two ways. Firstly I emailed existing participants and asked if they could recommend any of their Facebook friends who fit the research criteria. They emailed me their recommendations and I approached these women, defining my research and asking them to participate. In some cases I received the same recommendation from different participants which helped with my selection process because it highlighted them as highly suitable candidates.

Secondly, in a few cases, I was able to identify women who frequently commented on participants' posts and displayed an interest in domesticity and related issues. Some of these women were called up (tagged in domestic related posts) as experts regarding advice so again this highlighted their suitability.

Husbands and Partners

Aside from gaining 20 additional women through snowballing I also selected 20 husbands/partners who were active on Facebook and who sometimes engaged with the women participants' in their conversations about domesticity. Some of them were already weak ties, while others were identified through initial observations. A few husbands/partners were particularly active in conversations about domesticity and appeared in conversation threads. Again, the fact that all of the partners/husbands

were male indicated my largely heteronormative network. Getting informed consent from male participants was relatively easy because their wives/partners were already participants. However there were a few husbands/partners who were not as open to being interviewed and gave limited feedback.

By June 2013 I had a final sample of 50 women participants and 20 husbands/partners who consented to being part of the study ending in January 2015. All women participants, and the five husbands/partners whose homes I visited, were assigned pseudonyms. The other 15 male participants are referred to as 'Ava's husband' for example.

PSEUDONYM	AGE*	FIRST LANGUAGE	SECOND LANGUAGE **	RACE	MARITAL STATUS*	EMPLOYMENT STATUS*	CHILDREN*	SAMPLE
Alice	30	English		White	Co-habiting	Full time	0	Snowball
Audrey	25	Afrikaans	English	Indian	Married	Full time	1	Snowball
Ava***	29	English		White	Married	Full time	0	Original
Belinda	28	Xhosa	English	Black	Co-habiting	Full time	1	Original
Brenda	29	English		White	Married	Full time	0	Snowball
Caitlin***	28	English	Afrikaans	White	Married	Full time	Pregnant	Original
Candice	29	Afrikaans	English	White	Married	Full time	2	Original
Carmen***	25	English		White	Married	Unemployed	2	Snowball
Caroline	28	Xhosa	English	Black	Married	Part time	2	Original
Charlotte***	27	English		White	Married	Full time	Pregnant	Original
Cleo	28	English	Afrikaans	Mixed	Married	Full time	0	Snowball
Cynthia***	34	English		White	Married	Part time	1	Snowball
Daphne***	27	English		White	Married	Full time	0	Original
Elizabeth***	32	English		White	Co-habiting	Part time	0	Snowball
Emma	28	English		White	Co-habiting	Full time	0	Original
Gemma***	25	English		White	Married	Full time	0	Snowball
Hanna	29	English	Xhosa, Afrikaans	White	Married	Full time	0	Snowball
Helen***	32	English	Afrikaans	White	Married	Part time	0	Original
Hilary***	34	English		White	Married	Full time	3	Original
Jamie	26	English		White	Married	Full time	1	Original
Jane	29	English		White	Married	Part time	1	Original
Janice	28	English		White	Married	Part time	1	Original

Name	Age	Language 1	Language 2	Race	Marital	Employment	Children	Source
Jennifer	27	English		White	Married	Part time	1	Snowball
Jessie	26	English		White	Married	Unemployed	1	Snowball
Justine***	32	English		Mixed	Co-habiting	Part time	4	Original
Kathryn	25	English		White	Co-habiting	Part time	0	Snowball
Kerry***	30	English		White	Married	Full time	0	Snowball
Laura	30	English		White	Married	Unemployed	1	Original
Lee	28	English		White	Married	Full time	0	Original
Lesley***	27	English		White	Married	Part time	2	Original
Lexi	27	English		White	Married	Part time	1	Original
Lisa***	26	Afrikaans	English	White	Married	Unemployed	1	Original
Lydia	28	English	Zulu	White	Married	Part time	0	Snowball
Madeline	27	Afrikaans	English	White	Married	Full time	0	Snowball
Martha	29	English		White	Married	Part time	3	Original
Mary	34	Afrikaans	English	Mixed	Married	Full time	0	Snowball
Melanie***	27	English		White	Co-habiting	Full time	0	Original
Natalie	29	English		White	Married	Part time	1	Snowball
Nicola	31	English	Afrikaans, German	White	Married	Full time	0	Original
Olivia	27	English		White	Married	Full time	0	Original
Rosie	28	English		White	Married	Part time	1	Snowball
Ruth***	26	English		White	Married	Full time	0	Snowball
Sally	33	English	Afrikaans	White	Married	Full time	1	Original
Sara***	31	English		White	Married	Full time	2	Snowball
Simone***	28	English		Indian	Co-habiting	Full time	0	Original
Tara	31	English		White	Married	Full time	2	Original
Tina***	30	English	Afrikaans	White	Married	Full time	1	Original
Tracy	29	Afrikaans	English	White	Married	Unemployed	1	Original
Victoria***	32	English		White	Co-habiting	Full time	0	Original
Violet	30	English		White	Married	Full time	1	Original

* At beginning of study

** Participants only indicated a second language if they used it as an alternative language on Facebook. All participants who indicated a second language said they used it rarely and that English was the dominant language.

*** Husband consent

Table 3.2 Final Participants

Figure 3.2 illustrates the final research sample of 50 women participants. The initial sample are depicted in red (original sample vertex), those selected through snowballing in blue (snowball sample vertex), those whose husband/partner's agreed to participate with a green dot, and the participants with a yellow star are those whose homes I visited.
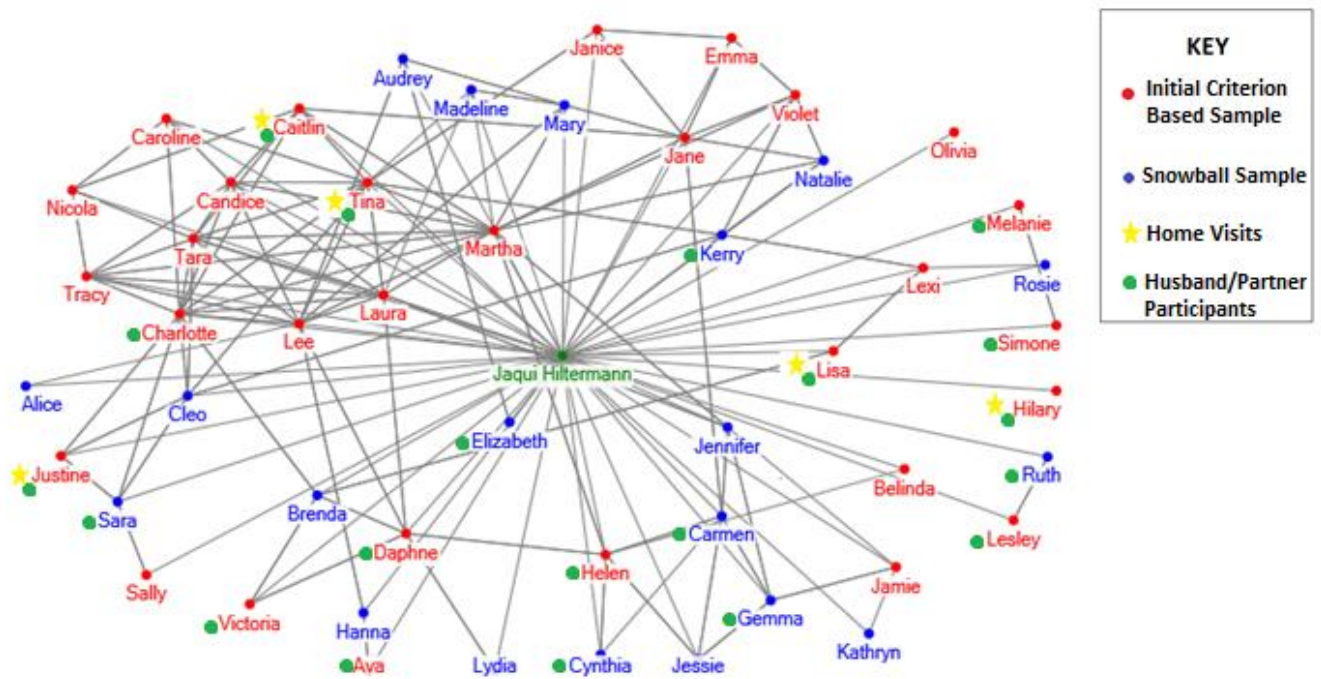
Figure 3.2 Final Sample of 50 women participants

As with Figure 3.1 this diagram was created using NodeXL. I entered the 20 additional participants into the original NodeXL spreadsheet with their connections (edges) in Vertex Two. Under the 'other' column I categorised them as 'snowball'. This meant that when I created the diagram they were differentiated as the 20 additional participants.

When I first approached participants I informed them that I would be monitoring their Facebook accounts, in terms of domestic content *only*, until January 2015. However because this is ethically problematic I maintained regular contact to remind participants that they were part of my study to ensure that they were informed throughout. This means that it is likely that my position as the researcher, and their position as participants, had some influence over their SNS behaviour as I couldn't

be wholly inconspicuous. Nevertheless I believe that because of the length of this study I was able to get an accurate reflection of SNS behaviour from participants.

Facebook algorithms may certainly have had an influence over my selection process of participants. As discussed the participants are reflective of my own primarily heteronormative and white network. So while it is convenient to study people like myself, my decision to focus on predominantly white middle class women is not only for convenience. Feminist researchers argue that women will build up closer relationships with other women because they are part of the same subordinate social class (Finch, 1984; Oakley 1981) so in this respect relationship building and access was made a lot easier.

Establishing Rapport

My sampling method was a key element in allowing me to establish rapport with participants. I wanted to be able to communicate with individuals, and to allow them to open up to me as a researcher. The fact that the majority of them were existing Facebook friends meant that they were already familiar with me. This meant they were very amicable when it came to assisting me with my study and answering questionnaires. In terms of the snowball sample, being friends of existing friends is a relatively easy and natural way to establish rapport. My decision to exclude close friends was because I didn't want my existing relationship with them to influence my research. I felt that it would be ethically problematic because our relationship would be likely to impact on how we interacted.

Rode (2011) suggests that rapport is crucial to gaining access, and this is not just physical access, but emotional access. Subjects are more likely to share information and stories if they are comfortable with the researcher. As a white middle class woman who has a keen interest in cooking and baking, I could create a shared understanding, even though I am not married, nor have any children. The fact that I also post domestic content on occasion meant that they were able to see me as someone who they could relate to.

The difficulty with qualitative research, and when analysing the social processes that are present in everyday life, is one of objectivity (Postill & Pink, 2012). Objectivity is one of the biggest challenges I faced, and something that I grappled with throughout. I had to accept that true objectivity is impossible, and that my own research interests as well as cultural values have affected this study. And, having a good rapport with the majority of my research subjects has meant that I constantly had to evaluate and re-evaluate my position as a researcher.

There were times when the subject matter of Facebook posts became difficult. An example of this was when participants posted about domestic workers, and their role within homes. I found myself withdrawing completely from conversations, to the extent where I was almost "othering" some of the women participants. It took a while for me to realise that by being distant, and trying to remain objective, I was actually positioning myself as disparaging towards these particular participants. As with researchers such as Krumer-Nevo & Benjamin (2010) and MacLure (2003) I sought to work harder at understanding my participants' opinions and the complex social and gender dynamics that were causing them to express beliefs contrary to my own. Rather than ignore the difficult conversations, I actively sought to interview participants on their relationships, as well as areas of conflict.

Where husbands/partners were weak ties, the fact that we already had existing relationships meant that they were happy to participate. In some cases developing a rapport with husbands/partners was very much dependent on whether I could meet them face-to-face or not. There were a few cases where I could develop rapport over emails and Facebook and this allowed for invaluable insight.

Facebook Observations

Digital ethnography is about wanting to 'contribute a deeper understanding of anthropologic practices as applied to reflexive ethnography of technology' (Rode, 2011 p. 1). The development of new media technologies and SNS has allowed new and exciting possibilities for fieldwork, such as participant observation on SNS. Participant observation and 'deep hanging out' (Geertz, 1998) is useful because it allows researchers to adopt fly-on-the-Facebook-wall positions and immerse themselves in research space in informal ways. In the context of my research I was able to observe behaviour in affinity spaces, as well as participate in conversations about domesticity for a relatively lengthy period of time. Because of the informal nature of deep hanging out, I was also able to observe participants for a set, and agreed upon time.

As discussed, participant observation on SNS was a three year process that started in January 2012 when I began identifying suitable candidates. My research involved 'deep hanging out' (Geertz, 1998) as well as a systematic collection of data from each woman's timeline, as well as the 20 husband/partners who agreed to participate in the study. Rather than looking at my News Feed on a day-to-day basis, I trawled through each participant's profile page (from the time they provided consent) to search for domestic content so as to avoid the News Feed algorithms. The filter bubbles on Facebook are a limitation, so rather than rely on my News Feed I searched through each timeline and saved any data that related to

my study. I checked each conversation a number of times to get the most up to date version because of the immediate nature of SNS commentary and conversations.

Participant observation allows researchers to become part of the research subject's everyday life. By spending time interacting and observing individuals, and in some cases groups, researchers can attempt to identify patterns of behaviour, forms of representation and identification, individual and community experience and so on. DeWalt & DeWalt argue that 'we can learn from observation' and that 'being actively engaged in the lives of people brings the ethnographer closer to understanding the participants' point of view' (2010, p. 262). There are varying degrees of participation from 'nonparticipation' through to complete participation (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2010). I adopted moderate participation because it was not viable for me to immerse myself completely into my research field; the nature of my sample is not a specific group of women but rather networks of women. Regardless of the level, participant observation 'enhances the quality of the data obtained during fieldwork' and it 'enhances the quality of the interpretation of data' (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2010, p. 265).

Participant observation is useful because it enables spontaneous research; trends are recorded as they emerge and researchers are able to immerse themselves in the culture or experience. Jorgenson notes that it is a useful method because it gives researchers 'direct experiential and observational access to the insiders' world of meaning' (1989, p. 15). It has also been very useful because each individual has a digital footprint so I could look at the participant's entire history in order to identify any trends.

Questionnaires

My decision to use questionnaires[31] was to get broad information on women participants relatively quickly and efficiently. The findings from questionnaires were not analysed statistically and therefore cannot be taken to be representative. Nonetheless, these questionnaires were incredibly useful in this study. This was not only because of the speed at which information could be gathered, but because they provided a broad overview of attitudes and beliefs. Questionnaires are a good starting point for conducting interviews and they helped me to tailor interviews because I had background information on each participant, as well as points of interest for further questions. McLafferty suggests that questionnaires are 'valuable for finding out about complex behaviours and social interactions' (2003, p. 78) and were therefore very useful in this study of networks of domesticity.

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[31] See Appendix Two, Three & Four.

Questionnaires were emailed to 50 women participants, and were broadly designed to get a background on each individual, as well as to probe themes identified through my observations. Not all questionnaires were applicable to each participant, because not all participants were mothers for example. Therefore women participants only answered questionnaires that were applicable. Some participants did not send back questionnaires for other reasons, such as being too busy or not wanting to.

I designed questionnaires by beginning with closed format questions, and then interspersing these with open format questions (see Leung, 2001; Oppenheim, 2000). Questionnaires were not designed to provide a lot of quantitative data, but rather to get background information on participants, and to explore key areas of domesticity. Questions were kept as simple as possible, and were a combination of closed 'yes or no' questions, and open-ended opinion based questions (McLafferty, 2003). I frequently used a 1-10 scale in order to gauge attitudes and opinions.

 Questionnaire One [32] dealt with personal details, employment, attitudes towards home and work, division of labour within the home and domestic workers. All 50 women participants answered this. I began sending it through in 2012 until June 2013.

Questionnaire Two[33] was about Pinterest use and attitudes towards Pinterest; some women didn't answer this because they did not use Pinterest or weren't compelled to answer it.

Questionnaire Three[34] was about domesticity on Facebook in general, and this had a relatively high response rate with only four participants not sending it back.

The data collected from questionnaires was tabulated, and used in conjunction with data collected from Facebook activity. This highlighted key areas, such as parenthood, domestic workers and weeknight cooking. Questionnaires were immensely helpful in terms of structuring and focusing my interviews. For example, although I asked participants about their Pinterest activity, I chose not to focus on Pinterest because of the nature of the responses. However, there is certainly opportunity for further research in this area because Pinterest has become a huge part of domestic performance (Chang *et al.,* 2014; Ottoni *et al.*, 2013). McLafferty explains that questionnaires are a key area of a mixed methodological approach

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[32]See Appendix Two
[33] See Appendix Three
[34] See Appendix Four

and that as 'developments unfold, questionnaire surveys will continue to provide a rich array of information about people's lives and well-being in their diverse geographical contexts' (2003, p. 87).

Interviews

Short interviews were conducted with all participants. In some cases participants indicated a preference for email interviews, a number of interviews were conducted over Skype or telephone owing to location restrictions, and in other cases face-to-face interviews were performed.

The nature of qualitative interviews (Brinkman, 2014a, 2014b; Charmaz & Belgrave, 2012; Rubin & Rubin, 2011) is that they are 'semi-structured' because this allows more freedom for both the researcher and the research subject. I had a set of questions that guided me, but for the most part the interviews were more conversational, which allowed me to explore areas that deviated slightly from my interview sheet. Rapport was very influential in terms of how successful interviews were. Therefore I asked my first five interview subjects to provide a brief reflection on how interview went, which enabled me to hone my technique for the rest of the interviews.

Most interviews were about 15 minutes and were structured around particular Facebook posts and answers from questionnaires that I had flagged up as noteworthy or important. Semi-structured interviews allowed me to probe immediate questions, as well as allowing freedom to question participants in an open-ended manner. This method of data collection meant that I could facilitate flexible and interactive sessions because I had the freedom to probe areas that may not have otherwise been identified. For participants it enabled them to be able to have more of a voice. Interviewing the husbands/partners was somewhat more difficult, because not all of them were open to being questioned, and a few indicated that they would prefer it if I just looked at their Facebook posts. Reasons that they provided included being 'too busy', or simply, 'not having the time'. Of course their reluctance could reflect their attitude to domestic space and their perceived position within the home but this would require further study. Nonetheless, at least half of the husbands/partners were very responsive and allowed me to interview them.

As the need arose during my research, follow up questions were posed to a few participants. I managed to get detailed responses from almost all of my research subjects, which enabled me to have a deeper understanding of context, and to gain a sense of their everyday life experiences. However, in some cases, participants were not as open, or available to answer questions throughout the entire two year period. What my interviews did establish however, were a few key participants who became invaluable

to my research, because they were so amicable and forthcoming with information. Out of this group of about twenty participants, I selected five homes to visit. This was done based on convenience (location) as well as the nature of our rapport.

Fieldwork

As researchers our position is to try and decode what each subject is saying, and to present it in a manner that is as authentic as possible. What these relatively new digitally mediated spaces offer is that they add to the bigger picture of digitally mediated and material space and place. This allows us to draw from a greater pool of research possibilities. The rise of digital technologies has brought with it all manner of views about sociality and authenticity. Turkle (2011) for example suggests that Facebook is less sociable than television, which is seen as a more natural and authentic medium. The trouble with digitally mediated spaces and places, such as Facebook, is that they only represent a small selective picture of everyday life and individuals. Hence embodied space and place cannot be neglected.

Once satisfied with my initial observations, I began work on my 'thick descriptions' (Geertz, 1998). These formed part of the second stage of my research model. My analysis of material space and place involved fieldwork in the homes of five women, and their husbands/partners.

Participant	Husband/partner	Children	Location
Caitlin	Bruce	Pregnant	Cape Town, Western Cape
Lisa	Henry	1	Cape Town, Western Cape
Justine	Luke	4	Cape Town, Western Cape
Hilary	Mark	3	Umhlanga, Kwa Zulu Natal
Tina	John	1	Midlands, Kwa Zulu Natal

Table 3.3 Overview of Fieldwork

I conducted five home visits which ranged from two and half hours, in the case of Hilary and Mark, to a full evening, in the case of Justine and Luke. The fieldwork in Kwa Zulu Natal was limited because I had strict time constraints. I wrote fieldnotes, took photographs, and in some cases recorded conversations. I didn't interview any children, but I did observe their behaviour within the home environment, and had permission from parents to do this. I began fieldwork by looking at the living areas and kitchens of homes, but in some cases participants allowed me access to the entire home. After a household tour I

sat down to discuss certain aspects of the home with the participants, and watched the dinner preparation for the household. In the cases of Justine and Luke and Caitlin and Bruce I joined them for dinner.

These home visits proved invaluable because they added context and insight into Facebook descriptions and observations. The decision to incorporate field research arose from my wish to develop a clear understanding of identity, performance, and self-presentation, and to explore the relationship between material and digitally mediated space and place. Engaging with these women, and their partners, through in-depth interviews in their homes allowed me to explore the cultural practices of social network use as imbricated in their everyday lives.

Hine (2009) argues the need to be rigorous in relation to one's observations and research practices. She points out that the emphasis should be on how life is lived within the environment, rather than on the assumptions that the researcher may have. This was a philosophy that I tried to adhere to throughout.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

In order to analyse how participants engaged with domesticity, I conducted a CDA. CDA has a long history of looking at the social problems of those who suffer the most within society (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; van Dijk, 1986, 1993) and I utilise it to explore gendered and social power relations in particular. Although CDA is widely accepted in academia, there is no agreed-upon method, but rather a set of approaches that can be used to formulate a critical analysis (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). My approach takes into account Foucault's (1972, 1980) tradition of society and power, therefore Facebook is analysed as a text that is reflective of contemporary domestic power relations. As discussed in Chapter 2 & 3, linguistic acts, as well as photographic and visual representations, and how they come to form social practice and *knowledge* are analysed.

This research looks at participants' interpretation and reception of written text and photographs on Facebook. The conversations that emerged, specifically those regarding power relations and potential areas of conflict were analysed. Cultural artefacts on Facebook are part of the meaning making systems in everyday life and are crucial to identity formation. These are examined in terms of how domesticity is presented and *represented* in everyday life.

CDA regards language as social practice, and the context of *how* language is used (Leitch & Palmer, 2010; Schegloff, 1997; van Dijk, 1993), particularly regarding representation and conversations about

gender, is crucial. Language is a tool that gains power when it is *used*, especially by the dominant members of society, and I look at its use on Facebook in relation to domesticity, gender roles, power and conflict. And although predominantly a Facebook study of a limited sample, this research extends the "picture" of the SNS-augmented reality of domesticity by extending fieldwork to the embodied conception of the home. This is because although CDA has a central concern with the text, the context in which it is produced is vital to a thorough analysis. I focus on the historical and cultural facets of domesticity, and the fact that domesticity is intrinsically linked to power relations within the space of the home, as indicated by Bozzoli (1983). These power relations can be seen in terms of how space, as well as work and leisure, are divided among men and women. Ultimately discourses of domesticity focus on dominance and power.

Sampling and Coding

This study of Facebook is largely a narrative and discourse analysis of generated data. I incorporated participant observation, content analysis and 'deep hanging out' (Geertz, 1998) on SNS with questionnaires, semi-structured interviews and home visits. Through textual analysis, namely narrative and discourse analysis, I looked at the performative and linguistic elements of how knowledge and meaning is produced within the various themes that were observed. CDA involves a close examination of language in order to 'analyse themes, topics, ways of thinking' and also questions why certain topics are undermined or excluded (Burck, 2005). Wetherell & White (1992) argue that discourse analysis serves to answer questions such as, 'what actions does this piece of talk perform?', 'what accounts are individuals trying to construct in interaction?' and 'how do these accounts change as contexts change?' (in Burck, 2005 p. 249)

For this multimodal discourse analysis I conducted a content analysis where I collected Facebook posts (textual and visual) from participants from the time that they consented to the study. The posts from the husbands/partners were very much secondary because this is predominantly a study of 50 women participants, but they could be valuable for future research.

I identified posts that were domestic in nature, such as status updates, photos, images, recipe shares and so on. I conducted a content analysis by taking screen shots of all of the relevant posts that I collected. I then sought to identify common themes that emerged through my observations, and through the saved posts. I identified six major themes which warranted exploration. I then created a codesheet and coded each participant's photographs and posts according to:

1. **Gender divisions or gendered division of labour:** Photographs, posts or images that related to labour as a gendered practice. These were posts that indicated gender expectations in terms of particular jobs, chores, or responsibilities, deviations from the norm, as well as power relations and conflict. For example photographs of men outside washing cars or posts describing women inside doing the dishes.

2. **Domestic workers:** Photographs, posts or images that mentioned domestic workers or the domestic worker's presence within homes.

3. **Consumption:** Photographs, posts or images that referred to purchasing or the purchase of household goods. Of particular interest were bigger expenses such as appliances for example.

4. **Parenthood:** Photographs, posts or images referring to parenting; particularly mothering. Fathering was included, but was less of a focus in the posts I analysed.

5. **Homemaking:** Photographs, posts or images of cooking and baking successes and failures, as well as the making of goods that would ordinarily be purchased. *Projects* that take more time and energy; making beer, jam and homemade butter for example were also included.

6. **Housework:** Photographs, posts or images relating to housework such as cleaning and ironing; again these were both the successes and the failures.

Once I completed entering data on the codesheet, I counted how many posts, images and photographs were contained under each category. This gave me a good overview of the most frequent themes. These categories are not mutually exclusive, so some posts, photographs/images were coded in more than one grouping. Homemaking was the most popular theme with 1792 posts, followed by Parenthood with 1268 posts, then Housework 842, Gender Divisions 695, Consumption 650, and finally Domestic Workers with 93.

The benefit of this method was that I had a digital timeline of each individual's history to analyse rather than relying on the content that came up on my News Feed which is affected by the Facebook algorithms. I gathered over two and a half thousand Facebook posts which I coded and analysed; from status updates, recipe shares, Internet memes, photographs and entire conversations. Although generalisations cannot be drawn from this study, having such a broad overview of Facebook posts adds to the information and data gathered from the questionnaires, interviews and home visits.

A limitation of this method is the difficulty of applying quantitative and qualitative analysis to Facebook posts. Coding is often problematic because human subjectivity and interpretation plays a huge role in categorising data (Krippendorff, 2004). Further limitations are that there is likely to be a distortion in

terms of the findings because some women participants were a lot more prolific in terms of posting content. For example Justine, who was prolific on Facebook, posted a great deal of content about parenthood and homemaking, and this may have boosted the number of screenshots in this category. The snowball sample ceded fewer Facebook posts for the content analysis because they weren't involved in the research for as long as other participants in the initial sample. However, as the qualitative component of my research is most important, I have relied on the context and nature of the posts, rather than the frequency or number.

The focus of the content analysis is on *what* stories are being told, and through interviews and closer analysis I extended my focus on *how* they are being told. How the storyteller positions herself within the narrative, as well as understanding a particular audience is paramount. Ultimately my analysis explains what meanings can be drawn from the narratives that are communicated on Facebook, rather than on the frequency of narratives. In terms of my analysis I spent a lot of time looking at the context of the data, and which participants were most active. This allowed me to identify participants who would be suitable for further interviews, as well as those who would allow me access into their homes.

Multimodal Discourse Analysis

Fairclough (2004) advocates for multimodality in CDA, and argues that researchers need to focus on nonverbal communication, because this is often where readers of a text ascribe values. Guided by Burck (2005), the first step of my CDA was to look at the textual elements of Facebook status updates, and to explore how language was used to construct the subject, and their view of the world. I did this by looking at individual Facebook posts, and seeing how the author positioned herself/himself as discussed in Chapter 3. I then searched for examples of how discourse was used to create assumptions about the world and others. This had particular relevance in terms of stereotypes, and assumptions about gender and class roles. I then looked at what the discourse achieved in terms of shaping world views and subjectivities, and securing beliefs about gender and race roles. Finally I analysed how systems of knowledge were created, and how individuals positioned themselves and others in society. In order to analyse discourses of domesticity I used Fairclough's (1989) stages of CDA.
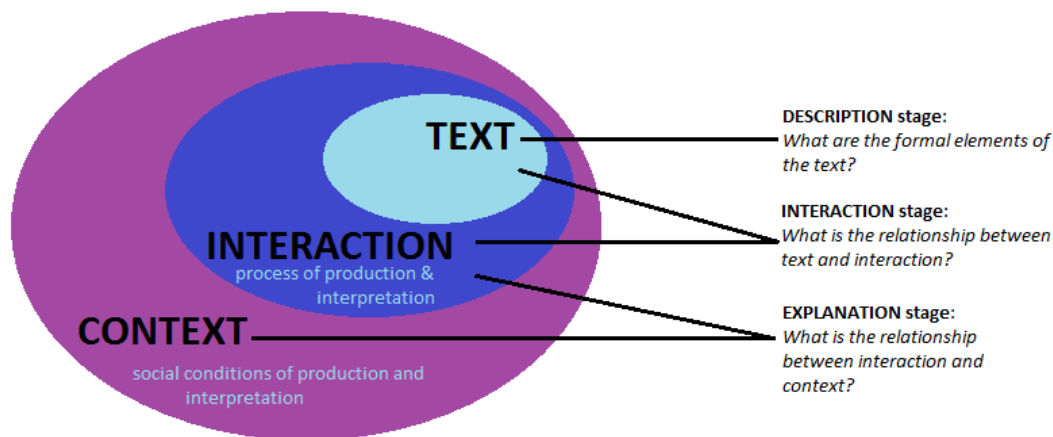
Figure 3.3 Discourse as Text, Interaction & Context

Fairclough (1989) describes three stages of CDA as depicted in Figure 3.3. The diagram shows how text, interaction, and context are linked, as well as how production and interpretation influence the reading of texts. The description stage involves the formal properties of the text. This is depicted in the light blue oval. The interpretation stage concerns the relationship between the text and interaction as seen in the diagram. Interpretation depends on how the text has been produced, as well as the reader/audience's ability to make meaning from it. Finally the explanation stage examines the relationship between interaction and social context. Based on Fairclough's conception of discourse, description involves a rich textual analysis, interpretation explores discursive practices, and the context looks at the broader social issues that determine the pervasiveness of these discourses within society. Discursive practice is useful because it shows how texts are interpreted within a broader social context.

 'Discourse as Text, Interaction & Context' (Fairclough, 1989) is demonstrated in an example from one of the women participants, Tracy. Tracy's husband travelled frequently, so parenting was often left to her. The couple had a young child who was a fussy eater, and often felt unhappy about eating her dinner. On a few occasions Tracy took to Facebook to seek advice about her child's unwillingness to eat suitable food. Tracy had strict dietary beliefs and followed the popular banting diet (Noakes *et al.*, 2014), hence she was trying to raise her daughter in line with her own ideals and beliefs about healthy eating.

Any moms out there with young kids… PLEASE HELP I need some advice. I can't get my child to eat at night. She's happy to have anything but meat, veggies and salad… I'm trying not to encourage and promote too many carbs?! I've had to send her to bed at 6 cos she didn't eat her food. :(*(Tracy, F 28, Facebook Status, September 2014)*

DESCRIPTIVE STAGE: Facebook lends itself to descriptive posts, such as the one above, because it prompts users to tell networks how we're feeling, as discussed in Chapter 3. The first aspect of the Facebook post (text) above is that it is *persuasive.* Tracy was pleading with a prescribed audience (her network of friends; in this case 'moms with young kids') to give her advice. She then presented some *factual* information in that she described what her daughter would not eat, in contrast to what Tracy would have preferred her to eat. Finally the text has an *emotive* aspect because Tracy portrayed her frustration and sadness by including a sad face emoticon.

INTERACTION STAGE: There is a level of pragmatism in Tracy's writing, as she wanted a solution to this problem; she had clearly targeted this post to mothers (women) who could offer sound advice. However, there is also an element of exclusion as *only* mothers were invited to participate in this discussion. Rather than write 'parents with young kids', Tracy specifically targeted 'moms with young kids' because of her assumptions, whether subconscious or not, about who was able to give her the best advice.

EXPLANATION STAGE: Tracy gave insight into the context of her parenting style, which was a mixture of modern and traditional trends and views. She was trying to promote what she believed to be a healthy lifestyle and was influenced by contemporary dietary and health trends that view carbohydrates as unhealthy. Although she presented herself as someone who was looking for advice, she was looking for advice that fit within the parameters of her own beliefs about healthy eating. She appeared to be relatively fixed on the kinds of food that she wanted her child to eat, given that she told her network that her child would not eat 'meat, vegetables or salad'. However from a "traditional" parenting point of view she was also prepared to teach her child a lesson by sending her to bed without dinner.

Ultimately language formulates relationships and creates notions of power; this is particularly relevant from a gendered point of view where men are seldom included in discussions such as the one above. In this example Tracy excluded all women who weren't mothers, and indeed any men, by writing 'any moms out there'. There is certainly the sense that only mothers are knowledgeable about children's nutrition, and also are the only ones who take part in the feeding work. The power relations between

men and women, and the interactions on Facebook, are interesting because of gendered interactions such as the one above. In material space these interactions are seldom witnessed because the home is a private space where researchers have limited access.

As discussed I did not only consider status updates under the category 'text', but I also looked at a number of photographs and images that were domestic in nature. It should be noted that I did not include original photographs in this study for ethical reasons, mostly around anonymity, however I did include them in my analysis. Kress & Van Leeuwen (1996) and Rose (2012) are useful theorists in terms of analysing and interpreting images. Kress & Van Leeuwen (1996) argue that humans need to be trained to understand images and that cultural and societal norms and values affect our interpretation.

The argument is that we learn to read images from childhood and that images and photographs represent power relations. Kress & Van Leeuwen (1996) suggest that the physical orientation of taxonomies, such as angles and direction of visual lines imply power; for example looking up towards a subject may imply dominance. Furthermore, there are analytical and symbolic processes that should be considered. There are often semiotic elements, such as a freshly baked loaf of bread symbolising domestic prowess, and a wooden chopping board symbolising a move towards the natural and organic for example.

In terms of visual modality Kress & Van Leeuwen (1996) discuss the importance of eight markers namely colour saturation, colour differentiation, colour modulation, contextualisation, representation, depth, illumination and brightness. They relate these to how colour, in particular, makes the reader of the image feel, and to what extent the image comes across as 'natural' or 'real'. Furthermore these eight markers have an ascribed value to them, which relates to how we interpret images. For example, images posted on Instagram, that have been heavily filtered and edited to look hyperreal are considered artistic, rather than accurate depictions. Whereas black and white images have an element of historical value and nostalgia, based on the fact that historically photographs could only be taken in black and white or sepia. There is obviously a lot of individual subjectivity and speculation regarding the reading of images, however, using Kress & Van Leeuwen (1996) and Rose (2012), as well as interviewing participants about individual images, and combining the readings of visual and written texts, I managed to get closer to conducting a thorough narrative and discourse analysis. Kress & Van Leeuwen (1996) describe this as 'textual anchoring' which helps to provides context.

Rose's (2012) visual methodology for analysing images was highly useful because it addresses modality; in that photographs are made up of technological, compositional and social elements. I illustrate my application of Rose's (2012) visual modality with the photograph below, taken from Nigella Lawson's official Facebook page[35].
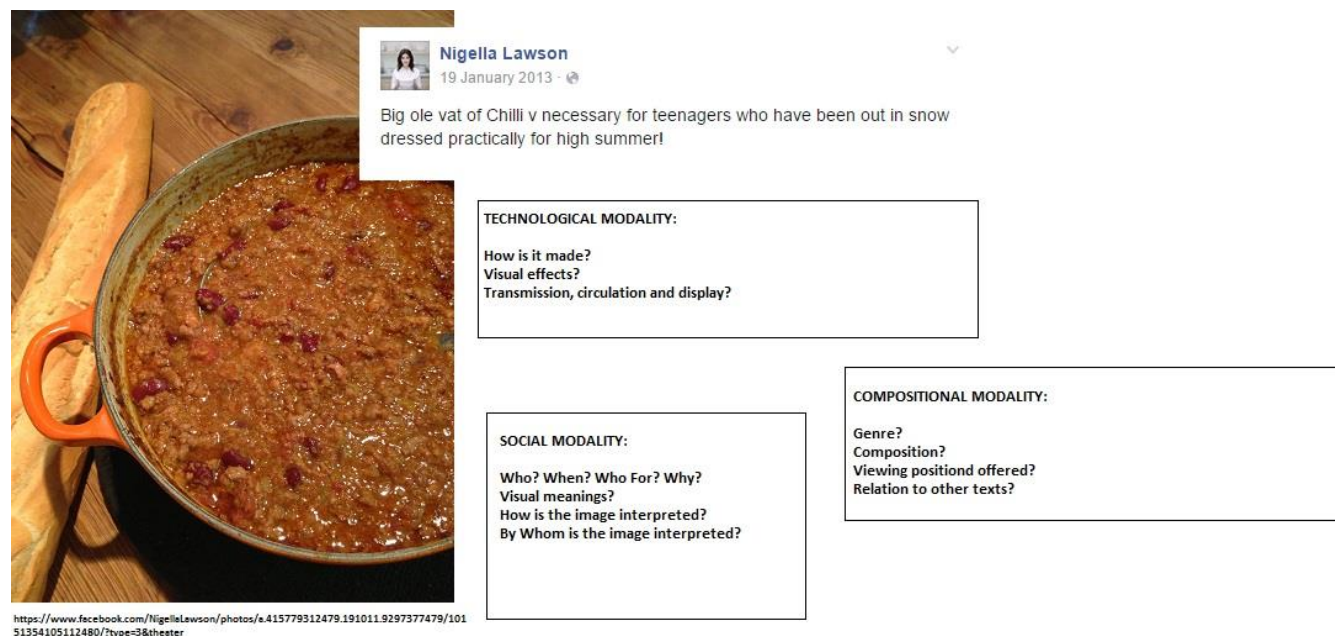
Figure 3.4 Rose's Visual Modality (Photograph from Nigella Lawson's Facebook Page)

Rose's (2012) first aspect of visual modality is the technological aspect. As seen in Figure 3.4 this comprises of 'how it is made?', 'visual effects?' and 'transmission, circulation and display?' (Rose, 2012). Analysing the technological aspect of visuals has become increasingly complex because photography has become digitised and so omnipresent in postmodernity. The popular mode of photography is digital, and the 50 women participants *only* use digital photography on SNS. The example above is a digital image, and caption, that was uploaded onto Nigella Lawson's Facebook page. It was posted by either the *real author,* or the *implied author[36],* Nigella Lawson. It appears that the photograph has not had any visual effects, such as a digital filter, applied to it, and the photograph was transmitted and circulated on

---

[35] Image and caption Available from
https://www.facebook.com/NigellaLawson/photos/a.415779312479.191011.9297377479/10151354105112480/?type=3&theater [Accessed 19/04/2013]
[36] Real author and implied author are discussed in Chapter 3.

Facebook. Followers of Nigella would view the image on Facebook via computer, tablet or mobile interface.

Kress & Van Leeuwen (1996) highlight the composition of images in meaning making, and Rose (2012) builds on this by considering genre, viewing position offered and relation to other texts. For this study Kress & Van Leeuwen's (2001) 'aesthetics of the house' is useful, because 'lifestyle' is a crucial aspect of the 'discourse of living' (2001, p. 25). Modes such as colour, creation of space, furnishings and so on add to the reader's interpretation of the home. I relate Kress & van Leeuwen's observations to my own study of photographs and images, and explore what such images add to narratives and discourses of domesticity. Lifestyle is an important genre because it drives consumption and homemaking, because individuals want to live up to lifestyles presented to them in everyday life.

Figure 3.4 is a close-up of a large pot of chilli and a French baguette on a wooden table. The close-up draws the audience in and engages them immediately. The image suggests discourses relating to family life, because the subject is a loaf of bread and large pot of food. Rather than depicting individual bowls and slices of bread, the image tells the story of a meal where everyone shares and enjoys food together. This idea is central to the ethos of Nigella's brand, where home cooking is simple, quick, and ultimately something that everyone can partake in. We know this because this image relates to numerous others in Nigella's recipe books, magazines and so on. Furthermore, the conversational and casual tone of Nigella's comment, 'Big ole vat of Chilli v necessary for teenagers who have been out in snow dressed practically for high summer!' is obvious. The abbreviation of 'very', to 'v', the use of the word 'ole', as well as the humorous anecdote about how teenagers dress, depicts Nigella as familiar and engaging.

Finally, Figure 3.4 depicts what is termed social modality. From a social level the intention of this image is to promote Nigella and her brand, because it appears on her Facebook page. Yet, the image also speaks to an audience who are attracted to Nigella's easy domesticity. The food on offer looks enticing, but the manner in which the meal is offered to the audience makes it appear casual and simple; there is no garnish or fancy presentation. Nigella presents her audience with quick and easy one-pot-cooking that is ready to be served up to hungry teenagers. The assumption is that Nigella's audience would be tempted to make this style of food, and therefore purchase Nigella's cookery books and other branded products.

Kress & van Leeuwen suggest that a 'house is a highly flexible set of signifiers, available for the constant making of new signs in the transformative act of social living' and it 'signals the social relations and value

systems of the family itself as well as its relations with its social group (2001, p. 39). Family is at the heart of this image, and discourses of motherhood are clear. It is apparent that no matter what time of day, at Nigella's house there will always be a hot pot of something delicious waiting to be eaten. What is also evident is the apparent ease at which she produces meals, signifying that any mother can do this.

Within the genre of domesticity popular themes have emerged which I have coded, and within each of these coding categories there are dominant discourses. Participants learn how to conduct themselves on Facebook by observing the behaviour of others, as well as by applying behaviour that they have learnt from everyday life. Papacharissi describes Facebook as a 'glasshouse' where members are able to 'leave cues for each other' (2009, p. 203), such as when they write on each other's walls, or comment on posts. Furthermore, Papacharissi (2009) highlights the interpersonal qualities of SNS because these sites foster interaction between people. Donath (2007) stresses the importance of site design for the promotion of identity presentation, and for the development of particular cultures. In short, SNS 'suggest genres of behaviour through their architectural elements' (Papacharissi, 2009 p. 203). In the case of Facebook we are prompted to act and behave in certain ways based on how the narrative network prompts us to behave.

Ethics & Informed Consent

Markham & Buchanan argue that Internet research is complicated and that 'no set of guidelines or rules is static' because 'the fields of internet research are dynamic and heterogeneous' (2012, p. 2). According to the AoIR Ethics Working Committee the basic principles of research should respect 'the fundamental rights of human dignity, autonomy, protection, safety, maximisation of benefits and minimisation of harms' (in Markham and Buchanan, 2012, p. 4)**.** They argue that these are the starting points for ethical considerations when it comes to any research. Hence ethical considerations should be gauged throughout the entire research project and must be flexible. I adopted a self-reflexive position towards the ethical considerations of this research, and because of the numerous research stages I had to consider numerous ethical challenges.

Initial Purposive and Snowball Sample

I began dealing with numerous ethical considerations while conducting my initial observations in 2012 and selecting my final participants. Knobel (2003) discusses ethical research conduct on digital spaces in terms of the flaw of viewing "online" and "offline" research practices as the same. Although I have stressed the importance of theorising space and place as an assemblage of the digital and material, I did

consider how this would affect the ethical implications of this study. The important conclusion is that ethically speaking, researchers still have to protect their research subjects as much as possible regardless of how they theorise research space. The nature of Facebook is such that both front stage and back stage identities are being played out, and insofar as names, photographs, etc. go they are an extension of real people. In this study the Facebook profiles are representations and digital embodiments of the participants, and avatars, pseudonyms and false identities are not used.

From an ethical perspective Facebook is a private space, because of the various security settings that users can enable; whether or not they have chosen to take advantage of them. Although Facebook makes private life relatively public, in terms of gaining access into these research spaces, it means being, or becoming, Facebook friends with participants. Therefore, there is a responsibility to treat participant's Facebook content with respect, and to only use data that has been set out in the parameters of the research outline; i.e. domestically focussed content.

Informed consent is one of the foremost issues in any research project (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998; Ess, 2002; Eysenbach & Till, 2001). Informed consent was obtained from individuals in order to participate in the study. Nonetheless, I considered this an ongoing process. The fact that I approached women within my own network to participate is ethically sound, because they are weak ties, and therefore not what I consider to be close friends. Participants were not in my close circle of friends, and I had no interactions with them other than on Facebook. Nonetheless, over the course of the study, I built relationships with many participants, and this sense of connectedness enabled me to conduct in-depth interviews and to gain entry into five homes.

After explaining the nature, end-date (January 2015) and purpose of my study, as well as confidentiality, and my role as a researcher, I obtained informed consent from all of my participants. They all indicated, in writing, that they were happy to participate in my study. We developed mutual understanding that each person's participation was voluntary, and that they could leave the research, without having to provide a reason or explanation, at any time without further obligation. None of the participants left the study, although some became less involved in terms of providing feedback.

I approached each participant several times throughout the study about consent, in order to maintain ethical responsibility towards them (Cutcliffe & Ramcharan, 2001; Madison, 2011; Richards & Schwartz, 2002). A key element to ethical research is acknowledging one's role as a researcher, which means establishing channels of communication between the researcher and participants. I maintained contact

with all participants through email, Facebook, Skype, telephone or face-to-face in order to address concerns or enquiries. I regularly kept in touch by sending emails or questions to reinforce the fact that the study was ongoing. I also indicated that I was constantly reviewing ethical guidelines and that participants would be informed of any changes that may have affected them.

Pseudonyms were assigned to women participants by choosing 60 names and pulling them out of a hat. I password secured the spreadsheet containing all names and personal information of participants, and this will be deleted once this study is over. The participants' exact locations have been protected because I refer to provinces and towns more broadly. I have also limited the searchability of Facebook posts and photographs used in this study by referencing the month and year only.

Any friends and family who commented on posts and photographs are kept anonymous by assigning them an F/M for gender, and a number; each commenter has his/her own number. Participants are referred to by pseudonym. Bold indicates instances of tagging.

> Any moms out there with young kids… PLEASE HELP... *(Tracy, F 28, Facebook Status, September 2014)*
>
> F213: I have the same problem with my daughter… perseverance is key.
>
> Candice: Carrot sticks and hummus is great. My kids live off the stuff.
>
> Tracy: Thanks I'll try that! I guess they're right… parenting IS ALL about the long game. :P
>
> F42: Good Luck! Getting kids to eat is a constant battle. I use all sorts of tricks a la Jamie Oliver!
>
> Tracy: oooo do share **F42**…
>
> M34: Just give her a burger!
>
> Tracy: HA HA **M34**

Husband/partner Consent

As with women participants, when I approached husbands/partners, I outlined my research. I highlighted that I would be observing their Facebook activity in terms of domestic content only, with particular focus on their comments on their partners'/wives' posts. All were happy to give me access to their Facebook content, but over time a few of them weren't that forthcoming with being interviewed,

or responding to emails. In most cases husbands and partners were asked short questions about specific examples, or to clarify Facebook behaviour. Partners and husbands are referred to as 'Ava's husband' for example; the five husbands/partners who I visited were assigned pseudonyms (pulled out of a hat) because of their extended participation in the study.

Researchers Facebook Searchability

Facebook allows users to share their Friends lists, although there are security settings that allow limited access to this list. For ethical reasons I limited Facebook searchability on my own Facebook account by hiding my Facebook Friends for the duration of the study. This means that anyone looking at my Facebook profile will not be able to see any of my Friends, least of all the research participants. After this study, I will approach all of the participants informing them that the research has concluded, and hence they will be able to delete me as a Facebook friend if they so wish.

Photographs & Images on Facebook

Regarding the use of photographs, I chose to describe original photographs, rather than to use originals. Although I was given permission to use most of the original photographs, I decided not to because they are easily recognisable and can link research subjects to each other. I have included Internet memes in my research because they are widely disseminated and not subject to privacy issues because they are viral content (Davison, 2012).

Questionnaires & Interviews

All participants answered the first questionnaire, however not all women answered the others. This was because a number of them indicated they were not applicable (some were not mothers and others did not use Pinterest) and in some cases they didn't have the time or inclination to do so. By filling out the questionnaire they consented to the information being used in this study.

Interviews were largely conducted over the phone, or on Skype, but I also conducted numerous face-to-face interviews. Before proceeding I explained to participants how long the interview would take, and also indicated that they were not required to answer anything that they were not happy discussing. The interviews were semi-structured and based on Facebook observations. The majority of interviews were spent discussing specific Facebook posts, how they felt about them, what their expectations were when posting content, and so on.

Face-to-Face Interviews and Observations

My research was conducted in two stages, so I gained consent for both of these phases despite my belief that place and space is an assemblage of digitally mediated and material space. As boyd argues, 'internet ethnography is not about the technology- it is about the people, their practices, and the cultures they form' (2008, p. 31). I explained to each individual, that their anonymity would be dealt with respectfully; and that by assigning them pseudonyms they would be protected.

Once I identified participants acceptable for fieldwork, I narrowed it down to five couples. I identified suitability based on our relationship and rapport. I also considered their Facebook activity and the rapport I had with partners/husbands. All five case studies were with participants from my initial sample, which is unsurprising given the fact that our relationships had more time to develop through extended research. After asking them if I could conduct a home visit, I outlined what it would entail, and received signed consent from them. All five couples consented, although Hilary's husband Mark was slightly reticent during my home visit.

Knobel argues that provided one deals with the following guidelines then one has performed one's ethical duties as a researcher; namely 'the distinction between public and private spaces', 'obtaining informed consent from study participants' and 'the assurance of participants' anonymity in research publications' (2003, p. 190). The AoIR encourage the researcher to ask questions at every stage of the project so that the research subjects are protected. They provide questions which should be asked at every stage of the project so that the research is ethically sound; I referred to these guidelines throughout and believe my study to be of a sound ethical standard.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided a rationale for the quantitative and qualitative methods applied in this self-reflexive research. I have highlighted the reasons for adopting a mixed methods approach (Cresswell & Clark, 2007; Tashakkori & Creswell, 2007; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998, 2010) comprising of digital ethnography, CDA and content analysis. The aim of this methodology is to allow for an approach which analyses social behaviour, practice, and place (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010).

Purposive and snowball sampling provided a sample that is by no means an exhaustive study of South African domestic everyday life. However, it is enough of a sample to legitimise this research as representative of a particular facet of domestic everyday life. Despite being limited in scope, and

reflective of my own heteronormative Facebook networks, the picture that this research develops is insightful. This insight into white middle class domestic life is certainly enough to provide a window into racial and class dynamics. Furthermore, focussing specifically on white middle class women adds great insight into gender and racial power relations. This research also develops the possibilities for further research by providing a methodology to analyse additional actants such as domestic workers and husbands/partners, which in turn would give a broader view of South African everyday life.

This chapter also discussed the complications of digitally mediated and material space and place and situated these complications alongside Postill & Pink (2014), Law (2004) and O'Reilly's (2005) description of a messy web. For these reasons I have argued for a new technological methodological relation that considers the fluid and complex nature of space and place. In this way researchers are encouraged to adopt multi-sited fieldwork (Haythornthwaite & Wellman, 2002, 2008; Kelty, 2008; Leander & McKim, 2003). My suggestion is to occupy research space as both an "elephant in the living room", and as "a fly on the Facebook wall", in order to gain access to behaviour, practice and place in everyday life. Furthermore this chapter also demonstrated how I adapted the modalities of Fairclough (1989), Kress & Van Leeuwen (1996) and Rose (2012) in order to interpret Facebook posts and images.

CHAPTER FIVE: NEGOTIATING DOMESTIC SPACE AND PLACE

Introduction

This chapter examines the networked character of the home, and the sociological aspects of place. As discussed in Chapter 2, space and place is networked and relational (Hetherington1997; Latour, 1996, 1999; Law, 2007) and spatial arrangements add insight into gendered and racial power relations. Furthermore, as a reflection of society, understanding space and place contributes to how we approach material culture and social ordering (Latour, 2005). ANT is used to determine how human actors negotiate space and place, and how actants interact with, and within their environments. Furthermore, I analyse how Facebook narrative practice, in particular, allows such discourses to circulate in networks and secure space and place.

Central to the home are domestic practices and discourses of domesticity. 'Ordering strategies' (Law, 1992, 1994, 2004), such as discourses of "women's place", fix women to the home (Gieryn, 2000; Moore, 1986; Prussin, 1995) and normalise gender roles. The home is a space and place where power relations and conflict are under constant negotiation. This is because of gendered divisions between public and private space, as well as zones that are demarcated as "other". Such discourses also have a racial element, because domestic workers continue to occupy an integral role in white middle class homes in South Africa (Ally, 2011; Cock, 1980, 1981; Dilata, 2008; Nyamnjoh, 2005).

This chapter examines the home as a 'gender factory' (Becker, 1965; Berk, 1985) where women are associated with so-called gendered domains. This examination takes into account both front stage and back stage presentations of space and place. The architecture of western homes, discussed from a historical perspective in Chapter 2, is highly gendered and seen from the perspective of Goffman (1959, 1961, 1972), domesticity is an important aspect of impression management within material and digital manifestations of the home.

Domestic work, seen largely as the pursuit of women, is predominantly back stage work and therefore unseen in the majority of middle class western homes. This is because historically the architecture of houses kept back stage work almost entirely invisible (Attfield, 2002; Bech-Danielsen, 2012; Chapman, 1955; Huggett, 1977). It is through changing architecture, and more open-plan living, that contemporary homes have enabled women, and their work, to steadily gain visibility. However, this evolution of domestic space has an economic and social element, because in order to gain visibility, and to secure

agency, middle class women in South Africa often rely on socially and economically disadvantaged women to perform the majority of back stage work; the housework.

I suggest that not only has material home space evolved, allowing women and domestic labour to gain visibility, but Facebook has opened up another platform for domestic display. The digital manifestation of the home has become another form of open-plan living, where women, and aspects of domestic work, are presented, rather than hidden from view. Facebook is used as a platform for display and analysing these presentations, as depicted in Facebook narratives, allows insight into home networks and domestic rhythms. This analysis into self-presentation and performance on Facebook gives us a window into the intricacies of everyday domestic life.

Not only do discourses secure women to the home, but they also allow work that has previously been invisible, to be brought to the foreground. I demonstrate that domestic space and place is dynamic, and that power is constantly negotiated, because middle class women create platforms to express and perform domesticity in new ways. Tuan suggests that 'place is security and space is freedom' (1977, p.3) and in many ways, the material and digitally mediated home allows middle class women the security and freedom to perform aspects of domesticity.

This chapter examines how women participants secure agency and assert their authority in the home within the structure, or network, of domestic space. I also explore how decorating, homemaking and storytelling are used as processes to increase the visibility of domestic work by creating a sense of place. In addition, I show how 'kin work' (di Leonardo, 1987) has developed through Facebook, and that Facebook has created a place for women to build and maintain relationships.

Theories of space and the home, discussed in Chapter 2 are contextualised alongside fieldwork and Facebook case studies. These examples illustrate that the home remains highly gendered, and a space and place that the majority of participants considered to be the domain of women. Feminised practices such as decorating, and creating a sense of place within homes, are explored alongside visions of "domestopia". I argue that within the home space there are countersites, or heterotopias, that are designated as "other", such as masculinised spaces which are largely outdoors or labelled as *his*: for example the "man cave".

Hence the home, in all its manifestations, is a site of great complexity and middle class women strive to make it utopic. As discussed in Chapter 3, Thiel (2013) argues that historically gendered domains and domestic idealism have been heavily promoted. Having the perfect home has also been disseminated as

a feminine pursuit and Leavitt (2002) argues that domestic fantasy and idealism have entrenched women as inextricably linked to the home. Hence women's place in society has been structured around the home, family and domestic pursuits and their role has been to create the "perfect" home.

The Home Front: Negotiating Territory

The home has been theorised as both physical and material space, as well as symbolic space that functions because of the relationships between numerous actants within the network. Law argues that 'spaces are made with objects' (2002, p. 96), and such objects exist within networks of complex processes. The home is thus an intricate network of human actors, and non-human actors such as machines, structures, belief systems, and so forth. The home functions if the relationships between the actants remain stable, and maintaining stability is dependent on the ability of the enrolled actants to perform their tasks and stay enrolled in the network (Law, 2002).

Women participants' Facebook presentations of domestic space helped to solidify ideas and discourses about home, and what home meant for these women. These narratives showed how women, in particular, create place through telling stories and sharing their everyday lives with their networks. Facebook showed evidence of 'reflexive projects of the self' (Giddens, 1991) where women participants portrayed their homes, and themselves in specific ways and frequently engaged in impression management (Goffman, 1959). Facebook presentations also helped to examine the numerous complex relationships within the network of material homes, and this gave insight into power relations and gender roles.

In order to further this exploration of the gendered conceptions of the home I selected five participants, as discussed in Chapter 4, to observe and interview in their homes in order to expand on the findings from my content analysis. The gendering of the home space, as well as the negotiations around territory, is explored below, looking at inside and outside spaces, the kitchen and bathrooms.

Inside and Outside: the Home as Gendered Space and Place

Although the home is largely viewed as women's space and place, there are domains within homes that are seen as masculine. These so-called masculine domains are often outdoors, as opposed to women's space and place which is largely indoors (cf. Attfield, 2002; Kaplan, 1998; McKeon, 2005; Simon & Landis, 1989).

When I visited the 5 couples in their homes, I identified how gender, in particular, influenced household negotiations. Caitlin and Bruce shared the same ethos about gender roles, which made their decisions about negotiating space and place seemingly very easy. Their home, both inside and outside, was shared, and reflective of their beliefs about gender equality. Similarly Luke and Justine's spatial arrangements took the couple, as well as their four children, into consideration. During my visit Justine described their 'yellow home' as 'reflective of everyone who lives here' and that the home is still yellow because they (the six of them) can't commit to ('agree upon') a colour (Justine, f 32, Home Visit, 3 June 2014). Justine and Luke explained that aesthetics were not important to them, and that they valued having a home where everyone could express themselves.

Lisa and Henry's home was shared in an unconventional manner. The complexity of the domestic space was highlighted when Lisa posted a series of photographs of their home on Facebook. Lisa's virtual tour of their house, through numerous photos and written commentaries, narrated their home for her Facebook networks. The photographs gave an impression of the space, while also providing valuable insight into how Lisa and Henry mapped out territory. Areas of the home was often split down the middle, making the division of space and place fairly equitable; for example they each had designated areas within the kitchen and shared office, as well as separate "his and hers" bathrooms. During my research it emerged that Lisa had a chronic illness, which influenced her ability to work, as well as her need for particular spatial arrangements.

As with Lisa and Henry, Tina and John's house also exhibited examples of territoriality. Tina and John's home was mapped out according to Tina's preferences, and she secured numerous domains as "hers". Tina was conscious of her gendered territoriality and often referred playfully to the separate domestic realms in their home. The home was Tina's domain and she was the decision maker in terms of all aesthetics and décor. Tina forged the inside of the home as hers, and although she took her husband into consideration, as breadwinner and homemaker she had agency. In many instances Tina was unable to negotiate, and was very protective of keeping the aesthetics of the home as she had intended them to look. John on the other hand had control of the garden and was helped by a male gardener.

Hilary and Mark's home was also divided with clear examples of gender normativity, with the kitchen, in particular, demarcated as women's space and place. From Facebook, and the home visit, it was apparent that the couple's home was very much Hilary's domain.

My content analysis showed that the majority of participants' Facebook posts referred to the house itself as "ours" when mentioning the economics of purchasing or renting a house. Numerous participants posted photos or statuses marking the importance of such landmark events, and in these cases houses were described belonging to *them* as a couple or family.

Nonetheless, there were numerous cases where women participants wished to indicate a particular grievance by drawing attention to the home as "her" territory. This occurred most frequently when partners, or children, broke rules or were responsible for creating mess. For instance Cleo took to Facebook to lambaste her husband for filling 'her house' with smoke;

> My house smells like fire and so do my clothes… this potjie[37] better be worth it **husband.** *(Cleo, f 28, Facebook Status, March 2014)*

In this example Cleo took hold of the situation in real time by utilising the live and immediate quality of Facebook to tell her story. Moreover, by tagging her husband in this post, Cleo alerted her Facebook networks, as well as her husband's networks, to his misdemeanour. Cleo also inadvertently drew attention to gendering, because her husband was depicted cooking outside; an activity typically viewed as masculine. As discussed in Chapter 3, it is common in homophilous networks to use complaining as a form of attention-seeking behaviour that results in sympathy (Alberts, 1988; Alicke *et al.*, 1992; Sezer *et al.*, 2015). Although, Cleo's complaint was thinly veiled and the assumption was that the potjie would be worth it. In fact, the majority of comments indicated that it was a small price to pay for having a husband who cooks.

When I asked Cleo about this post she told me that she tagged her husband in order to 'publicly shame him in a light hearted manner', but that a couple of hours later she 'commented on this post praising him for his *delicious* potjie' (Cleo, f 28, Skype interview, 22 September 2014) because she felt guilty about shaming him. The practice of "shaming" was a way for Cleo to exert her own power within the household network, while also alerting her husband to the fact that his creation of smoke had not gone unnoticed. In cases such as these, women participants made a point of marking their territory in order to emphasise their disdain. Moreover, these posts had an empowering element, because women could exert their authority and secure some form of agency by publicly declaring the home space as theirs.

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[37] A potjie is a traditional South African stew, usually cooked in a special three-legged pot, outside over an open fire.

Outside areas of the home were typically gendered as masculine by most participants. On Facebook men were frequently photographed outside, whether they were building, cleaning the pool, washing cars, or, on a couple of occasions, gardening. The braai[38] area in particular, was one that was demarcated as "his" (cf. Howarth, 1999). There were a few cases where women participants told me that they frequently braaied, but for most it was typically viewed as a masculine pursuit and domain.

Caitlin frequently subverted gender norms on Facebook . On one noteworthy occasion she posted a photograph of herself braaing, with the caption, 'Rocking the braai!' (Caitlin, f 28, Facebook Photograph, November 2013). Her husband, Bruce, commented, 'I obviously taught her that', to which his father-in-law responded, 'Actually I think it was me :D!' In this example, the couple, supported by Caitlin's father, undermined the popular belief that only men are able to make fires and cook outside. Furthermore, by positioning herself as "braai master" within her own narrative, Caitlin was able to claim the space as hers.

Gardening, more generally, was not popular (or was not considered noteworthy enough to feature in Facebook posts), although participants did post photographs and statuses about herb and/or vegetable gardens. There were cases where men were integral to these Facebook narratives, and their role in constructing vegetable gardens was highlighted as important. Vegetable and herb gardens were often shown to be maintained by everyone in the family, and in these instances the vegetables and herbs became a symbol of the family's harvest. There was much excitement about fresh produce, and as objects, freshly grown fruit and vegetables secured many homes with ideals of domestopia. The idea of producing and harvesting your own food is a central ethos of domestic bliss and discourses around going back to the simple life are frequently cited as achievable goals (Matchar, 2013).

Although it was evident that many women participants were performing the majority of the labour concerning maintaining vegetable gardens, often children were credited with the results. This is indicative of many mother-child relationships where mothers give credit to their children for work that they themselves have done. Women often demonstrate this behaviour in leadership roles where they nurture and teach by showing encouragement and praise, often at the expense of their own rewards and advancement (Rosener, 1990). Furthermore this practice is also a form of impression management because by presenting children in this manner, participants portrayed themselves as nurturing and

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[38] Braai is the South African term for a barbeque.

caring mothers. Furthermore, self-sufficient and environmentally aware children are reflective of good parenting.

There were a few cases where women referred to gardens as "mine" and here gardens became a product and symbol of their own time and energy. Jennifer, for example, told me that,

> I refer to my vegetable garden as 'mine' because it's *mine*… I planted it, I tend to it and my husband has no interest in it. He sometimes tells guests it's ours but I usually correct him. [laughs] *(Jennifer, f 27, Skype Interview, 11 November 2013).*

In this interview Jennifer highlighted the fact that by asserting her dominance, and by frequently correcting her husband, she was able to negotiate the garden as her space and place. By tying a narrative to the space she was able to prove that it was hers because it had symbolic meaning.

Despite a few cases where normative gendering was subverted or ignored, inside and outside space largely remained gendered for most participants. Women often asserted their authority on space by creating a sense of place that was tied to narrative. Facebook was frequently used as a way for women to lay claim on certain areas of the home, and to secure both material and digitally mediated space and place.

The Kitchen

Participants revealed that the kitchen remains the most gendered space in the home. Historically this area has been designated as women's space (Bech-Danielsen, 2012; Chapman, 1955; Huggett, 1977) and discourses around kitchens and home cooking continue to secure women to this domain. Most women participants narrated the space and contents of the kitchen, on Facebook, as "mine".

Facebook presentations of kitchens highlighted discourses of domestopia (Dolgopolov, 2003; Leavitt, 2002; Thiel, 2013). On Facebook kitchens appeared to be, for most women participants, liberating and expressive spaces where creativity could thrive. Furthermore, many women participants aligned the kitchen with nostalgia which contributed to their own beliefs of domestopia. Many of these participants told me that they were excited to share the kitchen with their own children, particularly daughters, because of happy memories shared with their own mothers and grandmothers. Hence, these women created narratives around the kitchen, based on how they had grown up and experienced the space. Facebook narratives were frequently tied to nostalgia and tradition, and women participants often referred to using recipes belonging to mothers and grandmothers and passing them on to their own

children. However, these idealistic sentiments were not always accurate, and cooking was often viewed as a chore, as was revealed in questionnaires and interviews.

The architecture of kitchens was certainly a factor in terms of how women felt about spending time in this area of the home. 31 participants had open-plan kitchens and these women expressed that this was preferable because it allowed them to cook while being able to enjoy the experience of having company. All of these participants said that having separate kitchens was restrictive and isolated. The open-plan kitchen has made cooking a front stage activity, and in many ways is part of the theatre of entertaining. Justine and Hilary also told me that they enjoyed their open-plan kitchens because it felt as if they were a part of the family, even while they were cooking by themselves. Visibility was highly prized by these women, and added greatly to the pleasure of spending time in kitchens.

In cases where women participants had separate kitchens, 12 of these women expressed preference for a more modern, open-plan arrangement. Most women participants with separate kitchens found them restrictive and conveyed that they didn't like feeling hidden or feeling as if they were missing out. Where women preferred separate kitchens they explained that they enjoyed having a secluded space, and in some cases the fact that the space was shared with partners/husbands (as in the case of Caitlin) meant that it felt less restrictive.

For Tina having the kitchen as a separate room was something that she enjoyed because it allowed her to have a 'tranquil space' where she could 'relax and enjoy cooking without distractions' (Tina, f 30, Home Visit, 26 July 2014). For Tina the kitchen, and everything in it, was hers, and she had carved out the space by decorating and equipping it according to her exacting preferences. Tina's kitchen was an extension or embodiment of her, and all of the material objects that made up the space were linked to her identity as a foodie, baker, and budding cook (cf. Low, 2003). Tina told me that she took months to decide on the Parisian decor and to organise the space. John had no input in the décor of the kitchen because he didn't cook and she admitted to being 'a bit of a control freak' (Tina, f 30, Home Visit, 26 July 2014).

In an early Facebook post Tina revealed aspects of this control;

> After 4 years of marriage I am starting to release the reigns [SIC] in the kitchen and teaching **husband** how to cook… *(Tina, f 30, Facebook Status, November 2013).*

Tina marked her territory by decorating and designing the space with her needs in mind. The fact that John had no input, and was allowed in the space only when Tina 'releases the reins' (Tina, f 30,

Facebook Status, November 2013), was indicative of Tina's territorial attitude. John's role was therefore as an intermediary because Tina negotiated a very specific and restricted role for him to play within the kitchen.

Hilary also narrated the kitchen as "her" space. She said that it had always been her space because she grew up cooking with her grandmother and mother, and therefore identified the kitchen as a space for women (Hilary, f 24, Home Visit, 10 November 2014). Hilary's gendered beliefs about the kitchen were tied to 'ordering strategies' (Law, 1992, 1994, 2004) of history and tradition. While Hilary admitted to enjoying the kitchen, she also explained that the domestic worker was responsible for much of the family's cooking. Hilary explained that she used to be responsible for all of the cooking, but that it 'got too much' and she 'couldn't cope' (Hilary, f 34, Home Visit, 10 November 2014). For these reasons Hilary negotiated the kitchen space with a domestic worker who acted as an intermediary by occupying a very specific role within the space.

Numerous participants used "my" in a gender-binary way; the kitchen was theirs because it was *not* their husband's/partner's. Hence the space had a relational quality (Hetherington, 1997) because it was defined in relation to what it was *not*. The kitchen belonged to the woman, simply because the husband/partner showed no interest in it, and therefore couples defaulted to prescribed gender roles. Similarly, most often kitchen appliances were referred to as "mine" including washing machines, dishwashers, ovens etc. And, rather than being co-owners of the space, domestic workers were likely to be referred to in this mode as well, as *my* domestic worker, and oftentimes "maid".

In some cases kitchens were shared with domestic workers who were employed to prepare meals for the family, particularly children. Domestic workers were often invisible helpers in these scenarios because couples worked and therefore did not see the labour involved. Hence, a domestic worker's labour was often relational to the meals that they prepared. For example, when I visited Hilary a tray of macaroni cheese was visibile on the kitchen counter. When I asked Hilary about it she said, 'our domestic made that earlier today, it's the kids' favourite. I just have to throw it in the oven.' (Hilary, f 34, Home Visit, 10 November 2014). This convenient meal was very reminiscent of the 'here's one I made earlier' trope used by celebrity chefs, which ignores the back stage work of the crew who prepared the mise en place as well as the dish itself.

There were many different perspectives on what kitchens, and homes more generally, meant to women and their families. For Justine and Luke the kitchen was open plan and inhabited by everyone. This was

indicated by numerous helpful objects to aid children, such as small steps for the younger children who couldn't reach counters. These were important fixtures because the couple was in the process of teaching their children to prepare meals. These objects signified the fact that the kitchen was a space for children too, because their needs had been catered to.

Caitlin and Bruce, on the other hand, shared the kitchen because they enjoyed cooking and also wanted to avoid gender normativity. For Lisa and Henry, however, the kitchen was shared in a much more unconventional manner. Facebook opened up the couple's home and showed the complexity of how they organised the space. Unlike the majority of women participants, Lisa often referred to the kitchen as "ours", rather than "mine", even when she was narrating her own specific stories;

> More Baking! Baking healthy bran and seed rusks for hubby to take to work. I LOVE OUR
> KITCHEN! *(Lisa, f 26, Facebook Status, May 2013)*

During my initial observations this struck me as noteworthy because Lisa was a housewife and Henry was the sole breadwinner. It was unusual that in relationships such as these, where gender normativity is more likely, that the male actor would have a share of the kitchen. The photographs that Lisa posted of their kitchen were insightful and one noteworthy photograph was captioned;

> My side of the kitchen is on the right… all of my baking stuff is here. Loads of cupboard space
> too! *(Lisa, f 26, Photograph Caption, August 2013)*

This particular photograph and caption revealed that Lisa and Henry had very clear labour divisions that were mapped out in spatial divisions. This was emphasised other photographs which showed "his" side of the kitchen where Henry did the cooking. The divisions illustrated on Facebook were clearly visible when I visited the couple in their home. Lisa's passion for baking was apparent from her baking station which had her collection of objects; numerous pictures of cupcakes, cookie jars, icing tools, recipe books etc. Lisa explained that Henry cooked almost all of the evening meals when he returned from work. Lisa explained that she didn't enjoy cooking whereas Henry *really* enjoyed cooking (Lisa, f 26, Home Visit, 13 June 2014). Henry's side of the kitchen had all of his objects; everything he needed to cook including wooden chopping boards, a spice rack, and a knife block.

Observations showed that the kitchen is still highly gendered with very few husbands/partners occupying this space on a day-to-day basis. There was certainly evidence that kitchens were ascribed as feminine space, because of discourses about women belonging in the kitchen (Thiel, 2013). Moreover, nostalgic and romanticised narratives of cooking and baking (cf. Leavitt, 2002) with mothers and

grandmothers were frequently cited as reasons for having a strong affinity to Kitchens. Kitchen appliances were also almost always associated as belonging to women.

The majority of women participants were mediators in the kitchen, and were responsible for enrolling intermediaries into the space to assist with cooking. For example Hilary enrolled a domestic worker as an intermediary in order to alleviate the burden of weeknight cooking. The visibility of women participants has certainly increased owing to open-plan kitchens, and participants' used Facebook as a way to bring their cooking and kitchens to the front stage. This visibility, both in the material home and digitally mediated space, is very important because it offers women a sense of agency because they don't feel secluded or hidden from view.

Bathrooms

Most participants indicated sharing bathrooms with husbands/partners. Where children were involved, they almost always had separate children's bathrooms. There were a few cases where couples had to share bathrooms with their children, because of spatial constraints. There were also a handful of cases where gendering was evident and husbands/partners had separate toilets. When I asked about this particular spatial arrangement I was told that, 'it's a male thing' (Carmen's husband, Face-to-Face Interview, 24 July 2014) and that 'men need time and privacy to, *you know?*' (Lesley's husband, Skype interview, 16 March 2015).

While it was typically very important for men to have bathroom privacy this was less of a concern for women participants. This was particularly true for most of the mothers who told me that they had given up on privacy since having children. The lack of privacy associated with having children was a ubiquitous theme on Facebook, and numerous memes were shared around this topic. This lack of privacy for mothers was frequently contrasted with the privacy and relaxation associated with being a father.

Images 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3[39], are memes that were posted and shared by a number of the women participants in my sample.

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[39] Images 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3 are memes that circulated on Facebook and were shared by many of the women participants in this study. It is impossible to know the exact source of where these memes came from because of the nature of memes and jokes (Davison, 2012).

Image 5.1. 'They Will Find You'

Image 5.2. 'Says every Mom, everywhere'

Image 5.3. 'Meanwhile, in the living room'

Memes such as these operate as 'ordering strategies' (Law, 1992, 1994, 2004) because they reinforce gendered discourse, that it is natural for women to give up their privacy (particularly bathroom privacy), but that there is not the same expectation on men. Image 5.2, in particular, suggests that the lack of bathroom privacy is universal for mothers because of the words 'every' and 'everywhere'. Discourses such as these are popularised because they tend to circulate in homophilous networks. Out of the 26 mothers, 15 of them posted or shared memes relating to this theme. And there were no counter discourses offered that might suggest that it is possible for women to claim back their privacy by recruiting husbands to help out. This example illustrates Walther *et al.'s* (2008) argument that Facebook has the potential to reinforce and emphasise stereotypes and behaviours.

Lisa and Henry demarcated space and place within their home in a unique way. As with their kitchen, Lisa and Henry also separated their bathrooms. Lisa's Facebook depictions showed "purple" (for her) and "blue" (for him) bathrooms. When I visited the couple, Lisa explained that she wanted her

bathroom to be a refuge because she enjoyed bathing. Lisa also told me that because of her chronic illness, and the need for pain management, she required a quiet and relaxing space where she could be comfortable. Lisa was one of very few women participants who valued her space and privacy, and actively asserted her needs around space and place within the home. Lisa's bathroom was accented with purple and had a big bath, sink and toilet as well as numerous bath products and candles. Lisa had stacked boxes of tampons on the window ledge that she pointed out, 'I don't have to conceal them or hide them away' (Lisa, f 26, Home Visit, 13 June 2014). By foregrounding objects, such as tampons, which are ordinarily concealed, Lisa was obviously staking a claim on her territory and highlighting the fact that it was a space for women.

In contrast, Henry's bathroom was blue and had a shower, sink and toilet. As with the Facebook photographs the toilet seat was up, and Lisa told me that this was the norm. Lisa and Henry's son bathed in Lisa's bathroom for the moment, but she explained that when they started potty training the potty would 'live in the blue bathroom' (Lisa, f 26, Home Visit, 13 June 2014). Lisa explained that not having to share a bathroom was very liberating, and conflict free, for the couple because they could use each space exactly how they wanted.

As private spaces and places, bathrooms still show evidence of gendering. Although a few couples shared bathrooms, there were cases where men were given their own toilets because of their need for privacy and solitude. This sense of bathroom privacy was seen as a luxury for most women, particularly mothers, who often considered toilets and bathrooms as another form of open-plan living, and spaces that were shared with children. Supported by Walther *et al.* (2008), I argue that these discourses are certainly perpetuated on Facebook, because stereotypes and viral memes circulate in homophilous networks and solidify gender stereotypes.

Children's Space

Facebook posts were frequently aligned with discourses associated with the rosy and idyllic picture of children in the home, although there were instances where such discourses were contrasted with the clutter and mess created by children. And, for participants with children, or expecting children, there was evidence that the home space had to be constantly renegotiated according to the changing needs of the family.

Facebook photographs and albums of nurseries were very common. These photographs highlighted the renovation and decorating process, and were a crucial part of the ritual of introducing Facebook

networks to new additions to families. In a few cases, where participants gave virtual tours, women often earmarked certain rooms as "future nurseries" by commenting on photographs in such a way. Such photographs and comments were important because they served as introductory narratives of planning for, and expecting, children, which built the anticipation of audiences.

Although the majority of women participants with children posted photographs of nurseries, they seldom used these designated spaces. In fact, most nurseries were part of front stage presentations of having a baby, and formed part of the narrative of *becoming* a mother, rather than being spaces occupied by babies themselves. In most cases participants explained that babies slept in couples' bedrooms and that they, as parents, had to renegotiate their space based on the needs of the baby. Nonetheless nurseries were depicted on Facebook as integral places for babies, as well as an important rite of passage for parents, particularly mothers, in introducing a baby to the home. In an interview Cynthia told me,

> Although my son seldom slept in his nursery it was such an important and meaningful space. It made me *really* excited about his arrival and I would spend ages in there folding and refolding his clothes, organising stuff and making sure everything was perfect. Ironically I spent more time in there when I was pregnant than when he was born. Aside from changing him in there he was never in the nursery because he slept in our bed… We gave up on the nursery almost immediately and just put him in our bed. *(Cynthia, f 34, Face-to-Face Interview, 25 June 2014)*

Despite this arrangement, Cynthia's Facebook narrative never showed her son in the couple's bed and hence she managed the impression that he slept in his nursery without any fuss.

In some cases children inhabited the back stage of the home and their mess, clutter and toys were kept hidden in designated areas to keep up the perception, or impression, of a neat and tidy front stage. For other couples the home was negotiated in order to accommodate children, while also wanting to maintain the overall sense of space. In a few cases children were given as much autonomy of space as their parents, and were viewed as equal shareholders of the home.

Justine and Luke had four children (boys ages, 2, 4 and 9 and a girl age 6) and Justine's Facebook posts were frequently tongue-in-cheek and humorous about the struggles of parenting. Justine's reflexive project of the self (Giddens, 1991) sustained her narrative that parenting is an assemblage of the good, the bad, and the ugly; and also full of compromise. In some cases Justine's photographs represented their children as angelic and peacefully serene while playing with wooden toys, while in other photographs their children were associated with chaos and disorder. Justine explained that nothing in

her house was sacred and that the space reflected this. Justine stated that although she liked things to be relatively neat and tidy, when it came to having a pristine environment, she and her partner had to compromise (Home Visit, 3 June 2014). Justine elaborated by referring to a Facebook post where she told her network about a beautiful quilt that was ruined by her children. She explained how she rationalised the incident after posting a status about it, and receiving sympathy from her network;

> It's just a quilt… yes it's a beautiful quilt but I don't consider anything precious with four kids in the mix… I like to use my things and if they do get ruined the stains become memories. It took me a long time to reach this conclusion… a lot of ruined clothes and couches… it's easier to just let these things go! *(Justine, f 32, Home Visit, 3 June 2014)*

Justine's Facebook reflected this attitude where domestic space was not divided between front stage and back stage. Every area of the home seemed to be open for scrutiny by the couple's community. The couple's home was depicted as a hive of activity and every space was occupied by both parents and children. There was no evidence of restricted zones for the children, and there seemed to be no concern over photographing spaces as messy and chaotic. Justine explained that;

> My default position is to have things neat and tidy, but with children this isn't possible. As parents we allow our children to create mess, to live in the mess for a specified period of time, and then we negotiate with them to tidy up. *(Justine, f 32, Home Visit, 3 June 2014)*

While some couples accepted the mess associated with their children, others were less relaxed and kept their children and their toys in back stage areas. Hilary and Mark's home had both a formal and informal lounge for the couple, as well as an informal lounge for their children. Hilary explained that this allowed the couple to separate the clutter and mess associated with children's toys, while also allowing the children the freedom to play and watch television without being restricted to adult programs.

The children's lounge was a concealed back stage area, with comfortable sofas, a drawing table, a flat screen television, toys and a cabinet of kids DVDs. In contrast the formal lounge was immaculate and very carefully decorated. A bowl of ornamental green apples was on the centre of the glass coffee table and Hilary explained that her children were seldom in this "grown up" area. When I asked Hilary where she and her husband relaxed she said that they generally watched TV in the informal lounge upstairs and reserved the formal lounge for when they had guests. Within this front stage open plan space there was very little evidence of their three children; aside from the artwork on the fridge and one large family photograph on the wall. On Facebook, the children were frequently photographed in their informal lounge colouring or drawing and these images were paired with captions that reflected their creativity.

Tina's territoriality in relation to their home, as discussed above, extended to concealing the presence of their baby within certain areas of their home. Tina told me that she concealed the baby paraphernalia because 'it is messy' (Home Visit, 24 July 2014). Tina said that while her son was still a baby she wanted her space to remain "child free" for as long as possible; 'I just love how everything looks at the moment and I want to preserve the space for as long as I can' (Home Visit, 24 July 2014). Tina told me that this would likely change, but that she wanted to maintain the aesthetics of their home for as long as possible. The practice of concealing baby paraphernalia in the home was evident on Facebook and Tina told me that she made sure that her home always looked a certain way on Facebook because it was a reflection of her. In a candid moment she told me, 'I don't really care how I look most of the time... I mean if I'm covered in flour or having a bad hair day. But my home has to look a certain way on Facebook... My home is a reflection of me...' (Home Visit, 24 July 2014). Once again Tina indicated that she viewed domestic space and place as an embodiment of herself, and believed that her home was a direct reflection of herself.

Couples, whose homes did not have the luxury of space to demarcate unseen back stage areas, had to reach a compromise regarding children's mess and clutter. A few participants represented their lounge areas on Facebook, showing how they had negotiated the space. Participants were shown to accommodate all members of the household by demarcating zones for both adults and children. This was achieved by creating children's areas, usually corners, comprising of play mats, children's tables and chairs, bookshelves, and so on.

Parents worked very hard to maintain impressions on Facebook when it came to presenting their children and children's space. Not only did these presentations bring spatial negotiations into focus, but they also highlighted discourses about parenting styles. This was evident in the numerous photographs of nurseries which depicted Victorian ideals about what children's space should look like (cf. Thiel, 2013). Parents also frequently negotiated the home space, and protected the aesthetics of their front stage areas, by separating children's areas and keeping children's "mess" in the back stage. Other parents were less concerned about front stage impressions and believed that everyone had equal status in the home. Couples such as Justine and Luke, for example, actively sought to include everyone in the home, and gave their children the freedom to occupy all of the spaces, even if it meant having to deal with mess and clutter.

Creating Place & Ascribing Space

As discussed in Chapter 2, the home is a stage, for women, on which to perform aspects of domesticity. Women participants create a sense of place by forging and ascribing value and meaning to space. They achieve this by putting personal "touches" on, and embodying space. Creating a sense of place was crucial for women participants and "nesting" and "decorating" were viewed as integral to making a home. This is because space is created with objects (Law, 2002). Bech-Danielsen (2012) suggests that homes reflect lifestyle, and women are frequently judged on aspects relating to "taste". Creating place was therefore highly valued by many women participants because place was reflective of their identities (Tuan, 1977).

Chapter 2 and 3 discussed how Facebook descriptions enable women to create a platform to perform and enact domesticity and help them to secure place. Gieryn (2000), Low (2003), Soja (1996) and Tuan (1977) argue that space becomes place through human involvement. I extend this argument by suggesting that Facebook allows insight into how women make place through narrative. As discussed in Chapter 3, Gubrium & Holstein assert that 'we talk ourselves into being' (2000, p. 101) and Facebook posts discursively frame material spaces and foreground them as visible. Hence, Facebook allows a great deal of domestic practice that was previously back stage, to be moved to the front stage.

Viewing space as networked allows us to analyse how context informs sociality. By creating a sense of place we are able to exert power over others by situating and ascribing certain people, or groups, to particular spaces (Gieryn, 2003). Furthermore, discourse is a way of securing power (Foucualt, 1977, 1980, 1986) and this section illustrates how domestopia, as utopian presentations of domesticity, and heterotopia, as countersites, stabilise or disrupt social order.

Creating a Home

The need to create the perfect home has long been the pursuit of women (Leavitt, 2002; Thiel, 2013). Presentations on Facebook showed that creating a home and "nesting" were ubiquitous themes, and integral elements to what di Leonardo (1987) and Wellman (2001) describe as kin work.

Most participants posted photographs of home renovations and improvements during this study. They explained that they enjoyed being able to show off their homes, and display proficiency at homemaking to their networks. Photographs were an important part of impression management for participants, because they enabled them to tell stories with images. Edwards (2007) explains that storytelling through

images is an important aspect of narrative work. Most women participants said that creating the home and decorating the space was their responsibility. These women participants also admitted to enjoying posting the results on Facebook because it allowed them to show off their homes, as well as to receive recognition. Most husbands/partners did not post such photographs, and it was generally believed to be the woman's "job" to keep relatives and friends informed through such updates.

These front stage presentations were an important part of impression management as well as relationship maintenance, and some participants admitted that family members, particularly mothers-in-law, expected regular updates. As will be discussed in Chapter 7, kin work is still very much a gendered practice, and one that is made easier through the networking potential of Facebook. Aside from making kin work visible, Facebook also allows the hidden and invisible aspects of domestic life to come into focus. Feminised practices such as home decorating are highlighted on Facebook and integral to self-presentation for women. Women participants used Facebook as a way to narrate and present their homes and themselves, as well as to gain praise and affirmation from networks.

My content analysis showed that there were active processes of gendering and re-gendering at work which were noteworthy. Furthermore, there were numerous discourses relating to "women's work" and "women's space", particularly how houses can be made "homely" by women. Discourses of a "woman's touch" were frequently circulated, and the "before and after" genre, depicted through photographs, reaffirmed women's homemaking expertise. Such home improvements were vital to homemaking and were an important aspect of front stage work and impression management. The "before and after" genre is redolent of Hollows' (2002) 'makeover takeover' where women have assimilated ideals from reality television and home makeover shows into their everyday lives.

Facebook was important to Helen because she lived in a very secluded part of South Africa. Helen used Facebook as a way to narrate her everyday life and, more importantly, to keep in touch with friends and family. She frequently posted photographs which allowed her to share her home with friends and family who were unable to visit. When Helen first moved in with her fiancé (now husband), she posted a series of photographs illustrating renovations. Helen took advantage of the live and immediate quality of Facebook and began her narrative by announcing the makeover in a series of status updates. She also offered numerous cues to her network, so that they could collaborate in the highly anticipated narrative (McNeill, 2012; Arthur, 2009). For example she frequently used Facebook's narrative affordances such as 'feeling excited', as well as posting a daily countdown to alert networks as to when the big reveal

would be. Helen told me that by constructing narratives in this way, allowed her to feel less isolated because she could share her life with others as if they were there with her;

> Living in the middle of nowhere is beautiful, we're surrounded by nature but it's also very lonely sometimes. I do miss being able to go shopping with friends and to have people "pop over" for a quick visit. Facebook is cool cos I get to share things will all my friends and family, and I get to see what they're up to. I don't mind all the random photos of coffee and plates of food because it allows me to feel included. I guess I have FOMO[40]! [laughs] *(Helen, f 32, Skype Interview, 13 March 2013)*

Along with the daily countdown, the anticipation of seeing the final renovations was heightened by regular status updates describing progress. When Helen did eventually post "before and after" photographs the post received over 300 likes and numerous comments. Helen's "before and after collages" illustrated her proficiency as a woman and a decorator, while also encouraging collaboration from her Facebook network. In each photograph Helen posted conversational captions such as, 'I'm not sure about the armchair by the fireplace? What do you think?' (Helen, f 32, Facebook Caption, August 2012). Again, Helen's conversational and interactive comments encouraged collaboration and enabled her to get feedback and support from her networks.

Aside from the interactive aspects of her posts, Helen was also staking a claim on the home space. By adopting the 'makeover takeover' (Hollows, 2002) strategy, she exhibited the fact that she had made the space *better*. Throughout her narrative Helen referred to the space as "theirs", but the images and captions suggested that part of her moving-in process meant staking a claim on the territory. And, although she had offered her fiancé choices in terms of the decoration, this appeared to be an illusion because she told me that she had a very specific plan when she moved in. When I spoke to Helen about the renovations she said that she needed to 'do a complete overhaul of her partner's décor' in order to make it 'habitable' for the both of them (Helen, f 32, Skype Interview, 13 March 2013). Helen described the space as 'very masculine and ill-considered' and that it had 'none of her personality' (Helen, f 32, Skype Interview, 13 March 2013). Thus, for Helen, making the space habitable involved stamping it with her personality while redecorating based on her interpretations of mutual taste. Helen said that moving into her fiancé's space was a very important commitment for her and although they are now married, at

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[40] FOMO is an acronym for 'fear of missing out'.

that stage she wanted to make sure that the space was theirs and it didn't feel like she was 'just visiting' (Helen, f 32, Skype Interview, 13 March 2013).

From the Facebook "before" photographs of the couple's bedroom Helen depicted what she identified as a 'highly masculinised space' (Skype Interview, 13 March 2013). The "before" photos showed a room with a neutral wall colour, a few animal prints on the walls, no soft furnishings and a bed with what would be considered a "masculine" dark blue duvet cover (Cohen, 2013; Frassanito & Pettorini, 2008; Koller, 2008; Wong & Hines, 2015). In contrast the "after" photographs showed brighter wall colours, two new bedside tables and lamps, new neutral coloured curtains and bed linen, four brand new plump standard pillows, and an abundance of scatter cushions on the bed. The animal prints had been removed and Helen had asked her Facebook friends for advice on what she should hang above the bed. Helen assured me that her fiancé had been consulted regarding the decorating and that she had chosen neutrals to avoid making the space 'obviously girly' (Helen, Skype Interview, 13 March 2013). Again the fact that she crowd sourced opinions regarding what she should hang above the bed was noteworthy.

The comments and responses were mostly from women. All of the comments were highly positive and congratulatory with many expressing disbelief at the extent of the changes. The other "before" and "after" collages, depicting changes to other rooms, were much the same in terms of content and reception. The over-arching gendering of the discourse was made explicit by one commenter who wrote, 'there really is nothing like a woman's touch' (F11, Facebook Comment, August 2012).

In Helen's "before and after" narrative all of the back stage work was implied rather than explicitly shown. None of the labour, painting, cleaning, moving furniture etc., was photographed and this work had to be imagined and pieced together through looking at the impressive collages. Helen's narrative gave an insight into the time spent on the back stage work, and the front stage projected Helen's work as seemingly effortless. In terms of impression management Helen's image was portrayed as a highly proficient decorator and homemaker. When I asked Helen about the collages she said that waited to take the photographs because she 'wanted everything to be perfect' so that people could see the 'full effect' (Skype Interview, 13 March 2013).

Women participants such as Helen were the majority, and many of these women posted photographs or statuses depicting home improvements. The "before and after" genre was popular, and putting their own personal stamp on their homes was important for women participants. This was especially true for women participants, such as Helen, who moved into existing spaces and felt the need to make them

their own by creating a sense of place. Similarly, almost all women participants were in charge of the home décor, and discourses of a "woman's touch" were frequently alluded to by both men and women. While discourses of a "woman's touch" were seen as positive, in stark contrast, anything deemed to be "girly" was stigmatised.

When I spoke to Tina about her decorating decisions she said that John had a say, but that it 'wasn't really his thing' and that he 'trusted her instincts' (Tina, f 30, Home Visit, 24 July 2014). The idea that decorating and homemaking is instinctual to women and not a masculine trait was frequently cited. Although, when it came to her instincts, Tina said that her husband had one proviso, and that was that she didn't make it "too girly". When I asked her what "too girly" meant, she told me that she interpreted it as 'overly floral with too much pink' (Tina, f 30, Home Visit, 24 July 2014).

The majority of male participants indicated that as long as the home was comfortable and looked "nice" they didn't care too much about how it was achieved; although the financial cost was alluded to quite frequently. For many of these men, aesthetics were less important than comfort. Many men said that they were happy to entrust their partners/wives with decorating, but stipulated that furnishings should be neutral, and not 'anything frilly or pink' (Victoria's partner, m, Skype Interview, 4 August 2013). Gemma's husband also expressed this when he told me he was adverse to 'girly floral stuff' (Skype Interview, 12 August 2013).

Having good taste and distinction is a marker of femininity and is highly praised on Facebook. Many women participants were the decision makers, and were specifically in charge of aesthetics and decorating. Women participants were generally aligned with discourses of homemaking expertise, and were therefore responsible for the majority of decorating and home improvement projects. The more physically taxing aspects of home renovations were gendered as masculine, and women participants frequently recruited individuals, such as husbands, contractors, painters etc. into networks in order to complete projects as demonstrated through Facebook depictions. However, there were instances where women participants were increasingly involved in these tasks.

Circulating photographs on Facebook, of husbands/partners performing home renovations were particularly popular because they reaffirmed discourses of domestic bliss. For example during their home renovations as depicted on Facebook, Ava framed her partner as central to the renovation process. Ava posted a series of photographs of her husband sanding and painting built-in shelves. In an interview Ava told me that she was actually responsible for this project;

> It took *ages* to sand and paint those two massive shelves. My word there was so much sanding and it took forever. Every night after work I'd tackle the sanding. After about a month of ad hoc work on them I could finally paint them. My husband helped on two of the days. I was determined to get them done and he was in no hurry so I just did most of it by myself. *(Ava, f 29, Face-to-Face Interview, 9 December 2014)*

Despite his limited participation in the project Ava's husband received the majority of the credit on Facebook. This was because Ava published the photos (after the project was completed) with the caption 'My amaaaazing husband giving our shelves a well needed makeover' (Ava, f 29, Facebook Post, March 2014). When I asked Ava why she gave her husband the majority of credit for the finished shelves she told me;

> I dunno… all my other friends have husbands who build stuff and they don't have to nag or fight to get stuff done. I think my husband is amazing but he's not that much of a doer. I do stuff and get stuff done. I guess I just wanted people to see that it's not just all me… that he does stuff too. *(Ava, f 29, Face-to-Face Interview, 9 December 2014)*

In this example Ava's impression management was built around maintaining the illusion that her husband was integral to home maintenance and renovation projects. Ava's sense of embarrassment was apparent, and she didn't want her Facebook network to see the back stage depictions of the project. For Ava, the impression of creating the home as a place where she and her partner were equally involved in tasks was more important than receiving credit and praise for work that she had completed.

Creating home in material space has gained visibility by moving into digitally mediated space and place. This allows women to show off their proficiency at homemaking and decorating and is an important aspect of self-presentation. Back stage work can be lonely and isolated, but by being able to develop conversations, and narrate aspects of everyday life on Facebook allows women to foreground work that would previously have only been visible to close friends and family. Nonetheless, discourses of creating a home, and decorating, remain the pursuit of women. These discourses are secured on Facebook and therefore women continue to aligned with their superior ability to decorate and create 'special touches' that make a home.

Presentations of Domestopia

Chapters 1 and 2, discussed the recent resurgence of new domesticity, and the fact that many women are returning to domestic arts because they are seen to be fulfilling and rewarding (Matchar, 2013).

These postfeminist discourses recognise increased pressure in the work place, for many women, and highlight "authenticity" as an achievable goal (Matchar, 2013). The assumption is that for women, the very notion of authenticity is bound to the home and this idea is certainly reflective on Facebook. While the layout and architecture of homes has increased the visibility of domesticity, Facebook, as a platform to display such domesticity, is certainly reflective of the trend for women to reconnect with the home.

As discussed in Chapter 3 the discourse of aligning the home with domestopia (Dolgopolov, 2003) appeals to women because it frames the home as escapist and enjoyable. In this way the idea of domestopia anchors middle class women to homes because homemaking has been fantasised as leisurely and appealing. Many women participants reflected this attitude when they told me about their decisions to post photographs of their homes and domestic pursuits on Facebook. The majority of these women admitted that they only posted photographs of their domestic successes and avoided posting photographs that would misconstrue their homes as untidy or characterise them as domestic failures.

Brenda was one of a few participants who frequently posted content about her domestic failures, rather than her successes. On one occasion she posted a photograph of a "ready mix" scone package with the caption;

> Nothing more demoralising than an easy scone recipe flopping... please tell me I'm not the only one?! *(Brenda, f 29, Facebook Status, February 2013)*

When I interviewed Brenda she explained why she posted this photograph and caption;

> Aaaaah I remember this. [laughs]. Firstly I thought it was hilarious that I'd fucked up a scone recipe from a packet. I also wanted my Facebook friends, who post recipes and stuff, to be horrified that I used a shortcut... and, not only that, but I'd messed it up. Sometimes Facebook isn't real... it's just filled with everyone trying to outdo each other and say "I have the best life". This type of stuff is a lot more common now but the cool thing was when I posted this, lots of people really liked it so I started posting #fails more often. People seem to really like it when you fail! [laughs]. *(Brenda, f 29, Face-to-Face Interview, 7 July 2015)*

The pressures of maintaining Facebook illusions of domestic proficiency in the home, was felt to be unsustainable for many women participants. By highlighting their failures to Facebook networks, these participants were able to feel more at ease about domestic shortfalls. This practice encouraged other women within their Facebook networks, and was seen as a backlash to ideals of perfection that were not always achievable. A few women participants said that posts depicting domestic failures encouraged them to bake more, because there was less pressure to succeed. Despite this, the majority of women

participants were incredibly talented at aspects of homemaking and were very much bound to discourses of them being at the centre of their own domestopia. This is likely reflective of my sampling method where I chose women who were domestically inclined, but nonetheless their depictions of domestic bliss are insightful.

As discussed in Chapter 3, Chalfen (1987) refers to Kodak Culture where changing technology expanded opportunities for domestic photography. The emergence of home mode allowed amateur photographers to open up their homes and create rich places of symbolism (Chalfen, 1987). Pauwels (2008) suggests that photography is used to construct specific narratives of home life and I propose that it is frequently used to create images of domestopia.

Hilary's domestopia extended to the selfies that she posted on Facebook. As discussed in Chapter 3, selfies are a form of self-presentation that allow women participants to depict themselves as central figures within their own narratives (Warfield, 2015; Rokka & Canniford, 2016). Hilary's selfies were idyllic and carefully constructed; for example she posted a series of baking selfies where she and her daughters were depicted covered with flour, stirring batter in mixing bowls with wooden spoons, icing cakes etc. The sepia toned filters she applied to a number of these selfies added a vintage nostalgia to her domestic scenes, and depicted her home as cosy and old-fashioned. Hilary's photographs also complemented her wish to recreate her own childhood memories of cooking and baking with her own mother and grandmother.

When I visited Hilary's home, her open plan kitchen was incredibly modern and clean, and was in stark contrast to the domestic environment that she portrayed in her selfies. Hilary's Facebook presentations of herself, and her numerous homemaking projects, were heavily bound to impression management and reflective of her domestic idealism. Nonetheless, Hilary's idyllic picture of domestic space and place also allowed her the freedom to "cheat". This ability to take short-cuts, and be unapologetic about them, was popularised by Nigella Lawson who helped to redefine the idea of the domestic goddess;

> The trouble with much modern cooking is not that the food it produces isn't good, but that the mood it induces in the cook is one of skin-of-the-teeth efficiency, all briskness and little pleasure. Sometimes that's the best we can manage, but at other times we don't want to feel like a post-modern, post-feminist, overstretched woman but, rather, a domestic goddess, trailing nutmeggy fumes of baking pie in our languorous wake. (Lawson, 2003, p.vii)

Nigella reopened the kitchen for women, and made it a postfeminist space, where women could exercise a new and relaxed form of domesticity (Brunsdon, 2006). Hilary openly admitted to using cheats on Facebook, and on these occasions there was no judgement from her networks. This was because her front stage presentation was aligned with that of a domestic goddess and supermom who juggled working full time, raising three children, and still "finding time" (F152, March 2013) to bake and complete projects. When Hilary admitted to buying a cake rather than baking it herself, F152 commented, 'I don't blame you. I don't know where you find the time to do everything! Sometimes you just need to take a break…' (F152, Facebook Comment, March 2013). Hilary's impression management was so successful that even when she didn't perform within the exact parameters of her role as a "domestic goddess" or "supermom", she was excused by her network community. This was because she was already secured as highly proficient at domesticity and homemaking.

In contrast to Hilary's idyllic scenes, Justine frequently posted content reflecting the chaos and clutter of their domestic space and place. In Justine and Luke's kitchen baking was chaotic and often filled with mishaps, for example one photograph showed children crying while fighting over cake mixture. As with Brenda, Justine's Facebook depictions often disrupted notions of domestopia, and offered alternative forms of domesticity that embraced the chaos and imperfection of daily life. Luke and Justine's home was happy, albeit often chaotic, and for many participants appeared to be the norm.

In cases such as these there was no mapping of territory and everyone had a responsibility in terms of constructing, tidying and negotiating labour and space in the home. In an early Facebook status Justine wrote,

> Surrounded by piles of puzzles and books and lego and paper cuttings and and and… I need to remember the simple truth more often "one person's mess is another's work in progress
> *(Justine, f 32, Facebook Status, May 2012).*

In this instance Justine was responding to the traditional hyperfeminine conceptions of home which required all mess to be eradicated (Thiel, 2013). Justine explained that it was important to her that members of her family felt that they had an equal share in the household space as long as the space did not become ungovernable and messy. This was very much a redefinition of domestopia which allows for greater flexibility and agency regarding the home.

Caitlin and Bruce's depictions of domestopia disrupted the idea of domestic space as women's domain. Caitlin and Bruce playfully narrated their married life on Facebook. The "perfection" of their marriage was frequently alluded to by their friends and family who often described them as the "perfect couple".

No matter which area of the house Caitlin was portrayed in, her front stage profile was very much a depiction of a happy and carefree domestic life. Caitlin was a prolific baker and often posted content from within the kitchen. For example she posted a photograph (that Bruce had taken) of herself baking cupcakes in a pretty lace and gingham apron. She captioned it, 'BAKING! In shades of pastel…' (Caitlin, f 28, Facebook Status, June 2014). This post was highly gendered and Caitlin made specific reference to the gingham apron she wore, as well as the filter she applied to the photo which highlighted the pastel shades. Bruce frequently liked or commented on her efforts; in this case he wrote; 'Yes my lovely and clever and intelligent and amazing wife exhibiting one of her many talents… not least of all that she looks hot in pastel!' (Bruce, Facebook Comment, June 2014) For Bruce, highlighting Caitlin's attributes, other than 'looking hot in pastel', was important. He told me that he wanted to show their networks that even though his wife was in the kitchen, in a traditionally gendered role, she was 'capable of so much more' (Bruce, Home Visit, 4 August 2014).

Bruce and Caitlin frequently congratulated, or bragged about, one another for their domestic achievements and this was a large part of their impression management. In a similar photograph Bruce was shown wearing the same gingham apron while baking a chocolate sponge. The caption read; 'Nigella Lawson get your coat!' (Caitlin, f 28, Facebook Status, July 2014) When I asked the couple about these two visual representations they both admitted to enjoying the kitchen as well as cooking and baking. Their shared efforts in the kitchen benefitted both of them because they did not have to argue over the cooking responsibilities. Bruce told me that he wore the apron in the photograph to make a point about preconceived gender roles;

> Baking is seen as a female pursuit… Men aren't supposed to bake, especially not "girly" stuff… even when you watch Jamie Oliver baking on TV he makes a point of drawing attention to the fact that men can do it too… and that he bakes for his wife which gets him brownie points… it's like there's a hidden agenda and you can't just bake because you want to… Sometime I just want to bake a lovely sponge… And Caitlin and I want to show our family and friends that we gender bend. *(Bruce, Home Visit, 4 August 2014)*

Hence by foregrounding this act on Facebook Caitlin and Bruce were able to make a point about gender roles and illustrate that the kitchen should be a shared space. Furthermore Bruce and Caitlin's domestopia was gender neutral and involved both of them being able to express themselves in all areas of the house.

Household Heterotopia

In contrast to discursive and idyllic presentations of domestopia, heterotopias were other spaces that emerged through my analysis. As discussed in Chapter 2, heterotopia are countersites that disrupt or stabilise social order (Foucault, 1986; Hetherington, 1997). As places where power and agency are contested, heterotopia are frequently gendered, and discourses continue to ascribe women to certain areas of the home (Mallett, 2004). Although the architecture of homes has changed to some extent, there is certainly evidence of gendered domains within homes that stabilise or disrupt gendered power relations.

Material and digital presentations show that network stability is maintained or disrupted by ascribing certain actants to certain places, and this is often discursively loaded. Furthermore, because place is relational and networked (Murdoch, 1998), its very existence depends on the interaction between actants. This is because actants have to agree on observing the rules or codes ascribed to place. For example claiming a certain place as "mine", depends on every other actant within the network observing that claim. Hence naming, and discursively constructing places, are ways of ensuring network agreement which allows for heterotopia to emerge.

I argue that even within mainstream places, such as the home, and on Facebook itself, there are zones that maintain or disrupt social order. Within some middle class homes the "man cave" and the scullery are examples of demarcated countersites. The "man cave" is an "other" space because it enables men to occupy their own private domain within an already private space. As discussed, the home is already a relatively private space, but even within such spaces, there are zones which have further restrictions of use. The term "man cave" has a heavily gendered element, but it also signals the fact that it is a domain where men are able to go back to their "natural" state of being. They can retreat into a cave and revert back to freedom with fewer restrictions.

The scullery, on the other hand, is a place occupied predominantly by black women who perform the majority of the cleaning, such as doing the dishes, washing, ironing and so forth. Historically the scullery was a place to hide back stage work such as cleaning (Chapman, 1955; Huggett, 1977; Bech-Danielsen, 2012) and in contemporary middle class households that can afford the space, scullery areas remain part of home architecture. This area maintains front stage impressions of cleanliness, and hides unsightly appliances and back stage work. In both examples social order is stabilised by separating space

and confining certain members of the household to demarcated places based on gendered and social power relations.

The "man cave" as a heterotopia was a feature of a handful of participant's houses. In a few cases, garages were referred to explicitly as "man caves" and in a couple of homes, where there was additional space, a spare room or office was designated as a "man cave". The "man cave" was an area of the home that many male participants posted about on Facebook. Victoria's partner posted a photograph from his man cave showing his view from the perspective of the couch. The photograph depicted a television screen showing a rugby match, through his outstretched legs, and a glass of whisky just within the frame. The caption read, 'Just chillin' in my man cave… bliss' (Victoria's partner, m, Facebook Photograph, September 2014). As with separate toilets or bathrooms that catered to men's need for privacy, the "man cave" exhibited further evidence that privacy was highly sought after by men. Almost none of the women expressed the need to have a private retreat within their homes. On the contrary most women participants indicated needing to be visible and to avoid feeling isolated.

When I spoke to Victoria about her partner's "man cave" she told me that he had always expressed the fact that he wanted one and when they moved into their house and there was an extra room she told him he could use it as his man cave. When I asked her how they decided on the purpose of the room Victoria explained;

> We had three bedrooms and I knew it was something he *really* wanted. I think it's definitely a guy thing to want to have a massive TV to watch sport on. It's not like I'm not allowed in there but it's his room because he chose all the furniture and keeps the whisky in there even though we both drink it! *(Victoria, f 32, Face-to-Face Interview, 23 September 2014)*

For houses with "man caves" these spaces were significant because they carved out areas that belonged solely to male occupants. Furthermore, they were often seen as a form of rebellion where men could assert their own tastes in terms of decorating. These masculinised spaces were countersites within homes because they did not conform to the existing aesthetics of homes, and they also stood out because they were viewed as "other". Despite the fact that "man caves" were seen to be "other" spaces, they helped to maintain social order by reaffirming the importance of men within household structures. The overarching discourse was that men needed their own space, and that even within their homes, they needed a place to "escape" to, or find freedom to relax and unwind.

As with their disruption of domestopia, Caitlin and Bruce disrupted the idea of heterotopia. Bruce failed at his attempt at creating a "man cave" because he was unable to seclude himself from the rest of the house. When I visited the couple, I was interested to see Bruce's "man cave" as he had depicted it on Facebook. However the material space was very different to his Facebook representation. Bruce introduced the space to me as 'this is where I do all my manly stuff' (Bruce, Home Visit, 4 August 2014) and he revealed that;

> Now it's *just* an office, and an occasional spare room. I'd always wanted a man cave. I had illusions of grandeur for it. The truth is I don't even use it that much so that's why the spare bed is in here. Caitlin actually does productive stuff in her office so we moved the bed back into this room. *(Bruce, Home Visit, 4 August 2014)*

When I asked Bruce about his failed attempt at a man cave, he said that it seemed like a complete waste to 'have a separate room for me to hang out in' (Bruce, Home Visit, 4 August 2014). He also said that he didn't actually like being alone and wanted to spend most of the time with Caitlin. For this reason Bruce's "man cave" doubled as a spare room, or as Caitlin joked, 'for him when he's in the dogbox!' (Caitlin, Home Visit, 4 August 2014). When I visited the only remaining evidence of Bruce's "man cave" was a poster of Pulp Fiction hanging above Bruce's desk.

The scullery was another area of a few homes that was heavily gendered. For the few houses that had the space available, the scullery reflected gendered and racialised dimensions. As discussed in Chapter 2, the scullery has historically been a place that occupies servants (Chapman, 1955; Huggett, 1977; Bech-Danielsen, 2012). In South African domestic workers are often ascribed to the scullery because it is a back stage area where the majority of household appliances are kept.

As a heterotopia the scullery area largely remained back stage and out of sight and confined women to a space that was largely hidden from view. The scullery as a heterotopia thus contributes to the unseen position of many domestic workers within homes because the majority of the time-consuming housework is conducted in this space. The women who inhabit these spaces, predominantly domestic workers, are very much positioned in the back stage and their work is thus largely invisible to the household. Having a separate scullery and laundry area is an economic benefit, and means that front stage presentations of the home can remain uncluttered by laundry and dishes. However, separating this space also stabilises racialised gender roles, because domestic workers primarily occupy this space.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the networked and relational character of domestic space and place. Women participants use narrative to ascribe meaning and value to place, and use stories as a way to secure the self to space and place. Through material and digital presentations of space, women participants create symbolic places within the home that, oftentimes, become an embodiment of themselves. Hence place and identity are tied together, and through the analysis of Facebook presentations, we are able to gain insight into what Giddens (1991) refers to as, 'reflexive projects of the self'. Not only is Facebook a platform on which to perform and bring domesticity to the front stage, but it is also a window into impression management.

Discourse secures power (Foucault, 1977, 1980, 1986), and operates as an 'ordering strategy' (Law, 1992, 1994, 2004) that circulates within domestic space and place. As discussed in Chapter 3, principles of homophily in Facebook networks normalise gender roles. This is because SNS typically disseminates narratives across networks of similarity, which reinforce certain behaviours and attitudes (Walther *et al.,* 2008). Hence, Facebook is a double edged sword because, on the one hand it allows women participants increased visibility by enabling them to share narratives of domestic life, while on the other it secures them to the home by normalising gender roles.

Although discourses of domesticity secure women participants to the home, these women secure agency within domestic space by making their work visible. Furthermore, they frequently narrate the home as belonging to them, and thus create a sense of place by embodying the home. Women make place through narrative, and many of these narratives are tied to nostalgic beliefs about domestic life. However changing discourses of domesticity, popularised by television celebrities such as Nigella Lawson, have enabled women participants to reinterpret what domestopia means for them. Using Facebook as a way to create symbolic worlds, particularly through photographs (Chalfen, 1987; Pauwels, 2008), has allowed women to redefine domestic space. This new definition perhaps allows them to hold on to memories, tradition and nostalgia while also embracing the fact that they can make their everyday lives visible in digitally mediated space.

Facebook gives a window into everyday domestic life and coupled with the case studies this allows insight into complex spatial negotiations. This visibility has allowed me to gain insight into negotiations that would otherwise remain in the backstage. The typical western home remains highly gendered, and this reaffirms that place sustains difference and hierarchy as suggested by Gieryn (2000). ANT is useful

because it allows us to view negotiations as a crucial aspect of ascribing space and place. Within homes power is negotiated by dividing domestic responsibilities and demarcating zones and domains to individuals within the household. In such cases networks are maintained because the inside of the home is still very much identified as a feminised space the outside areas were generally demarcated as "his". As discussed there were a few exceptions where normative gendering was subverted but for the most part historically gendered zones remained intact.

Historically domestic space was largely backstage, but the changing architecture of homes has allowed space to open up. The increase in more open plan spaces has brought a lot of domestic work to the front stage and has enabled women participants more scope to redefine discourses of domesticity and have more flexibility within a domestic role. Not only this, but Facebook has offered women participants an alternate space to bring work, that was previously hidden, to the front stage. From a self-presentation perspective, women participants were able to receive praise and validation from their broader communities rather than just their family members in their homes. The responsibilities that have gained visibility are largely related to the homemaking, while housework continues to have little to no visibility because it is largely confined to the back stage.

Although ideas and beliefs about domesticity are perhaps less prescriptive than previous generations, the creation of the home and providing homely aesthetics was largely the pursuit of women participants. Women participants strive to make the space utopic by conforming to discourses of having a "women's touch" or being a "domestic goddesses". Male participants had comparatively little to say in terms of aesthetics but there was the underlying belief that there role was to ensure that the space didn't become too feminised, or "girly". Where men did have input in the household aesthetics was in outside areas and in the creation of countersites such as the "man cave".

Facebook is used, by women participants, to bring domestic space, place and practice to the front stage because visibility appears to be highly prized by women. The home emerged as a site for constant negotiation of territory, where men frequently asserted their power by requiring more privacy. Women, on the other hand, secured agency by narrating the space as "theirs" and embodying their homes. Furthermore by increasing the visibility of themselves, and their role within the domestic environment allowed women participants a great deal of agency.

CHAPTER SIX: NEGOTIATING DOMESTIC RESPONSIBILITIES

Introduction

This chapter conceptualises the household against the backdrop of Becker (1965) and Berk's (1985) 'gender factory'[41]. The metaphor of the factory is used to examine the workings of the home, while also acknowledging gender as a key element in labour division. I argue that gender roles, as discursive cultural and historical constructs, are manufactured and naturalised in household networks. I explore gendered aspects of domestic responsibilities, and how they are divided and negotiated among the human actors within this study. The domestic responsibilities under examination are, child-rearing, weeknight cooking, grocery shopping, and cleaning.

My examination of the home frames it as a network containing numerous actants that allow it to function effectively. From this perspective, ANT is used to show how participants' households function, and how domestic responsibilities are negotiated. Furthermore, I interrogate how actants are translated into networks (Callon, 1986a, 1986b; Gieryn, 2000; Latour, 1987; Law , 1992, 1999), and how their roles are stabilised. ANT allows us to scrutinise the behaviour of human and non-human actors, and how they are enrolled as intermediaries (Latour, 2005). I suggest that intermediaries are enrolled and secured into household networks, by performing ascribed tasks and domestic responsibilities.

Individual household networks have different goals, which depend on numerous factors such as the presence of children, outside employment opportunities, beliefs and values about gendered labour, time availability, and so on. Within networks, discourses about race and gender circulate, and roles are prescribed in regards to work allocation. Networks stabilise because discourses naturalise network roles and operate as 'ordering strategies' (Law, 1992, 1994, 2004) that secure the enrolment of actants.

These networked processes can be understood in relation to Bozzoli's (1983) 'internal domestic struggle', discussed in Chapter 2. However, as discussed, the household is dynamic and labour negotiations aren't as simple as the Marxist Feminist position offered by Bozzoli (1983). From a postfeminist perspective, the idea that there is a household "head", based on breadwinner status is an oversimplification of spatial understanding that does little to consider the structure of networks, and the fact that power is constantly negotiated.

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[41] Becker (1965) and Berk's (1985) theoretical analogy of the gender factory is discussed in Chapter 3

Nonetheless, for participants in this study, constructions of domesticity are certainly inflected by gender, class, and race identities, as well as by the social inequalities of post-apartheid South Africa. From an ANT perspective my interviews suggested that, among participants, it remained the wife/partner who was responsible for the management of the home, and the majority of the "care work". In many cases domestic workers were enrolled into networks in order to perform the housework, and in a few cases to look after children.

Alongside these gendered and racial divisions of labour, this chapter provides a background to situate my homophilous sample within the broader context of South African everyday life. As discussed in Chapter 4, the 50 women participants in this study are middle class and predominantly white, which may afford them more opportunities from a class and race perspective. For example, many participants were able to negotiate alternatives to "traditional" or patriarchal relationship structures (cf. Weber, 1978) which allowed them more freedom and options in terms of their own domesticity. The ability to negotiate household roles and delegate domestic work to black women, offered women participants more possibilities for formal employment, as well as less restrictive household roles. The privileged position of participants is vastly different to that of the majority of South African women. Moreover, situated against data provided by the South African Audience Research Foundation's (SAARF) All Media Products Survey (AMPS), this study illustrates the huge social and class inequalities that still exist in South African everyday life.

As discussed in Chapter 3, historical colonial views about gendered divisions of labour have influenced contemporary South African views about domestic work. As a result, white middle class households have been framed as women's space and place. This is largely because of the influence of Britain, where, during the post war era, men were required to divide their time between market work and leisure, while women were involved in what Mincer and Palachek (1974) term 'home production'. Strong *et al.* describe the family as, a 'unit of economic cooperation that traditionally divides its labour along gender lines' which is, 'characteristic of virtually all cultures' (2005, p. 14). From a colonial perspective, labour divisions are based, not only along gender lines, but along race lines, where black men and women performed the majority of the menial labour and housework, as discussed by Callaway (1987), Cock (1980), Hansen (1992), Marks & Unterhalter (1978), and Nyamnjoh (2005).

This chapter explores the social relationships that are present among participants and how gendered notions of "women's work" have continued to thrive. Discourses around gendered conceptions of domesticity are examined, as well as the division of labour in participants' households. This chapter

situates these discourses and narratives within my sample of participants, as well as South Africa more broadly. I have captured, documented, and analysed data to show that there are numerous configurations of how labour is divided in the home. This chapter reveals that when it comes to attitudes towards housework and the women who perform it (particularly domestic workers), historical and cultural gendered and racial views have persisted in South African everyday life. The naturalisation of these discourses in many ways justifies the status quo, where domestic work is still a major form of employment for black women in this country.

Numerous studies of gendered division of household labour have been conducted (Bianchi *et al.*, 2000; Kemmer, 1999, 2000; Lake *et al.*, 2006; Marshall & Anderson, 2000), however from a South African, white, middle class perspective little research has been done. My aim is to increase the visibility of domestic labour, by exploring work that has perhaps previously been invisible, and confined to private space. The findings and observations of this research suggest that meaningful conversations and statements about gender and domestic work are emerging in middle class South African domestic life. And, despite the fact that gendered and colonial attitudes are dominant, within my sample, there are participants and households that subvert and question normativity. This is important in terms of ANT because it shows the instability of domestic networks, and the fact that actants are able to negotiate and renegotiate network roles. Nonetheless, the largely racial and class inequalities that support the everyday comforts of white middle class domesticity are largely overlooked. And, many domestic networks are normative, where white women are responsible for the household and homemaking, and black women perform most of the laborious housework.

Household Relationships

This chapter analyses the division of labour in terms of weeknight cooking, grocery shopping, cleaning and child-rearing as important domestic responsibilities. While participants were concerned about weeknight cooking and grocery shopping, these were not *major* issues within households. Yet, these particular responsibilities do provide insight into home networks and relationships. This analysis of domestic networks revealed obvious areas of conflict that were under constant evaluation and negotiation. The negotiation of household labour among participants was a key area of everyday domestic life, and actants often renegotiated domestic roles and responsibilities.

Household networks were examined in terms of what participants told me in questionnaires and interviews, as well as their Facebook posts. This allowed insight into both the front stage, and the back

stage presentations which highlighted the domestic responsibilities that were most noteworthy. For example, numerous women participants indicated, in interviews and questionnaires, that they didn't mind grocery shopping, and that they found it enjoyable, yet, Facebook posts suggested a different narrative. Many of these women's Facebook narratives indicated frustration and annoyance at having to perform grocery shopping. This signalled that this was a potential area to investigate based on front stage and back stage presentations.

Household responsibilities are an ongoing negotiation between all members of the household (Bozzoli, 1983). Although paid, outside labour, has offered middle class women alternatives to working in the home, they are still involved in the majority of household tasks. And, insofar as balancing employment with household responsibilities, there has been what Hochschild (1989) refers to as a 'stalled revolution'; women are sometimes blocked from work opportunities based on their gender while men continue to have limited involvement at home. Studies show that unequal contribution to household duties, responsibilities, and housework is a massive area of conflict within homes, and is associated with poor marital quality and leanings towards divorce (Pina and Bengtson, 1993; Suitor, 1991; Warde & Hetherington, 1993). Rohler & Huinink argue that managing expectations among partners is a crucial element of negotiating housework successfully and that 'stress occurs if the expectations concerning the labour division between the partners are not met' (2010, p. 195). From an ANT perspective, this means that all actants within household networks have to be translated correctly (Callon, 1986a, 1986b; Gieryn, 2000; Latour, 1987; Law, 1992, 1999).

Gendered Communal Relationships

As discussed in Chapter 3, Weber (1978) examines communal relationships and suggests that prescribed gender roles affect how humans, in relationships, divide labour. Weber's (1978) three categories, affectual-traditional, affectual-associative and affectual-pragmatic[42] are a useful starting point in interrogating labour divisions and negotiations, despite being somewhat simplistic. The simplicity of these categories is not least of all because the relationships are situated in line with heteronormative ideals and beliefs. Such beliefs disregard same sex relationships and assume western normativity, where partners are influenced by gender expectations.

Despite the limitations of Weber (1978), his relationship types are indicative of cultural and historical discourses of gender roles, which suggest that such roles can be categorised in a mutually exclusive way.

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[42] Weber's categories are defined in Chapter 3.

The common sense argument would be that there are anecdotes and evidence in certain relationships that support aspects of these categories, and therefore categorisation of complex human relationships is possible. Such narrow categorisation based purely on gender negates other key elements such as class, race, sociological and ideological beliefs, religious values, and so on.

Early on in my study I found that although Weber's (1978) relationship categories were useful for historicising and situating gender roles, they are not mutually exclusive. For example, during discussions of weeknight cooking, cleaning, child-rearing and grocery shopping, and supported by Bianchi *et al.* (2000), Descartes & Kottak (2010), Jacobs & Gerson (2004), Kemmer (1999, 2000) and Marshall & Anderson (2000), where middle class women have outside employment this does not necessarily affect gendered divisions of labour. Furthermore, through my analysis of participants' domestic lives in both digitally mediated and material space and place, Weber's relationships were complicated by a typically South African household configuration. Domestic workers were enrolled into the majority of participants' household networks. This meant that regardless of which of the three relationship structures appeared to be dominant, the addition of another human actor meant that Weber's original relationships were complicated.

Affectual-Delegatory Relationships

The majority of households expressed the need to employ a domestic worker. Whether women participants were employed outside the home, or whether they stayed at home, domestic workers were recruited by forty one participants.

The recruitment of domestic workers arose out of the desire, or need, to have someone else available in the home network to assist with unpopular household jobs; thereby reducing conflict between participants, and their partners. For many participants, the popular belief was that outsourcing certain areas of housework was generally supported by couples, particularly because of the low costs involved. Of the forty one participants, the majority commented that it was inexpensive to hire domestic help. For as little as R150-R300 per day the major burden associated with household tasks was alleviated by recruiting a domestic worker. This meant that women participants, in particular, were able to renegotiate their own roles within the home. I term these relationships affectual-delegatory because, by delegating the majority of the housework to another actor, couples were able to renegotiate their own roles, without detrimentally influencing their own workload.

Women participants who were employed full time, often employed domestic workers in order to compensate for their own absence in the home. It was not uncommon for households, where women participants were housewives, or stay-at-home mothers, to employ domestic workers. For women participants in egalitarian relationships, exercising their own feminism by negating strict gender roles, and sharing household responsibilities, was important. Although, by employing domestic workers, a few participants commented that they had compromised their own feminist views and values. This is because they felt conflicted about employing domestic workers while they worked outside of the home.

As introduced in Chapter 1, in South Africa it is commonplace for middle class households to employ someone to perform housework. This is largely because of the affordability of domestic work and the high unemployment rate in South Africa, as discussed below. From this perspective Cock (1980, 1981) and Nyamnjoh (2005) argue that dominant patriarchal structures have ensured that women, who have higher incomes or a better class position, exploit socially and economically marginalised women, in order to maintain their own advantageous social and economic position. As I will discuss, there have been huge shifts in domestic employment since the 1980s. A number of participants indicated that they were only able to afford a domestic worker once or twice a week, as opposed to fulltime which was the norm in previous decades, as indicated by Cock (1980, 1981).

Nonetheless, because of their social and economic status, domestic workers don't have the agency to renegotiate their positions within household networks, and predominantly function as intermediaries. Hence, they continue to occupy a relatively weak position in terms of their place within household networks. Couples on the other hand, have more flexible household roles, because they are able to change and negotiate their roles within home networks. Numerous participants explained that by employing a domestic worker they experienced more harmony within their homes, and that conflict between couples was significantly reduced. This was largely because someone else was performing the unpopular housework. Couples were therefore able to act as mediators, and change the labour structures within their homes.

This configuration of domestic networks, and the outsourcing of labour to other actants who are economically disadvantaged, perpetuates existing power structures and hierarchies. Black women have little agency in terms of negotiating their role within these domestic networks. Yet their role makes it possible for white middle class women to seek employment outside the home, and to enjoy fewer domestic responsibilities at home.

Domesticity in Context

This section sketches the broader South African context to the study by exploring what can be gleaned about domesticity, employment, and household consumption practices via the SAARF AMPS. This provides a background to situate the participants' responses to Questionnaire One, to the semi-structured interviews, and their Facebook posts. Up until 2016, AMPS was the second largest national survey of South Africans (second only to the national Census). Organised by the advertising, marketing and publishing industries, the AMPS survey provided data on media consumption, and the buying habits of South Africans[43]. The AMPS sample is a probability sample that aims to represent the population of South Africa, and the universe size is about 30 000. Despite the limits of AMPS data, which, as a marketing survey focuses on higher income level LSMs, it does provide insight into certain aspects of the broader context in which this study was situated.

South Africa has an exceptionally high unemployment rate, nearly 28% according to the QLFS[44], and men are almost twice as likely as women to be employed. This social context is important because it shows that men have more employment opportunities, and this economic advantage may be a determining factor in terms of household negotiations. AMPS (SAARF, 2015a) data further reveals the gendered dimension of South Africa's high unemployment figure with 73% of women being unemployed, in comparison to 53% of men. What should be noted is that, while the official figures, provided by QLFS 2017, peg unemployment at 27%, AMPS data shows that unemployment is as high as 70%. Reasons for this may be the AMPS definition of adult, which is significantly younger than official statistics. This figure is updated yearly in accordance with the rise or fall in the official population statistics, but it is nonetheless a representation of the population rather than an actual reflection[45].

The high level of employment among participants in this study was in stark contrast to the broader South African picture, and revealed the class and racial privilege of participants. Unlike the majority of South Africans this sample of women participants were predominantly employed outside the home. More than half of the participants worked full-time, about a third worked part time, and only a handful reported being unemployed. It should be noted that for participants who were unemployed, this was their choice, and not as a result of their inability to find employment.

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[43] Media Update (2015, Oct 12). Retrieved from http://www.mediaupdate.co.za/marketing/82875/new-amps-data-shows-relative-stability
[44] QLFS. (2017). Retrieved from http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0211/P02112ndQuarter2017.pdf
[45] Retrieved from http://www.saarf.co.za/Saarf/Sample%20Note.docx

Among highly skilled women, with racial and class privilege, employment is indeed more of an option than for most of their compatriots. This is illustrated in the salary discrepancies (2012 figures) among the various race groupings in this country, represented in Figures 5.1 below[46].

South African's Mean Monthly Earnings in 2012 by Race
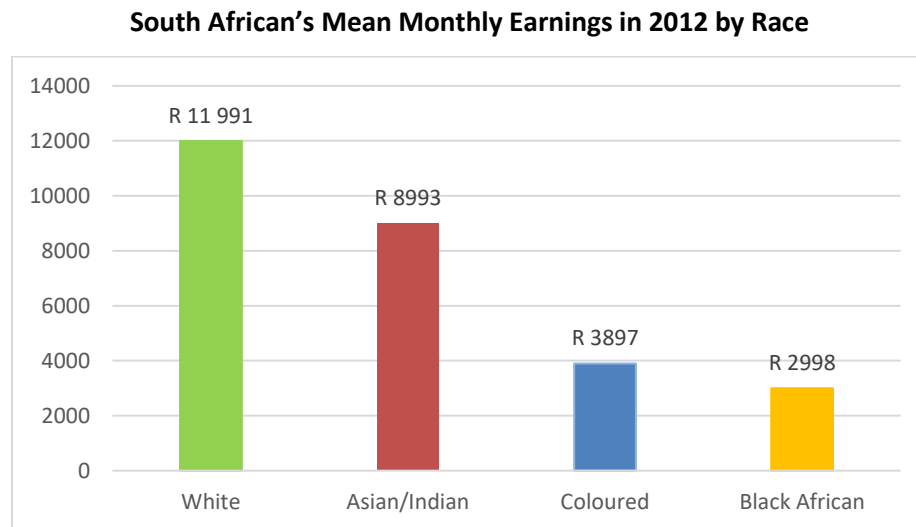
Figure 5.1 Data from NMW-RI, Published by BusinessTech 26 July 2016

According to the National Minimum Wage Research Initiative (NMW-RI), the white population earns significantly more than other population groups in South Africa as can be seen in Figure 5.1. White South Africans earn an average monthly salary (after tax) of R11 991, whereas black South Africans earn significantly less, taking home an average of R2998. Despite the increase in salaries since 2003, black South Africans are still highly disadvantaged when it comes to their earnings (BusinessTech, 2016, July 26).

Not only do salaries reveal discrepancies among the various racial groupings in South Africa, but they also have a gendered dimension. Among all race groupings men still earn considerably more than women; with a monthly income of R4317, as opposed to the R3118 that the average South African woman earns. Black women remain highly disadvantaged as the lowest earners among all the racial groupings (BusinessTech, 2016, July 26). Many women participants in this study, who were employed, earned salaries of over R15 000 per month, and were highly skilled, with professions ranging from pharmacists, doctors, psychologists, accountants, engineers and managers.

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[46] Retrieved from: http://businesstech.co.za/news/wealth/131524/this-is-the-average-salary-in-south-africa-by-race-and-industry/

Employment Decisions and Child-rearing as Gendered Practice

Bozzoli (1983) argues that housework contribution is proportional to economic contribution, and that the breadwinner will do less in terms of housework. Participants in my study indicated that 60% of males were considered breadwinners. This is likely to reflect my sampling choices where I selected women with a keen interest in domesticity, rather than being an accurate reflection of this particular demographic. Among participants there was also a relatively high number of women (7 in total), who were the primary breadwinners.

Interviews revealed that of all the participants, the five unemployed women held the most traditional sex-role attitudes towards household labour and formal employment. All of these women had children and indicated that they had no intention of going back into formal employment. There were a few women participants who indicated that they would rather opt out of formal employment and adopt a homemaking role. On the other hand, many of the more career oriented participants commented on the unstimulating and mundane nature of being a housewife, and saw it as a highly restrictive role. Some women participants, who were employed and highly successful, found themselves yearning for a more domestic role. Tina, for example, had a high profile job and was the household breadwinner. She nonetheless had surprisingly gendered views. Over a cup of tea she told me;

> I would like to be (a housewife) but my life didn't plan [SIC] out that way… I would give up work in a heartbeat to be able to stay at home and work on my crafts. *(Tina, f 30, Face-to-Face Interview, 4 January 2013).*

Despite having a career as a clinical pharmacist, Tina also spent most weekends crafting, painting artwork to sell in local galleries, and doing flowers and baking cakes for weddings. These creative pursuits seemed to be most in focus when Tina talked about what she yearned for in a more domestic role. Tina's redefinition of the role of "housewife" was very much aligned with postfeminist ideals of choice. Tina's postfeminist sensibility allowed her to choose which aspect of domesticity she wanted to pursue, and this would allow her the scope to expand her numerous businesses.

Although Tina was still formally employed during this study, she was in the process of renegotiating her roles, based on her requirements for her own domesticity. It was evident when talking to Tina that she saw huge value in traditionally feminine pursuits. Matchar (2013) argues that domestic work has been devalued, and that there has been a move, by women, to reclaim domestic space and practice. Tina's definition of "housewife" certainly expressed this. Furthermore, and importantly, her conception of

domesticity may point towards a new, more flexible configuration of family, entrepreneurship, and leisure interests within household networks.

Yet, Tina's rosy image of domestic autonomy and fulfilment relied heavily on the presence of a domestic worker who was recruited into the home network in order to perform the more laborious aspects of housework. This allowed Tina, as the "housewife", a great deal more time to pursue other homemaking interests. When I asked Tina about this during an early interview, she smiled and revealed that in her opinion, the "traditional domestic arts" in fact excluded washing and cleaning, which she delegated to a domestic worker;

> I guess I have always seen housewives as incredibly hardworking... there is a misconception that it's just sitting at home all day waiting for your husband to get home... The thing is I just love the traditional domestic arts... cooking and sewing and gardening... that's why I want to be a housewife! *(Tina, f 30, Face-to-Face Interview, 4 January 2013)*

As discussed in Chapter 1, the postfeminist sensibility allows women to choose which aspects of domesticity they wish to incorporate into their daily lives. However, as a project, postfeminism has done little to account for socially and economically disadvantaged women, and has been associated with whiteness (Ferber, 1998; Frankenberg, 1993, 1997; Heron, 2007). Women of colour remain outside of these narratives, and do not experience the levels of choice afforded to white middle class women, for example. Furthermore, the 'double entaglement' (McRobbie, 2004) of postfeminism, is a particular concern because many middle class women, such as Tina, employed socially and economically disadvantaged women in order to progress in their own careers, or simply to afford themselves the luxury of more leisure time.

Women participants who were formally employed often suffered from the misconception Tina identified, thus devaluing feminised and non-commodified forms of work. They were occasionally highly disparaging about women who chose to stay at home. A few of these women referred to the idea that being a housewife involved, "sitting at home all day", and being "chained to the house". Many of these women indicated that the decision to have children made staying at home acceptable, but opting out of employment, simply to rely on the male breadwinner, was frowned upon. Sally, for example, took exception to women staying at home and saw it as inherently "lazy". In an early interview she remarked;

> Yes I do think it's lazy, a number of these women were sent to posh schools, attended university and are now just sitting at home drinking coffee and doing yoga! I am fundamentally opposed to

the culture of women who just hang about… if you are going to stay at home you have to be doing something productive *(Sally, f 33, Face-to-Face Interview, 8 April 2013).*

Women such as Sally seemed to suggest that postfeminism has created a culture where women are exempt from working, because they have been afforded the luxury of choice. The choices offered by new domesticity have allowed women the option to stay at home, attend yoga classes, and choose which elements of domesticity to adopt and which to pass on to a domestic worker.

For a few women participants, formal employment was highly valued and crucial to their identity. There were however a number of participants who would have preferred not to have formal employment; especially those with children. Nonetheless, the strong work ethic does seem to exclude certain kinds of feminised work, and there are discourses that deem such work insignificant and frivolous. Such as when Sally said;

You don't need to be highly educated to sit at home and bake cakes and play pat-a-cake with your children while your husband earns all the money *(Sally, f 33, Face-to-Face Interview, 8 April 2013).*

For some women then, there is an underlying belief that work outside the home was harder and more taxing, perhaps because it had a market value.

Within household networks child-rearing is a huge responsibility that includes many factors including financial stability, gender expectations, career commitments, and so on. Unlike the majority of South Africans, many of the participants who had children indicated that they were able to stay at home and raise their children because of the financial position of their husbands/partners. A few participants indicated that they were unable to afford this luxury, while others did not want to forfeit their employment.

Most women participants identified child-rearing as a major factor influencing women's choice of employment. The majority of these participants believed that children played a crucial role in their decision to potentially opt out of employment. For example, in Questionnaire One, Ruth indicated that despite enjoying her job, she believed that she would likely change her employment situation in the future if she (and her husband) decided to have children. She explained;

We don't have any children and I find my work very enjoyable… But when we have kids I'll have to rethink. Children come first *(Ruth, f 26, Questionnaire One, 26 April 2013).*

In Ruth's case the assumption was that children come first for the mother, but not for the father. So although having a child was an important joint decision, a child would become Ruth's responsibility and

she would have to opt out of employment. As a mother, Ruth would have to renegotiate her options and sacrifice employment which she found rewarding and enjoyable.

Justine and Luke managed to compromise based on Justine's wish to stay at home, and Luke's financial stability. When I visited the couple in their home they explained that parenthood required flexibility. Justine explained;

> When we had our first child we decided that it was more important for me to be at home to raise and nurture our child than to pay somebody else to do it. Luke was able to earn enough money to make this choice feasible and I was glad to have the privilege of doing this. Now I am back at work (hope to go full time soon) and I couldn't be happier… I love my work, I love having a career that is blossoming. I think it's important for women to work and invest in themselves… but investing in your kids is also important for that time. I was very lucky. I am very lucky.
>
> *(Justine, f 32, Home Visit, 3 June 2014)*

In almost all cases where participants had children, especially young children, women participants felt that it was the "woman's role" to stay home and parent, while the husband/partner took the position of breadwinner. Some participants believed that female nannies or grandmothers could help with childcare. By recruiting other women actors into home networks, couples were able to reconfigure the structure of household networks, and negotiate more flexibility in their role as parents. The fact that women were often recruited showed the gendered element associated with child-rearing and child care.

In cases where domestic workers were recruited into home networks in order to look after children, they were often referred to more fondly, as "part of the family", as confirmed by Cock (1980, 1981). There was a tension, and this was reflective of McRobbie's (2004) 'double entanglement', because middle class participants, who chose to work outside of the home, often employed a domestic worker, or "nanny" to look after their children. Women participants could then renegotiate their own domestic duties by delegating them to someone who had less power within the home network. In some cases, participants who were stay-at-home mothers employed a domestic worker so that they could spend time with their children at home while someone else took over the housework. These dynamics are complicated because they reveal the vast social and economic imbalance, where black mothers are seldom afforded these opportunities.

There was only one exceptional case where stay-at-home parenting was the responsibility of the male partner. Early on in my research Sara was the sole breadwinner, because her husband was completing a

postgraduate degree. It was therefore his responsibility to stay at home and look after the couple's two sons. During a telephone interview, Sara told me that this was viewed as highly peculiar among many of the couple's friends and family, and that they had received reactions based on gender stereotypes. Sara told me that, 'an acquaintance said that my husband wears the skirt and I wear the pants in this relationship' (Sara, f 31, Telephone Interview, 15 February 2015).

A few women participants mentioned their employment as a safeguard against divorce, as well as the risks of opting out of employment on their future livelihood. Among the women participants who had opted for formal employment outside the home, only a handful of these women referred to the importance of "feeling needed" and "contributing to the household" as major factors in their decision to work. A few others highlighted the independence that having their own source of income afforded them. In an early interview, Alice spoke about the independence and security that she needed;

> I like having my income to support myself without needing to ask someone else for money. I don't like being dependent on someone else. I also enjoy being busy and doing something constructive... But mostly it's about security and independence. *(Alice, f 30, Face-to-Face Interview, 5 August 2013)*

The 2015 published crude divorce rate in South Africa is, 0.5 per 1000, with 26% of the total registered divorces coming from the white population[47]. Despite the growing number of divorces, Alice was one of the few women participants who mentioned the potential for a marital breakdown as a reason for outside employment. She explained that her own family background in a divorced family had affected her. As a result of her parents' divorce, she did not want to have to rely on anyone else to support her financially. Alice was one of the few participants who suggested a somewhat more individualised network configuration, structuring her independence as a network goal. Alice configured her network to account for her own need for independence thus fulfilling her network goals of being self-reliant. For others, the emphasis on independence was slightly different because they wanted their own financial independence to provide a lesson for their children; particularly for daughters.

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[47] STATS SA Marriages and Divorces Retrieved from:
http://www.divorcelaws.co.za/uploads/1/2/1/6/12166127/p03072015.pdf

Dividing Weeknight Cooking

In the early stages of my research I wanted to get a sense of some of the domestic rhythms within participants' household networks. Questionnaires and ad-hoc interviews served to enquire about the division of labour within households in terms of two key areas; weeknight cooking and grocery shopping. For Kemmer (2000), household tasks related to food are generally more gendered. The creative element, as well as the level of care, demonstrated in preparing food is often associated with women, especially in terms of controlling the nutrition of the family.

Kemmer *et al.* state that central to living together is the practice of eating together (1998, p. 49). However, 'food preparation, consumption and choice highlight issues of power, control and autonomy in early marriage, in which gender is an important factor' (Kemmer *et al.,* 1998, p. 49). Murcott (1982) argues that historically the belief was that women should prepare what is described as a "proper meal" for her family and that the praise that she received was an important part of the delivery of the meal. Furthermore, 'there was symbolic significance attached to the role of women in preparing this "proper meal" for her husband, the breadwinner' (Lake *et al.*, 2006, p. 476).

Gendered Division of Weeknight Cooking in 50 Households
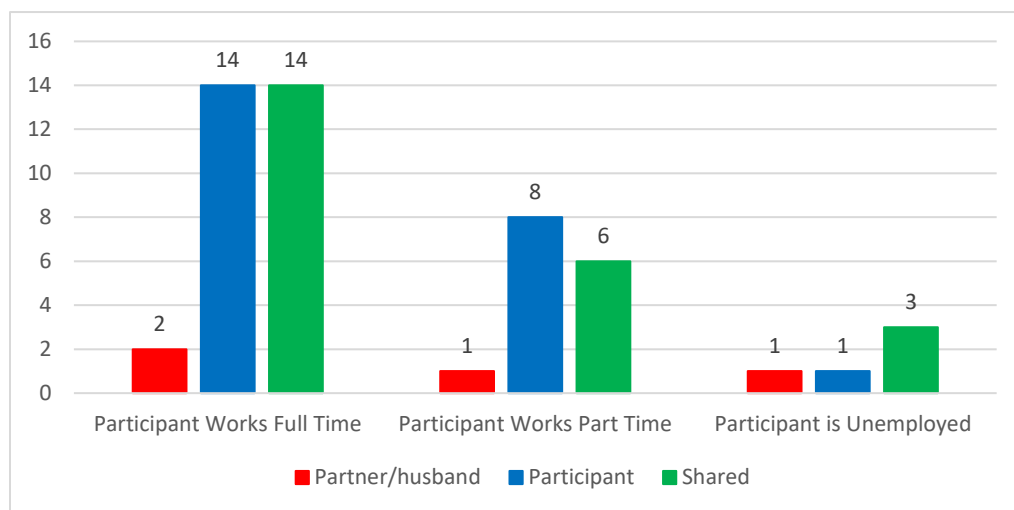
Figure 5.2 Division of Weeknight Cooking Among Participants

Figure 5.2 shows that, despite the shared financial responsibilities, cooking was a disproportionately feminised activity. 23 women were solely responsible for weeknight cooking, despite the fact that the majority of these women were employed. In 23 cases weeknight cooking was shared, and in only four

instances were male partners responsible for weeknight cooking. Children were involved in cooking in 2 households, but this was overseen by women participants, as discussed in Chapter 7.

Many women participants indicated high to medium levels of enjoyment for cooking, but also admitted to feeling that weeknight cooking was often an unpleasant chore. This was exacerbated as some women participants often prepared two meals a night because of the need to cook separately for children. None of the male participants prepared meals for children on a regular basis and thus feeding children was primarily the woman's role.

Women Participants and Weeknight Cooking

Kemmer (1999) showed that among couples with children, food preparation was largely considered the responsibility of women, since they were more likely to be at home because of their role as mothers. This view about the need for women to take charge of cooking is found, even when women are employed, because they are culturally regarded as responsible for nurturing, and by extension feeding the family (Calnan & Cant, 1990; McRae, 1987).

Historically food has been a signifier of the care associated with female labour, and discourses have circulated emphasising cooking as a "labour of love" (Hollows, 2000; DeVault, 1991). Yet, when it came to weeknight cooking, very few participants indicated that they prepared weeknight meals with feelings of love or care. For many, it was simply a weeknight obligation, with more care and joy experienced during weekend cooking for example. Despite feelings that weeknight cooking was a chore, many mothers indicated that they believed feeding children was a sign of their love and devotion, hence they emphasised nutrition and healthy eating as important factors in feeding work. Insight into weeknight cooking revealed affectual networks that were hinged on maternal responses to care and nurturing.

In order to avoid potential pressure, or conflict, in regards to negotiating expectations of cooking responsibilities, women participants revealed that they often recruited a "helping hand". These "helping hands" came at a financial cost, and usually involved purchasing convenience food; typically from "Woolies"[48], or "take aways". Sometimes this involved eating out, or, in a few cases, families relied on domestic workers to assist with weeknight cooking.

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[48] "Woolies" is the abbreviation for Woolworths, a high end retailer that is modeled on the UK's Marks and Spencer.

Where children were involved, women expressed high levels of emotion in regards to what they fed their children. Although women participants often viewed feeding work as a chore, there was evidence to suggest that they took great care to consider what produce and ingredients were purchased for meals. Many of these mothers were very concerned about harmful chemicals, GMOs, and processed food, and believed that convincing their children to eat healthy food was a sign of their devotion as a mother. For example, Tracy[49] believed that being strict with her daughter's diet, and only allowing her to eat healthy food, outweighed having to send her to bed without dinner.

Many women participants showed concern over feeding children too much processed, or take away food, thus compromising their children's health. Numerous women participants indicated a preference for buying convenience food from Woolworths, because this food was regarded as healthier and more nutritious. While Woolworths was seen as a huge help to a number of participants, a few indicated that sometimes a domestic worker or partner/husband was on hand "when needed".

Despite being the breadwinner, Tina cooked all of the household meals, and expressed very high levels of enjoyment for cooking. Tina described mornings as 'traumatic', so her husband, John, brought her a cup of tea every morning. Tina told me that this cup of tea from her husband was worth cooking dinner for the 'rest of her life' (Tina, f 30, Face-to-Face Interview, 4 January 2013). This response is typical of affectual networks, where value is placed on affective responses. Dean suggests that it is the very, 'dimension of affect… this "more than a feeling", that imparts movement' (2010, p 38-39). For Tina, the cup of tea was *more* than just a simple cup of tea, it was 'more than a feeling' (Dean, 2010), and therefore it became an important artefact that translated the couple's network roles. The seemingly insignificant act of bringing morning tea had huge value to Tina, and although it was subconsciously negotiated, it was an integral element that brought network stability. Affectual networks are typically repetitive in nature. Tina found security in knowing that she was going to receive tea every morning and this is indicative of a 'loop', something that is enjoyable in its predictability. And, maybe it was one of the reasons why the imbalance between the couple's domestic contributions, wasn't, at this stage at least, an area of conflict.

Other women expressed similar affective responses and relied on gestures, such as offering to help with dinner, as crucial to maintaining harmony within the home. In Questionnaire One Jennifer wrote;

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[49] See page 94.

I do the cooking but sometimes my husband will assist or get it started/finished while I
shower/bath. *(Jennifer, f 27, Questionnaire One, 2 May 2013)*

When I asked Jennifer about this she told me that as long as her husband expressed *some* interest in the
evening meal and helped out, in any capacity, then she was prepared to do the majority of the cooking.

I enjoy cooking but I don't like it when I'm cooking and he's just sitting on the couch watching
TV. I usually shower or bath before we eat. During this time I ask him to keep an eye on the
dinner so it doesn't feel like I've done *everything*. *(Jennifer, f 27, Skype Interview, 11 November
2013)*

The affective dimension of networks was revealed as very important. This was because contributions by
husbands/partners, albeit relatively small, added disproportionately to the sense of their overall
contribution to the network. Yet these acts, as symbolic gestures, were highly valued and appreciated.
Resentment was generally avoided if the husband/partner was at least seen to "pitch in", and this had a
stabilising effect on household networks. Women's superior nurturing ability was also highlighted when
it came to feeding families, with many women participants stating that they had to cook in order to
make sure families were well fed.

Domestic Workers and Weeknight Cooking

In only a handful of cases did participants report that domestic workers helped with weeknight cooking.
Hilary and Mark were one of the few couples who employed a full time domestic worker. The couple's
domestic worker cooked most of the evening meals for the children, which saved Hilary a lot of time.
Hilary expressed that time was an important factor, and that by recruiting a domestic worker to take
over this responsibility, allowed her more time to pursue other things. Hence, Hilary renegotiated her
own role, by renegotiating the domestic worker's role, and this was in keeping with Hilary's goal to have
well fed children as well as more time.

Numerous participants indicated that they would have liked to employ a domestic worker to help with
this area of domestic life. A few of these participants said that this was something that they were
actively looking into, while others were investigating sending their domestic workers on cooking
courses.

The generally perceived *need* for assistance in this area of care work signaled to me that,
husbands/partners were proving reluctant to negotiate, or compromise, their roles within household

networks by increasing their own contributions. Outsourcing weeknight cooking to a domestic worker was thus likely a great deal easier to implement than reconfiguring network roles that were largely based on gender normative values.

Shared Cooking Responsibilities

For a number of couples, cooking wasn't seen as a gendered practice, but a task that should be shared. In cases such as these, network roles were negotiated according to preference or equality, and often negotiations involved compromise. Couples either shared the cooking, by preparing evening meals together, or they divided cooking throughout the week. In some cases cooking was shared based on each individual's mood and enthusiasm.

For other couples, cooking was shared for reasons such as dietary requirements; in a few cases women were vegetarians, while their husbands/partners were not; or women were following specific diets. Gendered differences were sometimes observed in shared arrangements. In interviews Laura and Elizabeth commented;

> Nine times out of ten we prepare this meal together, my husband cooking the meat/chicken/fish and me doing the salad or vegetables for the meal. *(Laura, f 30, Skype Interview, 8 May 2013)*

> Dinner is a 50/50 split but my partner makes more of an effort. Dessert and tea time snacks it's all me. *(Elizabeth, f 32, Face-to-Face Interview, 6 August 2013)*

When I asked Laura about why her husband cooked the meat, and she took responsibility for the vegetables or salad component she said,

> I guess that's how it is in my family, my dad always did the braaing or the meat cooking and my mom did the other stuff… I think men are better at cooking meat. *(Laura, f 30, Skype Interview, 8 May 2013).*

A somewhat different gendering was apparent for Elizabeth who said that she didn't enjoy cooking, but loved baking because it was 'more feminine', and there was 'more scope for creativity in terms of decorating and playing with icing' (Face-to-Face Interview, 6 August 2013).

These gendered views by participants revealed that discourses around food preparation have continued to thrive and to secure network roles. According to *Lake et al.* (2006) and Williams (1997) certain meals

are gendered, '… meals that are befitting for men to prepare, such as barbeques, Sunday breakfasts or specialities' (in Lake *et al.,* 2006, p. 476). It is not only the meals that are gendered, but space itself. As discussed in Chapter 5, Hollows (2002) argues that domestic space has been constructed as a 'feminised space' and that cooking is central to woman's role. Images of the "happy homemaker" portrayed in texts, such as cook books and lifestyle magazines, helped to solidify this social construct. Barbequing, or braaing, is very much a masculine domain, and the gendered task of cooking is certainly masculinised when practiced outside. In *Esquire's Handbook for Hosts,* for example, it is declared that outdoor cooking is a "man's job" (Howarth, 1999). The feminine pursuit of baking and home cooking, on the other hand, was a move towards helping food to appear "more elaborate", when convenience foods first hit the shelves in the late 1950s. A new wave of ornamental cookery emerged and 'the cake became the ultimate in aesthetic fare that offered the opportunity to make both feminine competences and female labour visible' (Hollows, 2000, p. 144).

While some couples divided weeknight cooking along gender lines, and in accordance with discourses of gendered domains, others were more pragmatic in their approach. Gemma, a newly-wed, who, until recently, had never cooked, believed that cooking should be shared. Cooking in this couple's household involved constant negotiation, because, both she and her husband were navigating the kitchen for the first time. Gemma and her husband avoided conflict by deciding that cooking should not be gendered, and if one of them had to "suffer" in the kitchen, so too did the other. When I interviewed Gemma about the weeknight cooking she said;

> Dinner is divided equally. Both of us can't cook so there's sometimes a hit, a lot of miss and plenty of Woolworths! *(Gemma, f 25, Skype Interview, 12 August 2013)*

Gemma told me that because cooking was not an enjoyable task for either of them they decided to share the responsibility. This decision was met with disbelief, and friends and family often teased Gemma for being a bad wife and *making* her husband cook;

> My friends and family often tell me how thin my husband is looking and they point to the fact that it is obviously my fault for not feeding him. Do you know how annoying that is? When we met I didn't cook so he knew what to expect when he married me. I've never cooked and so I don't see why I am expected to do all the cooking just because I'm the wife. Luckily he understands that cooking is not my thing. *(Gemma, f 25, Skype Interview, 12 August 2013)*

Cooking responsibilities thus often involved negotiations between partners in order to reach a compromise. Often these negotiations were relatively simple, and meant dividing cooking

responsibilities throughout the week, or preparing meals together. In other cases, these negotiations were more complex and based on gendered conceptions of feminised and masculinised space and meals.

Male Participants and Weeknight Cooking

In the four exceptional cases where the husband/partner was responsible for weeknight cooking, this was largely as a result of internal negotiations between partners. In most cases this arrangement was based on whoever arrived home first. In such households weeknight cooking was therefore not a gendered act, but rather an act of convenience; whoever arrived home first cooked the meal. In the cases of Lisa and Alice, partners/husbands cooked because they enjoyed it and were better at it.

When I visited Lisa and Henry I asked Lisa about Henry's role as household cook. Lisa explained, 'I am lucky to stay at home and have someone to cook for me but he enjoys it' (Lisa, f, 26, Home Visit, 13 June 2014). Henry used cooking as part of his winding down routine, 'cooking de-stresses me… I like thinking about what I'm going to cook for dinner' (Henry, m, Home Visit, 13 June 2014).

In cases where men cooked, oftentimes they referred to it as a "hobby" rather than a tedious chore. Lake *et al.* argue that, 'for such men cooking is a domestic task that involves creativity, women on the other hand, do not appear to have this luxury of choice' (2006, p. 484). These cases indicate egalitarian relationships where gendered preconceptions about women's work, and their place in the kitchen, have been negated. For the majority of women participants, their involvement in preparing weeknight meals was still largely determined by preconceived gender roles. And, for many women participants, the fact that they expressed medium, to high, levels of enjoyment for cooking meant that they became responsible for this aspect of everyday life. Furthermore, because of ordering strategies (Law, 1992, 1994, 2004) that value cooking and feeding as key aspects of care work, meant that women naturally fell into these roles. For couples with financial means, they were able to find alternatives to cooking, and recruited additional actants into networks; by purchasing high end convenience food or take-aways, or outsourcing food preparation to domestic workers.

Dividing Grocery Shopping

Whereas women participants were able to renegotiate their roles around cooking, when it came to grocery shopping there was less room for manoeuvring. Grocery shopping was predominantly women's role, and in only 3 cases were husbands/partners responsible for this area of everyday life, as shown in

Figure 5.3. Again this data may be skewed because of how I recruited my participants, but nonetheless it supports findings by Kerr & Charles (1986), Lake *et al.* (2006) and Marshall & Anderson (2000) and adds insight into gendered behaviour.

Gendered Division of Grocery Shopping in 50 Households
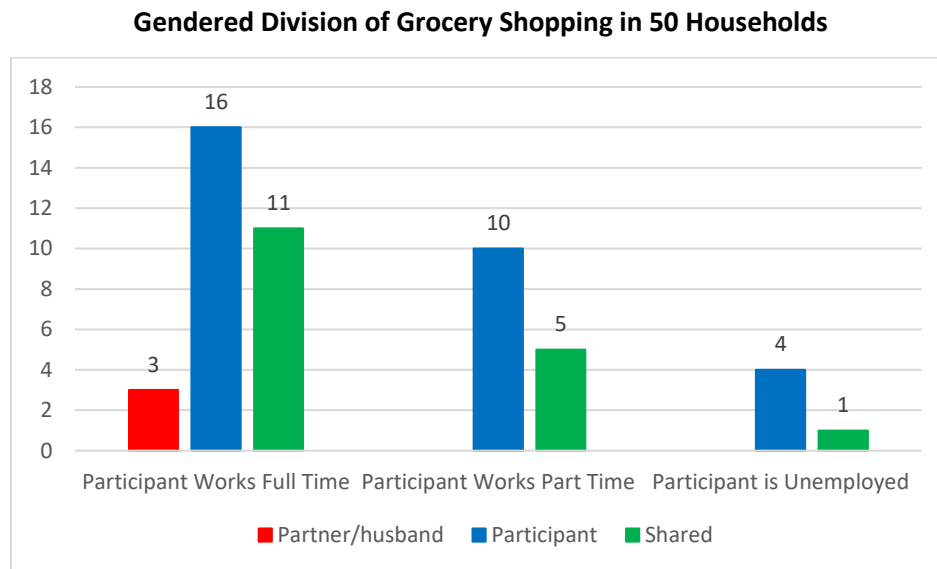
Figure 5.3 Division of Grocery Shopping Among Participants

As with weeknight cooking, I wanted to assess levels of enjoyment for grocery shopping, contrasted with whose responsibility it was. Grocery shopping was indeed gendered, and was not generally considered enjoyable.

Studies by Lake *et al.* (2006), and Marshall & Anderson (2000), demonstrate that, as in the case of this study, historically women have been "gatekeepers" in regards to the family's diet. Along with this, 'food purchasing and preparation within shared households remains a heavily gendered issue and appears to still be a female dominated domain' (Lake *et al.,* 2006, p. 483). Despite more women entering the job market, and shifting gender roles, the fact is that women are 'still most likely to be responsible for food-related tasks' (Lake *et al.,* 2006, p. 476). Food purchasing is often described as a "female job", and although men may show support, it still remains a female dominated activity (Kerr & Charles, 1986). Despite the fact that some of these studies are a couple of decades old, from Figure 5.3 it can be seen that in terms of my own sample, grocery shopping is still a disproportionately gendered activity.

Most women participants admitted to low levels of enjoyment for grocery shopping, and many described the process as something that they "have to do". None of the husbands/partners who

shopped echoed this "have to" attitude. Sally, who worked full time, and was solely responsible for the grocery shopping, wrote;

> I only do it because I HAVE to, not because I enjoy it *(Sally, f 33, Questionnaire One, 2 November 2012).*

In a later interview, when I enquired as to why she felt this way, she responded;

> Well I dunno… I guess it's just always been the chore that I do and I know what my son likes to eat, I buy healthy things for us to eat… I think if I left it to my husband I'd be double the size! *(Sally, f 33, Face-to-Face Interview, 8 April 2013)*

Lake *et al.* (2006) and Marshal *et al.* (2000) describe women as being the controlling force in terms of what food is purchased. Women are seen as "gatekeepers" whose role is to makes sure that the right food is purchased for the household. Many participants who expressed "having to do" grocery shopping admitted that one of the main reasons they felt this, was because they needed to control purchases. Control seemed to be a highly prized and important network goal for many women participants. Many of these women remarked on the importance of shopping lists, which were significant artefacts within home networks. Shopping lists allowed women to micromanage all purchasing decisions and to influence what foods entered the home. Hence, not only were shopping lists crucial to grocery shopping, but they also indicated high levels of gendering.

Shopping Lists as Gendered

It was considered the responsibility of women participants to write, plan, and manage shopping lists. Discourses around women's superior efficiency, organisation and multitasking abilities were ordering strategies that secured them to this role. Many women participants indicated that even if shopping was a shared activity, creating the shopping list was not. For many women participants, shopping lists were a symbol of their power and gave them a sense of control. These particular women adopted the role as domestic manager, and emphasised the inability of their husbands/partners to shop without *their* lists. Even in cases where husbands/partners were the primary grocery shopper, women participants admitted that husbands/partners still needed their list; for example when Mary said,

> My husband does the majority of the shopping… but he has to use my list! *(Mary, f 34, Questionnaire One, 28 May 2013)*

From the outset shopping lists were framed as important artefacts within home networks that enabled grocery shopping to be accomplished successfully. Shopping lists were frequently given to men to

translate their network roles as intermediaries. This is because shopping lists set out exact parameters and instructions for shopping. The suggestion is that if shopping lists are adhered to then networks will be black boxed.

Facebook observations showed numerous examples where women participants described instances of husbands/partners ignoring requests on shopping lists, which resulted in confusion and disarray. These insights into black boxing, revealed by back stage negotiations, highlighted shopping lists as integral non-human actors. Shopping lists, as an extension of female participants, influenced the success of grocery shopping, and in turn the feeding of households. If husbands/partners deviated from shopping lists, and tried to change or ignore what was purchased, then this mediation would cause networks to destabilise. Husbands/partners deviating from shopping lists were common narratives on Facebook, and were frequently used as ordering strategies to illustrate men's inability to shop.

Lee for example posted a photograph of a 2l bottle of full cream milk[50] with the caption;

> I asked my **husband** to buy the green milk... I wrote "ONLY THE GREEN"... #cryingovermilk. *(Lee, f 28, Facebook Status, May 2013)*

Although grocery shopping was not a particularly newsworthy topic on Facebook, the newsworthiness of domestic failures meant that posts such as these received numerous "likes" and responses. The audience of this post remarked on its comedic value and also responded to it universality. The audience saw the comedic value in the hashtag, and found the situation humorous. Many readers offered anecdotes about their spouses' (male) inability to follow directions on shopping lists. This particular post received over 20 comments, with the underlying discourse that men are bad at shopping, and cannot follow direction, even with a list.

Belinda posted a similar status about men's ineptitude at shopping which elicited a mammoth response;

> Dear Diary: I can't even make this stuff up!
> Me: 'honey we need milk and a lightbulb'
> **Husband** goes to Spar. I send a Whatsapp just in case he forgets because it's a 5 minute drive to the shops and there are many distractions. Text reads: 'DON'T FORGET THE LIGHTBULB... THE SCREW KIND... NOT THE KIND WITH THE EAR THINGS.'

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[50] In South Africa full cream milk is packaged with blue lids and labels, low fat milk with red, and fat free milk with green.

> Husband arrives home with a slab of chocolate, a custard slice, and a tray of cheese rolls.

> *(Belinda, f 30, Facebook Status, February 2014)*

This insight into the back stage demonstrated the breakdown between the various actants, where the shopping list was ignored and therefore the network temporarily collapsed. By ignoring the contents of the list, Belinda's husband mediated his own role and returned home with the incorrect items. This meant that the household was without a lightbulb and milk and, on this occasion, Belinda made the additional journey to the shop to buy the necessary household items.

The response from Belinda's Facebook community (particularly women), was that they too had experienced this particular scenario. A number of them indicated mutual exasperation, while also seeing the funny side. When I asked Belinda about this post she described feeling as if this scenario was not uncommon, and that *all* men were inherently bad at shopping;

> I love telling stories and anecdotes and Facebook is great for that. I brag about my husband all
> the time and we are a very lovey dovey couple… We wear matching outfits and don't care. But
> he also does things that drive me crazy. Like this. To be honest I was annoyed, but after a while I
> saw the funny side so I posted this status because I know I'm not alone. This is EVERY MAN!

> *(Belinda, f 30, Skype Interview, 21 September 2014)*

Posts such as these illustrate the power of Facebook as a platform for collaborative storytelling (Arthur, 2009; McNeill, 2012) where numerous actants are able to contribute to narratives. In homophilous networks, where collaboration results in agreement and reaffirmation, attitudes are reflective of the pervasiveness of certain discourses. Although Belinda gave her husband, a high profile corporate professional, a simple shopping list and a reminder Whatsapp message he still managed to return home with the incorrect items. Yet, Belinda enabled her husband to behave in a certain way because of her belief that 'every man' cannot shop properly. The fact that this belief was supported by Belinda's Facebook networks acted as an ordering strategy, which secured her role as the household grocery shopper.

Studies in the UK by (Thornton *et al*., 1983) and (Strong *et al.,* 2005) illustrate that husbands tended to believe in innate gender roles because they were less egalitarian about them. Men also stood to gain by believing that women are "naturally" better at household chores than they are (Strong *et al*., 2005 p. 115). In the statuses above, Lee and Belinda, as well as their networks, demonstrate the belief in discourses that *only* women are "capable of shopping properly". Hence, numerous women participants

adopted the role of managing shopping lists which also gave them a certain amount of power in terms of what groceries were bought. Accepting this role also meant that they were responsible for the consequences when grocery shopping was not performed correctly.

Discourses and gendered views about women being "better at shopping" are widely circulated constructs that have historical roots. In writing about conspicuous consumption Veblen (1899), Chapman (1955) and Slater (1997) argue that shopping has always been viewed as a female activity. Marshall & Anderson state that shopping has become much more of a planned activity with a shopping list being a vital component that are 'almost exclusively mentioned by women who regard it as their responsibility' (2000 p. 65). Such views about the gendered nature of household shopping have immense staying power in terms of this study. The fact that household networks are seen to be disrupted when male participants shop without a list, or ignore lists, has ensured that the majority of women participants are in charge of overseeing household purchases.

By contrast Lexi and her husband shopped and created the shopping list together, an arrangement negotiated between them based on their strengths and weaknesses; and Lexi's dyslexia in particular. In an early interview Lexi opened up about her dyslexia and said;

> I like it when my husband and I do it together. I'm dyslexic and *hate* numbers. I do the list of what we need, and he does the pricing and specials and budget *(Lexi, f 28, Face-to-Face Interview, 4 January 2013).*

Lexi was one of the few participants who mentioned budgeting as a factor in list making. This is reflective of the relative privilege of the participants and the fact that nutrition, and nutritional gate keeping, was more important than the cost of the food purchases. Shopping lists were an important artefact within household networks which enabled women participants to control what groceries were purchased for households. They also allowed one of the major areas of the household work, namely grocery shopping, to run efficiently and easily.

Cleaning and Housework

According to the AMPS sample, nearly 13% of South African households employ one or more domestic workers. The ability to employ domestic workers is still a distinctive marker of white privilege with over half of white households (56%) employing at least one domestic worker (SAARF, 2015b). Nonetheless, the country's changing class structure, and income distribution, is reflected in this survey with black, coloured and Indian households employing domestic workers.

From my sample, 41 participants employed a domestic worker. Most of these households employed domestic workers once or twice a week, and there were 8 participants who employed domestic workers full time. In the 9 cases where households did not employ domestic workers, the housework was performed solely by women participants in 5 cases, and shared between couples in 4 cases.

For many women participants, employing domestic workers enabled them to negotiate gendered labour structures, which allowed them more flexibility. Cleaning and housework was the main reason for employing domestic workers as this eased household tension. Outsourcing domestic work meant that arguments about housework were significantly reduced. For example, Lee was only half joking when she told me that;

> Our domestic worker has saved our marriage. We seldom fight about who does the dishes because either we use the dishwasher or she does it. *(Lee, f 26, Skype Interview, 13 August 2013)*

Hilary had always employed a full time domestic worker, and had recently returned to working full time after having children. During my visit to her home she explained;

> We have a big house and young children and we've had our domestic for a long time. I would rather spend my free time doing other things and besides it's so affordable. *(Hilary, f 34, Home Visit, 10 November 2014).*

Hilary's husband Mark did very little in terms of housework, and his own background growing up in, what Hilary described as, a 'very traditional household' (Home Visit, 10 November, 2014), had perpetuated his own views about housework;

> Mark was raised in a home where the woman cleaned and cooked and the man went to work and read the newspaper. There are boy's jobs and girl's jobs. He saw that model and it works for me because we have a domestic worker to do the housework. When our domestic is on leave it becomes a bit of a struggle though because then it's up to me. *(Hilary, f 34, Home Visit, 10 November 2014)*

For Hilary, and a number of other participants whose husbands did not participate in domestic labour, employing a domestic worker was affordable and eased the burden of housework, particularly cleaning. In many cases the work of domestic workers often went entirely unnoticed by male actors because of their absence from housework. In an interview Carmen told me;

> I don't even think my husband knows when our maid comes in. I have never heard him comment on how nice and clean the house looks and he never tells our kids to tidy up after

themselves. I try to get them (the kids) to help out but my husband doesn't back me up so I just leave everything until the maid comes. *(Carmen, f 25, Face-to-Face Interview, 24 July 2013)*

In a few cases participants indicated that they did not employ a domestic worker because they felt guilty or uncomfortable with the idea. Alice, who worked from home, said that she was not happy to watch someone doing the cleaning even if she was also working. However, it was Mary's husband who was uncomfortable employing a domestic worker, so the couple negotiated a compromise in terms of housework. Mary wrote;

My husband doesn't believe in having a domestic worker… so in turn he helps out with the chores *(Mary, f 34, Questionnaire One, 28 May 2013).*

Although the couple shared the responsibility for household cleaning it was telling that Mary was aware of the expectation that women are historically in charge of this area of domestic life. The fact that she said 'helps out with the chores' illustrates her own gendering where women do the majority of the housework and men are there to "help out". When I asked Mary about this arrangement she said that she respected her husband's decision, and that he took responsibility for a large portion of the housework as a result;

When we moved in together he said he thinks it's exploitative and insisted we didn't have hired help. At first I thought he would just sit back and watch me do all the work but it's actually the opposite... my baking business creates a lot of dishes and mess and he is always on hand to help. He does the vacuuming and I do the washing… ironing is either shared or we don't bother! [laughs] *(Mary, f 34, Skype Interview, 12 August 2013).*

It was significant when I spoke to Mary that her husband's role was to be 'on hand to help', rather than to take control and manage the housework. This belief was reflective of a number of women participants who expressed the fact that they had to be assertive in terms of housework, and that husbands/partners didn't have this same instinct.

The exploitation associated with domestic work is particularly relevant to the South African context. This is because of the high unemployment rate and the low market value of black labour (as expressed in figure 5.1). A few participants indicated the unease that they felt about employing domestic labour, as well as the guilt, or shame, associated with having a black woman cleaning up after them. For a few participants, such as Justine for example, employing a domestic worker was an area of constant conflict. This was because of the discomfort or uneasiness of employing someone at a race, class and gender

disadvantage to perform a job with low market value, while on the one hand, recognising the high unemployment rate. Justine expressed this when she said;

> Employing a domestic worker is difficult… I mean it's complex. We have tried to make her job very clear so that she doesn't feel like she is a servant, or there to clean up after us. We respect her role in the house, and try to make sure that she's not tidying up after us, but *cleaning*. These women are desperate for work… and their desperation is exploited. I like to think we are fair employers, but we do feel uneasy with the situation *(Justine, f 32, Home Visit, 3 June 2014).*

A few couples, such as Justine and Luke, also felt that children should be involved in the cleaning process, regardless of whether a domestic worker was employed or not. A few households limited the cleaning responsibilities of the domestic worker, in order to teach children about maintaining a clean environment. Household labour was therefore divided among all of the participants, including children, which increased the number of human actors responsible for housework. In a few homes children performed tasks according to age, likes, and abilities. In most of these cases, where children were involved in housework, mums created a "chore wheel", or schedule, which divided up tasks. In most cases there was an incentive to perform chores and household tasks, including financial rewards, additional screen time, treats such as sweets and chocolates and outings. Justine explained how it worked in their household;

> Obviously no one likes packing and unpacking the dishwasher and stuff like that so we all chip in. I am working on getting the children to help more with meals, fold laundry and so on… it's a work in progress. We have a schedule on the fridge… we're busy ironing out kinks because they're not happy with how we've allotted screen time rewards! *(Justine, f 32, Home Visit, 3 June 2014).*

For couples such as Justine and Luke, a major concern was to bring back stage work to the foreground, in order to make housework visible to their children. Luke, in particular, emphasised how important it was to teach their children about housework and that, 'clean clothes and food don't miraculously appear' (Luke, m, 3 June 2014).

> I want our kids to be respectful of people, their space and their work. I don't want them to grow up thinking that a "maid" is there to pick up after them. They know our domestic worker is here to do us a favour and to look after them, particularly. She doesn't clean our bedrooms at all. She cleans the kitchen, bathrooms, and living area once a week. And we encourage her to get the

children involved in helping her. We offer them screen time as a reward but I'd like them to see the clean environment and happy parents as a reward. *(Luke, m, Home Visit, 3 June 2014)*

Ruth and her husband preferred to use a cleaning agency because they believed that this was more equitable, and 'helped to regulate an unregulated industry' (Ruth, f 26, Face-to-Face Interview, 12 November, 2014). The increased popularity of cleaning agencies has a problematic position in South Africa because it is a system of labour brokerage, which does not necessarily benefit workers. Research in this area is sparse because the 'uberisation of domestic work' (Hunt & Machingura, 2016) is a relatively new industry. Nonetheless, Hunt & Machingura state that, 'these systems disproportionately benefit purchasers, and appear to reinforce the unequal power relations and discriminatory structures underpinning the traditional domestic work sector' (2016, p. 6). Yet, Ruth and her husband's view was that, because they could not afford a domestic worker more than twice a month, they were exempt from having to commit to employing one on a contractual basis.

Just as many husbands/partners, believed that women were better at grocery shopping, cleaning, cooking, etc., some women participants claimed that domestic workers were better at cleaning. A number of participants expressed the fact that they were not as proficient at cleaning as their domestic worker.

In a few cases there was evidence of the stigma of class, race and poverty where black women were expected to perform the undesirable jobs around the house. This could be seen in a few cases where domestic workers were required to clean up after dogs, empty cat litter trays, and clean children's bedrooms. From a South African context, this is socially and politically problematic, because domestic workers are often viewed as "servants" and undervalued and exploited in their work. Gemma, for example, described the role of their domestic worker as 'she does the dirty work' (Skype Interview, 12 August 2013). While Natalie referred to her domestic worker's role as 'doing the stuff I hate' (Skype Interview, 11 August 2013).

Conclusion

This chapter has examined how gender roles are manufactured and naturalised, by analysing 'ordering strategies' (Law, 1992, 1994, 2004) that secure women to the home. From this perspective, both the material and digitally mediated version of the home are 'gender factories' (Becher, 1965; Berk, 1995) where normative gender roles are stabilised.

ANT illustrates how participants, and other actants, are translated into networks (Callon, 1986a, 1986b; Gieryn, 2000; Latour, 1987; Law, 1992, 1999), and how they negotiate domestic responsibilities. These networked processes are important, because they show how power is negotiated. Power is reflective of gender, class, and race dynamics, and situating this study against SAARF AMPS, QLFS 2017 and NMW-RI data, allowed me to situate my homophilous sample within the broader context of South African everyday life. This illustrates the privileged position of the participants, and highlights the social inequalities of post-apartheid South Africa, which has restricted the economic and social mobility of black women.

The mobility of women is a central issue, and Hochschild's (1989) 'stalled revolution' has contemporary relevance to black women. This is indicated by the high number (over one million) of black women employed as domestic workers as discussed in Chapter 1. The 'double entanglement' (McRobbie, 2004) of postfeminism was revealed because many women participants enrolled socially and economically disadvantaged women into their networks, in order to reconfigure their network goals. And, although women participants were able to choose and redefine aspects of domesticity (Matchar, 2013), these same choices did not apply to the black women who were employed to perform housework.

Affectual delegatory relationships allowed couples to recruit domestic workers as intermediaries into networks, in order to perform housework and other time consuming household responsibilities. Employing domestic workers significantly reduced conflict between partners. This chapter illustrates that since Cock (1980, 1981) and Nyamnjoh's (2005) studies there have been shifts in the employment of domestic workers. The major shift is that very few couples employed domestic workers on a full time basis, choosing instead to employ them part time. This might suggest changing relationships between employers and domestic workers, because very few couples who employed domestic workers on a part time basis indicated feeling as if she was 'part of the family'. Furthermore, most domestic workers appeared to act as intermediaries, rather than mediators, and perhaps this was because of their limited role and influence within the home.

Although my sampling methods influenced my findings, they were reflective of similar studies that illustrate the gendered nature of domestic everyday life. Regarding food preparation and weeknight cooking, my findings support those of Kemmer (1998), Lake *et al.* (2006), and Murcott (1982). Cooking was a disproportionately feminised activity and emphasis was placed on women's role as nutritional gatekeepers. Food is tied to discourses of nurturing, love, and care (Calnan & Cant, 1990; DeVault, 1991; Hollows, 2000; McRae, 1987), and these discourses revealed affectual networks, where mothers

responded to feelings of care and nurturing, and expressed high levels of emotion in regards to feeding work.

Women participants were influenced by their own emotional responses and this affected how they behaved in networks. The example of Tina's morning tea showed the value she placed on 'the feeling' (Dean, 2010) that it gave her, where she subconsciously traded cooking dinner 'for the rest of her life' (Tina, f 30, Face-to-Face Interview, 4 January 2013). The affective dimension of networks was revealed as very important to women participants, and highlighted the perceived value in contributions made by husbands/partners, which were often disproportionate to the level of labour or work involved. Nonetheless contributions by husbands/partners, no matter how small, had a stabilising affect on household networks.

Grocery shopping was predominantly the role of women participants, and this is supported by the findings of Kerr & Charles (1986), Lake *et al.* (2006) and Marshall & Anderson (2000). As with weeknight cooking, discourses of women being better gatekeepers and "better" shoppers (Chapman, 1955; Marshall & Anderson, 2000; Slater, 1997; Veblen, 1899) were frequently cited as reasons for them to perform this role. This belief was reinforced by women participants who revealed the need to control shopping lists. Shopping lists were identified as important household artefacts, and women's superior efficiency and organisation were 'ordering strategies' that secured shopping lists as women's responsibility.

Shopping lists translated the network role of husbands/partners, and if grocery shopping was performed correctly, then networks were black boxed. Insight into both the front stage and back stage presentations of domestic space and place, through Facebook, highlighted the results of network collapse when husbands/partners weren't translated correctly, or tried to renegotiate their roles. Facebook observations showed numerous examples of collaborative narratives (Arthur, 2009; McNeill, 2012) where women participants described husbands/partners failed shopping attempts. These narratives were common on Facebook, and because of homophily these stereotypical beliefs were deemed to be universal. Hence women participants reinforced ordering strategies by enabling their husbands/partners to purchase incorrect groceries or to avoid shopping entirely. Furthermore, by being labelled as proficient shoppers and taking control of shopping lists, gave many women participants a sense of power and agency.

Women participants were able to reconfigure their network goals and often chose more egalitarian roles because the home has been framed as their space and place (Attfield, 2002; Kaplan, 1998; McKeon, 2005; Simon & Landis, 1989). And, it is clear that certain actors have more agency in terms of negotiating their roles. Domestic workers are in a comparatively weak position within these household structures, especially in contrast to men, who are able to negotiate their roles depending on perceived suitability towards certain tasks, their financial role, and so on.

CHAPTER 7: PERFORMANCE AND MAINTENANCE OF NETWORK ROLES

Introduction

Doolin & Lowe argue that a 'stabilized network is only stable for some' (2002, p. 75), namely those actants who hold power or dominance; and consequently numerous weaker actants may be marginalised within networks. Analysing the material and social relationships that allow household networks to stabilise, provides insight into how power is reflected in the home. These domestic processes commonly act to render such networks invisible, or to remove them from the awareness of those not engaged in maintaining them, and often from public discourse. In this way Facebook narratives reveal how social relations, inequality, and power (Doolin & Lowe, 2002) are enacted in homes.

This chapter examines how women participants stabilise their role as domestic managers within households. I suggest that by engaging in impression management on Facebook, and negotiating front stage and back stage aspects of domesticity, they portray themselves as integral to the functioning of home networks. Furthermore, I argue that the gaps and silences in participants' Facebook narratives offer insight into discourses about women's work; this is because discourse is as much about what is said, as it is about what, or who, is left out of narratives (Kozloff, 1987). I argue that domestic workers are frequently alienated from narratives and therefore their sense of belonging within domestic space and place is from a marginalised perspective. I argue this position from the perspective of white middle class narratives (Ferber, 1998; Frankenberg, 1997; Heron, 2007; Nakayama & Krizek, 1995; Nuttall, 2001; Riggs & Selby, 2003, Steyn, 2005) and acknowledge that had I interviewed domestic workers this would have provided a different perspective.

In addition, the analysis of Facebook narratives reveals that, as domestic managers, women participants play a crucial role in recruiting and enrolling actants, and maintaining network ties. Enrollment is a vital element of network stability, and assigning roles to actants ensures that networks are maintained (Doolin & Lowe, 2002). This chapter explores how Facebook is used to assign roles to actants, particularly children, husbands/partners, and domestic workers. Furthermore, it scrutinises how ordering strategies (Law, 1992, 1994, 2004), such as gendered and racial discourses, present these actants and secure network roles.

Chapter 3 discussed Facebook's networked narrative transmission, and this chapter analyses the extent to which Facebook is used as a platform to recruit and enroll actants into domestic networks. The household is a series of complex processes and relationships, and certain actants benefit from network configurations. Yet, despite these complex relational and social processes, homophily often thrives because personal SNS are often homogenous and characteristic of value homophily or shared discourse (di Gregorio, 2012; McPherson *et al.*, 2001).

Domestic networks are stabilised and maintained because women are anchored to the home (cf. Kaplan 1998) through numerous discourses of gendered and racial space, place and practice. Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 3, domestic advisors have historically presented the home as a place for women in which to reimagine their domesticity (Leavitt, 2002). By presenting ideals of domestopia, domestic advisors secure middle class women to the home. My observations reveal that Facebook has created new platforms for domestic advisors to secure gender normativity, because of the collaborative and networked structure of narratives. I illustrate that women, who appear to be proficient at domesticity, through their own self-presentation on Facebook, are frequently called upon by other women within their networks, to provide advice. Hence, domestic advisors play an integral role in domestic networks, and continue to promote domestopia as a possibility.

In their role as domestic managers women participants use Facebook to facilitate kin work (di Leonardo, 1987; Wellman, 2001) and to communicate with others about their own domesticity. This chapter illustrates the expectation placed on women to perform kin work, and how practices of kin work have developed owing to the advent of SNS.

Discourse is an essential component to "naturalising" network roles and if a network is "naturalised" successfully it becomes black-boxed. Nonetheless, actants do not always behave as intermediaries or act in predictable ways. As discussed in Chapter 3, Facebook allows individuals shared contexts of communication because of homophily. Often these shared contexts involve the act of complaining, or humblebragging (the act of masking bragging in order to appear humble), and at other times there is what Marwick & boyd (2011) describe as context collapse, where the intended meaning of a text is misinterpreted by the reader or audience.

I suggest that during these moments of context collapse, 'black boxing' (Callon, 1986b; Latour, 2005; Rip and Kemp, 1998) is scrutinised, and this allows us to 'find out where, how and for whom difference erupts and maintains itself' (Saldanha, 2008, p. 2081). Facebook provides situations that create

heterotopias of similarity, or homophily, which maintain and stabilise social order. I observed heterotopias of whiteness being disrupted during context collapse, because narratives were reconfigured in reaction to discourses of white middle class normativity. As discussed in Chapter 2, whiteness has a tradition of being unmarked and invisible, or indeed black boxed, and therefore ascribed to universality (Brekhus, 1998; Frankenberg, 1993, 1997; Nakayama & Krizek, 1995; Riggs & Selby, 2003).

Although the impact of the EdgeRank Algorithm is not specifically measured in this study, as discussed in Chapter 3, it is an important actant. This is because it influences the narratives and discourses that circulate, especially within homophilous networks. In this way the Facebook algorithms maintain and disrupt networks, because they determine which stories appear on the Newsfeed (Tufekci, 2017). As discussed in Chapter 3, the creation of "algorithmic friendships" (Bucher, 2012) means that the Facebook experience is mediated by algorithms and therefore friendships are maintained because EdgeRank prioritises certain content over others.

Performing Household Management

Traditionally women have been secured to the home (Felski, 2000; Kaplan, 1998; McKeon, 2005) and domestic activities have been naturalised as "women's work". Lefebvre (1984) suggests that the weight of everyday life rests on women who are responsible for running households. For most women participants, the appearance of being a proficient domestic manager was very important and their success was often measured by how homes, as well as children and husbands, were presented on Facebook.

My observations supported these claims because women participants were responsible for recruiting actants into the home. Through the process of translation (Callon, 1986a, 1986b, Latour, 1987; Law 1992, 1999) women participants renegotiated and redefined their own network roles based on how successfully they could recruit additional actants into their homes.

Recruiting & Presenting Children

Where couples had children, the children were often recruited into households and assigned roles and responsibilities based on age, likes and abilities. Although most couples believed that it was important for children to have domestic responsibilities, it was predominantly women participants who delegated and supervised children's chores and responsibilities. Facebook observations revealed that

husbands/partners were largely absent from this area of domestic life, and women participants were in charge of delegating tasks to children and creating schedules, such as chore wheels and sticker charts. These negotiations were revealed as a major part of everyday life for women participants, and were common on Facebook.

Careful negotiation was needed in order to secure continued enrollment of children, and, as discussed in Chapter 6, rewards such as screen time were frequently offered to children for fulfilling domestic responsibilities. Participants' Facebook presentations and interviews suggested that screen time was a successful negotiating tool, although it was often an area of conflict. Occasionally children would break the rules set out by their parents, such as engaging in too much screen time, or trying to renegotiate their chores.

Interviews revealed that negotiations were common in Luke and Justine's household. However, these back stage negotiations were often absent on Facebook. For example, Justine posted a photograph on of their children playing board games with the caption, 'Who needs screen time?' (Justine, Facebook Status, May 2014) and Luke explained the back stage context of this post;

> This screen time caper is not all roses I'll tell you that. I got in trouble the other day because I was on my phone the whole day playing games and Whatsapping… it was supposed to be a screen free day. Justine had to placate some angry children with board games because I wasn't being compliant. Kids need to know that sometimes rules don't apply to parents. There are also days they push the limits. Netflix automatically plays episodes one after the other… it's the perfect loophole for kids cos they just say 'but we're already halfway through the episode can't we just finish it?' *(Luke, Home Visit, 3 June 2014)*

This example gave clues to Luke's parenting strategy which was often to let Justine deal with the fallout of angry or upset children. And, although the couple emphasised the importance of negotiations, these were frequently left up to Justine. Luke, and many other fathers, often felt that a "laissez faire" approach was preferable to negotiating. This meant that mothers often had to pick up additional parenting responsibilities, because some fathers were unable to be flexible with negotiations. Furthermore, this example illustrates that self-presentation was an important network goal for Justine; a goal that on this particular occasion, Luke did not share. The fact that Justine posted a photograph of the *results* of the negotiations on Facebook, rather than the angry and upset children, allowed her to maintain impressions of harmonious living. Justine worked very hard at securing the narrative of her strict screen time policy on Facebook, and her networks often congratulated her on her success in this

area. By posting this status, Justine sustained the impression that she had worked so hard to create, the fact that their household's screen time policy was effortless.

Although conflict involving children's reluctance to perform domestic responsibilities was common, Facebook posts frequently displayed idyllic domestic scenes aligned with domestopia. In such depictions, children were photographed packing their own lunches, sweeping floors, folding laundry, unpacking dishwashers and so forth. And, although such scenes were the *results* of complex and time-consuming negotiations, these were absent from the majority of posts. Justine, for example, admitted that there was often back stage coaxing and "nagging" to get to the point where jobs or chores were performed;

> Sometimes there is no fight and everyone just gets on with it. But there are days, most days, when I have to negotiate and beg and sometimes use bribes to get everyone moving. It's hard because often it's easier to just do it myself but then I'd be doing everything so I take a step back and try negotiating again. Luke is pretty good… although he often uses "bad cop" techniques which I'm not a fan of. He tends to raise his voice and often there are tears and tantrums when I leave it up to him… I prefer conversations but these take a lot longer to facilitate. *(Justine: f 32, Home Visit, 3 June 2014)*

Again Justine, and similar mothers, demonstrated the importance of impression management and performance on Facebook as a network goal. Many of these women participants admitted that when they depicted their children in this light, they received numerous compliments. Such compliments served to highlight their domestic proficiency, while also reminding and motivating them to persist with negotiating with their children.

Facebook also revealed occasions where household negotiations were subtly implied. For example, Tara posted a photograph of a stack of homemade pancakes captioned, '5 pancakes for 5 stickers!' (Tara, f 31, Facebook Status, August 2014), and Justine posted a photograph of a bowl of homemade cinnamon popcorn with the caption, 'It's not even 4pm and all homework is done! Rooms are tidied. Now everyone gets cinnamon popcorn and chill time' (Justine, f 32, Facebook Status, March 2014). In examples such as these, food was used as a reward, and occasionally a bribe, for good behaviour as well as completing chores. In addition, these examples are suggestive of impression management, because although the back stage work of homework and tidying was implied, the front stage depiction was that getting these tasks performed was a relatively easy process. Despite admitting that rewards, and in

some cases bribes, were offered, Facebook posts secured women participants as highly proficient at network maintenance.

Another way to involve children in domestic work and to incentivise them was for women participants to post photographs of their children performing household chores on Facebook. Participants said that their children enjoyed seeing themselves portrayed on Facebook helping with chores, cooking and assisting in the home. Moreover, children were particularly proud to receive positive comments and "likes" from their mother's networks. This simple incentive was a way to bring children's back stage work to the front stage while engaging them in taking responsibility for areas of the home.

On the other hand, fathers were seldom presented on Facebook engaging in negotiations with children. However, a noteworthy occasion from Luke's Facebook showed a creative solution that he used to negotiate with their children. Luke posted a photograph of a signed "contract" that he and his children negotiated. The "contract" stipulated conditions for building a fort. Luke's Facebook post explained that contracts were in place which stated that their children were responsible for tidying up the lounge after a designated time frame. The contract enabled their children to build a fort on the proviso that they cleared it up by the evening. The fact that the document was bound in legal discourse meant that their children took it seriously, and by having conditions in place meant that penalties would apply if they didn't dismantle and pack away the fort within the specified time frame. The narrative that emerged from comments was that this was "typical" of a father to make tidying contractually binding and that 'this is how it's done' (M421, Facebook Comment, March 2013). Luke's self-presentation on Facebook once again showed his pragmatic approach to parenting, while also alluding to his career as a creative and intelligent problem solver.

Recruiting children into household networks, and convincing them to fulfill their roles, was a constant negotiation by both parents, particularly mothers. Most mothers were in charge of delegating and overseeing the completion of tasks, and often rewards and bribes had to be administered. Furthermore, it was typically mothers who posted content on Facebook about this area of everyday life, and it was a vital component of their own self-presentation. This may suggest the importance that women place on impression management, especially regarding how they appear as mothers, to their networks. Maintaining the illusion of domestic bliss was certainly evident because very few women participants revealed back stage negotiations with their children, choosing instead to focus on the results of negotiations.

Recruiting & Presenting Husbands/Partners

As discussed in Chapter 6, case studies and content analysis showed that while some couples shared household responsibilities, in most cases women participants were responsible for negotiating household networks. Furthermore, women participants were largely in charge of recruiting and assigning tasks to actants. The majority of women participants believed that male contributions to household labour were not the norm, and such involvement was therefore deemed praiseworthy or indeed "newsworthy" on Facebook.

The naturalisation of gendered roles was common, and husbands were enrolled into networks based on their perceived proficiency for certain tasks. This meant that husbands/partners were often exempt from tasks, based on the perception that they were not as good at them (cf. **Strong et al, 2005**). Women participants were naturalised as better shoppers, cleaners, decorators etc, and men were characterised as messy and untidy. The underlying assumption was that men are naturally messy, and that untidiness is gendered. This meant that creating mess was often associated as masculine and "fun", whereas tidying up was a feminine pursuit.

Martha typically posted content on Facebook around this theme, and on one occasion a photograph revealed her sons and husband building a fort in the lounge. The photograph showed an array of couch cushions, scatter cushions, pillows and blankets constructed into a huge fort. Toys were spread out over the floor, and a bowl of popcorn had spilled onto the carpet. The accompanying caption exclaimed;

> Boys will be boys! *(Martha, f 29, Facebook Status, April 2013)*

This common belief, of boys being boys, defines mess as masculine, and, if men cleaned or performed other domestic responsibilities, this was typically viewed as out of the ordinary. Moreover, if men were seen to perform such domestic responsibilities, this was often posited as a sign of "training"; either a husband had been well-trained by his mother, or his wife. In this respect, Facebook posts that revealed men performing domestic responsibilities were particularly newsworthy. Women audiences frequently alluded to the "luck", or high levels of training, associated with having a partner/husband who performed any manner of domestic responsibility. Olivia, for example, posted;

> My amazing husband cleaned the kitchen before I got home from work… such a great surprise to come home to. *(Olivia, f 27, Facebook Status, November 2014)*

This post, by Olivia, received 42 "likes" and dozens of comments involving high levels of praise. Olivia's mother replied;

We train them well in this family hey?! ☺ *(F782, Facebook Comment, November 2014)*

And another woman commented;

You are so lucky to have him I wish my hubby would do that for me! *(F788, Facebook Comment, November 2014).*

For women participants having husbands/partners or children who were "well-trained" signified performance of a job well done. Numerous women participants presented the success, or indeed "luck", at having a husband/partner who could perform household tasks. Furthermore, the role of training was assumed by women participants, and if households weren't "well-trained" this would negatively impact on women. A large portion of this so-called "training" involved negotiation and persistence, which was often described as nagging. Many women participants alluded to nagging in interviews and questionnaires. These women admitted that their husbands/partners were generally reluctant to compromise or negotiate, and therefore nagging was commonplace. Observations also revealed that there was a fine line between "training" and "controlling" and, regarding impression management, women participants didn't want to come across as bossy or difficult. This balancing act frequently resulted in many women participants performing more household responsibilities in order to avoid conflict, and therefore they often used Facebook as a platform to vent their frustrations.

Despite what I observed as the reluctance and complacency of most husbands/partners, there were many women participants who boasted about their husband's/partner's skill or proficiency at domestic tasks. These instances were newsworthy because husbands/partners who were outside of housework and homemaking roles were brought into focus. These high levels of praise were often echoed by other members of networks, and there were also instances of jealousy which was expressed by women who didn't have husbands/partners who were as "capable".

The practice of "shaming" wasn't only a tactic used by women participants to claim territory, as discussed in Chapter 5, but it was also used as a way to make mess visible. Facebook revealed numerous examples of thinly veiled protests which often served to chastise husbands/partners who were guilty of creating mess. Furthermore, such posts often relied on discourses that men were naturally predisposed to being messy. Ava posted a photograph of her husband's running clothes hanging from a toilet handle. On the floor around the toilet was a pair of muddy running shoes, surrounded by muddy footprints. Ava captioned the photograph;

Guess whose **husband** decided this was a good place to hang up his sweaty running gear after I politely asked him to hang it up?! *(Ava, f 29, Facebook Status, September 2014)*

Ava tagged her husband in this post and it generated numerous comments, with the majority alluding to mess as a masculine trait. One particular reader wrote, '#likeaboss' (M611, Facebook Comment, September 2014). The hashtag 'like a boss', gendered mess as "bosslike" behaviour, and signified mess as a masculinised quality, worthy of praise and reward. Ava's response to this comment was surprising given the context of her complaint;

> Yip… he's been out running three times already… he's going to be unrecognisable when you see him! *(Ava, f 29, Facebook Reply, September 2014).*

In an interview Ava told me that the sweaty clothes were worth 'putting up with' (Ava, f 29, Face-to-Face Interview, 9 December 2014) for a fit, trim and healthy husband. Again this revealed the value that women placed in having healthy families, and this was common of affectual networks. Ava saw it as a tradeoff between either having a husband who performed domestic responsibilities, or having a husband who was healthy and fit.

Naming and shaming was also a technique used to create shared contexts, and was characterised by homophily. Often women participants alerted husbands/partners to domestic transgressions by tagging them in Facebook posts, thus automatically drawing them into narratives. Another technique frequently used by women participants was direct address. For example Cleo, told me that she was annoyed with her husband who filled the laundry basket with clean items instead of folding them and putting them in his cupboard (Cleo, f 28, Skype Interview, 22 September 2008). As a result she posted a public "letter" on Facebook;

> Dear **husband** please can you explain to me why there are 7 pairs of shorts in the washing basket over a period of THREE days? Kind Regards Your Wife. *(Cleo, f 28, Facebook Status, February 2014*

Thus emerged a lengthy narrative between Cleo's, her husband, and various members of the couple's network;

> Dear **Wife**. Your husband's office has no comment at this time. Regards King of the House *(Cleo's Husband, Facebook Comment, February 2014)*

> Dear King of The House. Please be aware that I have contacted my union and we have initiated a laundry strike. Regards The Union of the Freedom Wives. *(Cleo, f 28, Facebook Comment, February 2014)*

> Yoh dirty laundry hey?! ;) *(M 93, Facebook Comment, February 2014)*

By utilising business discourse, and sending her husband an "official complaint", Cleo framed herself as the manager within the home network in a somewhat passive aggressive manner. This witty and light-hearted exchange resulted in, as Cleo explained during a Skype interview (22 September 2014), her husband becoming more aware of his laundry habits. Cleo's husband positioned himself as outside the home, by stating that his office had 'no comment', and that, as 'King of the House' he was exempt from household duties. In response, Cleo furthered her position by telling him that she had 'initiated a laundry strike'. Cleo's joke about being part of the 'Union of the Freedom Wives' highlighted postfeminist discourses of women having become conscious of their position within homes, but there was also the underlying assumption that she worked for her husband.

Furthermore, this conversation scrutinised the couple's home network by 'airing dirty laundry' as identified by M93. Nonetheless, by making her back stage work visible, Cleo managed to modify her husband's behaviour. This technique of frontstaging back stage work on Facebook was used by a number of women participants. Such techniques of naming and shaming were observed as "training methods" that were used in order to make domestic work visible to husbands/partners, who were perhaps taking it for granted or not recognising it. Humorous posts such as these tended to help women participants vent their frustrations while also alerting husbands/partner to their domestic offences.

As with praising, the act of naming and shaming on Facebook was a form of scrutinising household networks which made partners'/husbands' positions within home networks visible. Treas (2010) suggests that the home is representative of, and a microcosm of, society, and insights into the digitally mediated and material homes of couples revealed that men's role within domestic networks remains relatively stable. This is because the majority of women participants were household managers and responsible for recruiting and assigning network roles to husbands/partners. Husbands/partners were often able to renegotiate their roles or avoid responsibilities because of 'ordering strategies' (Law, 1992, 1994, 2004) that highlighted their ineptitude for domestic work.

For Drobnic, household labour is a 'symbolic enactment of gender relations' (2010, p. 241) within the home, and although women are often positioned as household manager there was evidence of underlying assumptions that they work for their husbands/partners, as indicated by Cleo. Facebook certainly allows for a platform where women are able to share and discuss shared contexts. Yet, despite new manifestations of gender roles, gendered divisions are still dominant, and these normative values have ensured that women are largely at the centre of domestic networks in contemporary South African everyday life.

Performing the role of Domestic Advisors & Conspicuous Consumption

In writing about conspicuous consumption, Veblen (1899), Chapman (1955) and Slater (1997) argue that shopping has always been viewed as a feminised activity. Posting content on Facebook that was linked to practices of conspicuous consumption was commonplace for many women participants, and there was certainly an element of status performance. Not only was the act of consumption an important aspect of impression management for these women, but so too was performing the role of domestic advisor.

Numerous women participants presented themselves as highly proficient at domesticity, and this extended to maintaining the appearance of being highly knowledgeable about domestic practices. In this way these women presented themselves as domestic advisors, and were frequently on hand to provide advice or assistance to women within their networks. My observations showed that Facebook narratives often hailed 'domestic advisors' into posts, by tagging suitable women who had presented themselves in this manner. This was particularly apparent when asking for advice on home purchases, and Facebook was often used as a way to recruit networks of advice and support.

As discussed in Chapter 5, the kitchen is associated with being women's domain, and appliances were heavily gendered. Such appliances were often described as belonging to women, and occasionally the couple's, but never as the husband's/partner's. Facebook observations revealed numerous examples of conspicuous consumption, where women participants posted photographs revealing new appliances and kitchen equipment. However, leading up to such posts, there were numerous conversations relating to advice and suggestions for big household purchases. For example Rosie posted;

> Attention AGAIN domestic goddess's [SIC]; I need to buy a new washing machine. Top loader or front loader? Brand? AND GO! *(Rosie, f 28, Facebook Status, September 2013)*

This example from Rosie typifies this genre of Facebook post, where women participants hailed "domestic goddesses", implied readers, in order to provide suggestions and advice. In cases such as these, authors often tagged specific women, implied readers, who were identified as suitable candidates, or believed to be opinion leaders in such matters. These "domestic goddesses" responded to these narratives, and offered sage advice or agreement in order to solidify decision making. Often women who had not been directly called upon, or tagged in such posts, provided comments which appeared to be a way for them to assert themselves as opinion leaders.

Such Facebook threads highlighted the proficiency of women to make household purchases, and men were altogether left out of these narratives. Furthermore, the collective authorship around these posts highlighted the fact that community had a big influence on purchasing decisions. Facebook has thus created a place for women, in particular, to draw on community in order to receive advice and knowledge from others. Men were almost never involved in these collaborative narratives, and almost all women participants agreed that the advice gained from such narratives was highly valued. Rosie explained;

> I received over 50 responses to this post and it really helped me in my decision making. I settled on the Defy Automaid front loader because the majority of women recommended this and gave me solid reasons as to why it was a good buy. *(Rosie, f 28, Email Response, 13 June, 2014)*

After Rosie purchased 'her' washing machine she posted a photograph on Facebook with the status;

> Check out my new shiny beast! Isn't she beautiful? Thanks ladies I think this is going to be a very happy union! :) *(Rosie, f 28, Facebook Status, October 2013)*

This example of conspicuous consumption demonstrates high levels of gendering. Not only was the washing machine referred to as 'hers', but Rosie directly thanked all of the 'ladies' who helped her in the decision making process. Furthermore, the relationship between the washing machine and herself was described in marital terms as a 'happy union'.

Of all household appliances few generated the response and enthusiasm of dishwashers. As non-human actors, dishwashers relieved the burden associated with this unpopular household chore, and for most women participants, dishwashers made a significant impact on their own roles within the home. In a few cases, dishwashers were bestowed on women participants as gifts from spouses/partners. A number of women posted photographs of new dishwashers along with excited captions, for example;

> YAY! Look what I got today? Isn't it beautiful? Thank you so much darling! *(Jamie, f 26, Facebook Status, April 2014)*

When I asked Jamie about this gift, in a Skype interview (3 December 2014), she told me that she loved her dishwasher and that it was one of the best presents she had ever received. She and her daughter shared the packing and unpacking of the dishes, and it made a huge impact on how much time she spent on this area of domestic life. Dishwashers became integral actants within home networks, and Jamie remarked that she was 'not prepared to live without' her dishwasher and that if it broke it would be a 'disaster' (3 December 2014).

In more egalitarian households dishwashers benefitted couples and they were framed as a gift for the couple, rather than *just* for women participants. However, as with all Facebook presentations of household appliances, it was women participants who posted content about these purchases. Male participants almost never posted such content on Facebook, which reaffirmed the fact that when it came to conspicuous consumption of household appliances, this remained the domain of women. This was highlighted by Kerry because, even though Kerry and her husband shared dishwasher duties, it was Kerry who posted a photograph of the machine on Facebook. Kerry captioned the Facebook photograph;

> Look what we got?! Christmas came early! No more rubber gloves for us... unless they're in the bedroom. JOKES! *(Kerry, f 30, Facebook Status, November 2014)*

This post provided insight into the back stage of the couple's shared workload, in that Kerry referred to 'we' and 'us'. When I spoke to Kerry about the dishwasher, in a Skype Interview (18 November 2014), she told me that it was difficult to know whether she and her husband shared the task of packing and unpacking the dishwasher 50/50, because it was still 'early days'.

Where women participants posted photographs of new dishwashers, other women within their networks would comment on their fine decision making skills. Dishwashers were frequently described as being able to "save marriages" because they alleviated a lot of the "nagging" associated with men's, and in some cases children's, reluctance to wash dishes. In response to Kerry's Facebook post, numerous women congratulated her on the purchase with one commenting;

> Oh my goodness you will not regret this! I'm telling you that our dishwasher has saved our marriage! *(F347, Facebook Comment, November 2014)*

Despite the fact that dishwashers were frequently associated with "saving marriages", for most women participants, negotiations around packing and unpacking dishwashers remained their responsibility.

In their role as household manager, domestic purchasing decisions were mostly overseen by women participants. As discussed in Chapter 3, conspicuous consumption and identity display are strongly linked, and Facebook has emerged as a platform for self-presentation. Not only is the act of displaying purchases important, but so too are the connections among women who offer advice and suggestions for purchases. Although some hubands/partners may have been involved in purchasing decisions this certainly was not apparent on Facebook, and the conspicuous consumption of household items was the pursuit of women. There was certainly evidence that such purchases had an empowering element because they were linked to self-presentation. However, these practices also continue to entrench

household conspicuous consumption as the activity of women, which further perpetuates gender divisions. The fact that these narratives were prolific on Facebook is indicative of the entrenchment of beliefs about the class, race and gendered aspects of conspicuous consumption, as described by Hollows (2005).

Kin Work and the Maintenance of Domestic Networks as Gendered Work

In their role as 'home anchor' (Kaplan, 1998), women have traditionally been responsible for kin work (di Leonardo, 1987). This is because discourses secure women to the home, as well as highlight their superior ability to maintain emotional support systems (Wellman, 2001). The Internet has played a significant role in reinventing communities and creating 'frontier homesteads' (Rheingold, 1994). Valk & Cummings (1999) suggest that social networking is not a new phenomenon, and throughout the ages, women have used informal and formal networks to provide help and support. Hence, although social networks are, on some levels changing how we communicate with each other, many of the ways in which we are using them is a process of remediation (Bolter & Grusin, 1999, 2000). This is because traditional practices such as kin work are simply being refashioned in new ways, owing to the speed and ease at which communication is possible through SNS. Facebook has therefore become a popular way for women participants to share domestic everyday life with networks of family and friends.

Facebook observations revealed that posting content was a gendered act for many women participants, and most used Facebook to facilitate kin work. Women participants practiced impression management when constructing narratives, particularly regarding how they presented their homes and families. As a platform for self-presentation Facebook is a 'selective summary of everyday life' (Bucher, 2012), and women participants tailored content in order to present certain aspects of their everyday lives and themselves to their networks. Participants' Facebook content and domestic narratives opened up the home to imagined audiences, the implied readers, while encouraging 'real readers' (cf. Kozloff, 1987) to join conversations about housework and homemaking.

Impression management was a crucial element of kin work and many women participants indicated that they exercised care when posting content on Facebook. This was because family members, particularly mothers-in-law, were active on the site. Many women participants expressed this gendered aspect of surveillance, where they felt as if they were being judged by older female family members. Laura, for example, told me;

My mother-in-law loves Facebook and is always online. Everything that I post she "likes". I find it pretty annoying because I have to be so careful about what I say. Once I asked for advice on Facebook about my baby and she sent me a text asking why I didn't ask her? I feel like she's always watching me. [laughs]' (*Laura, f 30, Skype Interview, 8 May 2013*)

In this example Laura described the conflict between her front stage persona (real author) and her back stage persona (implied author) and how she frequently engaged in impression management. This was common practice for many participants who told me that they often had specific people in mind (implied readers) when they constructed their Facebook posts, and tried to exercise care when posting content.

As with other labour saving domestic appliances that were steadily introduced into the home, such as washing machines, electric ovens and so on, Facebook may be viewed in a similar way. While Facebook makes kin work easier and more efficient, as is often the way with such labour saving devices, there is a Catch 22. This is because the time that is saved by using technology often increases the expectation that women will carry out additional domestic duties. Furthermore, the efficiency of communication via SNS may increase expectations regarding how much networking with kin is considered acceptable; therefore there may be more pressure on women to perform this role.

Numerous women participants indicated that Facebook placed too much pressure on keeping friends and relatives informed. When discussing potential home renovations Luke and Justine said that if they committed to renovations, and posted content the project on Facebook, their relatives would 'get involved' (Luke, Home Visit, 3 June 2014). Justine told me that her "mother"-in-law was particularly active on social media and was always checking up on them via Facebook. Justine said that Luke's mother placed huge expectations on Justine to keep her abreast of family news. Justine complained that she had to 'nag Luke to step in and take responsibility' for keeping in touch with his mother (Justine, f 32, Home Visit, 3 June 2014). And, because Luke expressed feeling less guilt than Justine, this resulted in Justine performing more of the kin work. A significant number of women participants echoed Justine's sense of guilt regarding the expectation of kin work, and all of them said that husbands/partners could do more to help in this regard.

Di Leonardo (1987) argues that as with all other areas of domestic duties women experience levels of guilt if kin work is not fulfilled properly. Many women participants believed that they could do more in terms of kin work, especially those who were in the labour force. This was because they felt that they had less time to spend maintaining relationships and family rituals, but nonetheless wanted to be able

to find time to do more. On the other hand, male participants did not experience these levels of guilt regarding maintaining family and friendship networks. And, although middle class women were able to hire domestic workers to assist with household responsibilities, when it came to kin work, they were 'ultimately responsible, and subject to both guilt and blame' (di Leonardo, 1987, p. 449). Hence, when it came to kin work, women participants were unable to renegotiate their roles, or recruit additional actors to help, because of how they experienced guilt and blame.

Guilt was a major determinant in performing kin work and many women participants claimed that without their influence, special occasions would be ignored. Not only was connecting and communicating with family members an important aspect of kin work for women participants, but so too was the preparation of ritual celebrations and special events. For participants, celebrations were predominantly women's domain and women were responsible for all aspects of planning, organising and decorating. In some cases children were recruited into projects, but, from a kin work perspective, women were the driving force. Very few male participants were involved in such projects or celebrations (and of course this is likely because of the way my sample was selected), however if men were involved it was in a very limited capacity.

On Facebook it was telling that almost all women participants referred to Christmas decorations as "mine", and explicitly mentioned the work that they were doing. Helen for example posted;

> This morning I shall be hauling out my Christmas decorations! "Jingle All The Way!" *(Helen, f 32, Facebook Status, December 2012)*

Helen, and the majority of women participants, agreed that it was their responsibility to drive the excitement and anticipation about Christmas and other family celebrations. They said that without their enthusiasm and effort, nothing would be done. As Helen explained;

> I love Christmas and it's up to me to make sure that our home is decked out… I enjoy doing it but I also know that if it wasn't for me there would be no evidence of Christmas in our home *(Helen, f 32, Skype Interview, 13 March 2013).*

When I asked Helen's husband about Christmas and special family occasions he said that without Helen he would not bother with celebrations. While he did indicate that what she created for celebrations was 'magical', and that her effort made him excited to stay at home during the Christmas season, he still said he would never do it himself (Helen's husband, Skype Interview, 13 March 2013). All of the husbands/partners expressed similar sentiments. Again kin work was an important part of impression

management. Women participants were not only responsible for posting photographs of celebrations on Facebook, but took a great deal of pride in these aspects of kin work.

Further evidence of the gendering of kin work was the extent to which women participants posted photographs, particularly selfies, of them performing such kin work. As discussed in Chapter 3, Mendelson & Papacharissi (2010) and Rose (2004) suggest that photographs are a vital aspect of kin work because of the ease at which they are able to construct narratives. Hilary performed all of the kin work in her home and, as with many other women partcipants, posted photographs of the numerous celebrations that she prepared for. Hilary's front stage presentations on Facebook showed that, despite the fact that she performed very little housework, she did an extraordinary amount of kin work. Hilary organised her daughters' birthday parties, Christmas and Easter celebrations and numerous other events and portrayed them on Facebook in elaborate photo albums. These Facebook albums contributed to Hilary's dometopia, and also highlighted her expertise as a domestic goddess and secured her as an advisor within her networks.

Hilary explained that her numerous Facebook albums portrayed projects that were often a result of her working through the night. However, this back stage work was not included in her Facebook presentations. Rather Hilary's front stage depictions showed selfies with her daughters at the numerous parties she hosted, and depicted her as well rested, enthusiastic and flawless. While looking through Facebook albums Hilary told me;

> I remember that party… I spent the whole night making that mammoth Hello Kitty Piñata… and that cake… Christ that cake was a nightmare. I still have white chocolate nightmares… I'll never use white chocolate again! I thought I was going to have a breakdown… my poor husband nearly divorced me. But the party turned out great. I promised I would never go that overboard again but I love it. I love being creative and I love my girls. I forget how hard it is and look forward to the next party. *(Hilary, f 34, Home Visit, 10 November 2014)*

Yet, none of the stress and strain that Hilary described was apparent from Facebook. When I asked Hilary about this she said that maybe she should have put reminders on Facebook of how hard it all was so that she didn't continue to 'attempt too much' (Hilary, 10 November 2014) . Hilary's insistence at "doing it all" appeared to be because of impression management. Within Hilary's networks numerous people frequently commented on the fact that she was a 'domestic goddess' or 'supermom', to name a few popular labels, Hilary told me;

I do see myself as a domestic goddess… I'm not sure about supermom though! I love baking and crafting and making parties awesome but I also have to be the centre of attention and I love showing off. I see what other moms do and I do feel proud of myself when I consider that I work hard and do all this stuff. I'd be lying if I didn't *(Hilary, f 34, Skype Interview, 1 October 2016)*. Hence Hilary associated herself with popular discourses of domesticity, reminiscent of Nigella, which naturalised her role as an employee, mother and wife and secured her role as someone who could "do it all".

I suggest that Facebook is a key element in performing kin work, and that it enables women participants to maintain kin and friendship networks. Furthermore, kin work has been stabilised as the pursuit of women, who remain responsible for maintaining domestic communication channels as well as organising family occasions and events. While Facebook may have liberated women from the time consuming acts of writing and posting letters, making phone calls, sending Birthday cards, and so on, it may also have resulted in increased expectation of contact. Wilding (2006) argues that ICTs have opened up communication among families while also encouraging more family members to become involved in the practice. However, my research shows that kin work is still a gendered practice with most women participants responsible for this area of domestic life. The expectations of kin work shows the ease at which SNS has helped to facilitate growing connections. This has important implications, both in that domestic virtuosity becomes more public and visible, but also because performing a domestic identity online is another form of "work" for participants as they build a social networking presence. Boyd and Donath explain that, 'by making all of one's connections visible to all the others, social networking sites remove the privacy barriers that people keep between different aspects of their lives'(2004, p. 78).

Heterotopias of Whiteness

Performance and impression management on Facebook was part of the everyday lives of women participants. A large aspect of this self-presentation, for women participants, was demonstrating proficiency at recruiting husbands and children into networks, and managing and assigning network roles. Nonetheless, impression management has the potential to backfire. This was demonstrated when real readers misinterpreted, or misunderstood, the intended meanings of an author's post. This also occurred when responses to posts differed between intended and real readers, and the result was context collapse (Marwick & boyd, 2011). Facebook observations revealed many instances of context collapse, which happened most prominently when women participants discussed, or complained about,

domestic workers. The act of complaining was in order to recruit support from intended readers, but this frequently backfired because real readers expressed support for domestic workers instead.

I argue that context collapse on Facebook is a way of scrutinising black boxing. This is because when networks are stable it is harder to identify power relations because each actant behaves as an intermediary, and acts in a predictable way. I suggest the "whiteness" is black boxed, and when context collapse occurs due to misunderstanding, insight is given into the relationships that hold networks together. This is because network instability allows us to observe and interrogate the invisible support, or the erasure of the support, which enables white middle class home networks to function. It is often during context collapse that marginalised individuals or groups are brought into focus, and heteropias of whiteness are disrupted. As I introduced, a 'stabilized network is only stable for some' (Doolin & Lowe, 2002, p. 75), and this stability is reflective of inherent power relations. As discussed in Chapter 2, Foucault's (1986) heterotopia is most useful in its application to power and social ordering, and provides insight when analysing marginalised actants.

When I interviewed women about domestic workers, and how they were presented on Facebook, a few women, such as Tina, said that they didn't generally mention others on Facebook. Perhaps this is because it conflicted with their self-presentation. For example, Tina told me that, 'Facebook is all about me!' (Home Visit, 26 July, 2014). In many ways, not talking about the role of domestic workers helped to solidify the white "madam's" front stage proficiency as a homemaker and home manager. In these cases the role of domestic workers was largely to be an invisible presence within domestic narratives and to maintain front stage representations of the home as domestopic, as discussed in Chapter 5.

There were a few instances where women participants inadvertently highlighted the back stage work of domestic workers. This was demonstrated when Lee posted photographs of her home renovations on Facebook. Lee's photographs showed paint rollers, plastic sheeting, and so on, and gave insight into the back stage reality of home renovations. Rather than the typical "before and after" narrative, discussed in Chapter 5, Lee showed her network the process of renovations. Lee's post generated a large response with over 70 likes and several comments;

> What a little taster… more pics please! *(F1021, Facebook Comment, May 2012)*

> Once the maid has whipped through the house with a mop… will send photos of the completed bedrooms. *(Lee, f 26, Facebook Comment, May 2012)*

This exchange gave Lee's network insight into the usually invisible "back stage" area, where the hard work of home maintenance takes place. Lee also introduced the presence of the domestic worker although the "maid" was barely visible, and her role within this particular narrative was taken for granted. The role of the domestic worker was to make the back stage more palatable by 'whipping round with a mop'. As discussed in Chapter 2, domesticity has been mapped in specific ways and continues to have a racial and economic element in South Africa. Black women, in particular, remain marginalised, and colonial values still resonate, especially regarding the work and status of black women. Largely unintentional comments such as this were relatively frequent, and domestic workers, and their work, were often glossed over, solidifying the domestic proficiency of white middle class women. Furthermore, domestic workers were often referred to on Facebook as "maids" and in some cases the derogatory term "the girl" was used, which infantalised these women, and highlighted the marginalised position of domestic workers within home networks.

Most participants described "having" domestic workers in order to take strain off themselves. Although many women participants described their relationship with their domestic workers as close, their language was not always reflective of this. Domestic workers were frequently likened to possessions or services that were paid for, for example, 'we have her twice a week' (Gemma, *f 25, Skype Interview, 12 August 2013),* and terms such as "maid" were common. There were cases where couples felt a sense of social responsibility to "look after" domestic workers. These paternalistic relationships were relatively common, and despite the fact that most domestic workers were older than the couple that they worked for, the common assumption was that it was necessary to "look after" these women. Furthermore, many participants informed their networks about how they helped their domestic workers. This was often a form of impression management in order come across as fair employers and socially aware citizens.

Facebook observations revealed examples of "humblebragging" where women participants posted content about the shame experienced because of employing a domestic worker. Humblebragging is a form of impression management, and is defined as 'bragging masked by a complaint' (Sezer *et al.*, 2015, p. 3). I argue that humblebragging is also evident when trying to overemphasise feelings of guilt or shame. The perceived shame at employing domestic workers was often expressed on Facebook. This strategy shifted the conversation onto the employer, rather than the domestic worker. Hence, in these instances employers were perceived as victims of shame, and this became the focus of conversations.

This practice furthered the invisibility of domestic workers, ensuring the stability of, and thus black boxing, white middle class space and place. Melanie for example posted;

> When you realise your cleaning lady is coming tomorrow so you start cleaning! *(Melanie f 27, Facebook Status, December 2013)*

Melanie, and similar women participants, often alerted their networks to the fact that they were uncomfortable hiring domestic workers. They often tried to quash their perceived sense of guilt by presenting themselves as domestic over-achievers on Facebook. By telling their networks that they were tidying their homes because the domestic worker was coming, they presented themselves as sensitive to the work pressures of domestic workers, and this was certainly a form of humblebragging. Comments on these posts revealed that this was a common practice, and many admitted to being "guilty" of this same behaviour. In conversations such as these domestic workers were erased from conversations and Facebook became a platform to discuss the employers' experiences, rather than the domestic workers.

Similarly Caitlin revealed the expectations that she and her husband inadvertently placed on their domestic worker when she posted;

> All day today I've thought it was Wednesday. The shock and horror when I realised our domestic won't be here tomorrow to wash the mountain of dishes in the sink!' *(Caitlin, f 28, Facebook Status, August 2012)*

The couple's views on gender equality in their own relationship were sometimes conflicted by the expectations that they placed on their domestic worker. When I discussed this Facebook post with the couple they admitted to being embarrassed because it revealed their laziness and reliance on someone else to clean up after them. Upon reflection Caitlin said;

> Aaaah cringe. Sometimes you read stuff and are like 'I can't believe I said that!' *(Caitlin, f 28, Home Visit, 4 August 2014)*

Bruce interjected;

> Yip that's awful and so cringey but it's accurate. I mean come on most of us do that we just don't post it on Facebook. I know lots of people who have parties on certain days because they know the domestic comes the next day. *(Bruce, Home Visit, 4 August 2014)*

Bruce said that even though this was posted by Caitlin, he was embarrassed because it was *both* of their dishes. However it also revealed the important role of the domestic worker who played the role of intermediary. Caitlin told me that the dishes had piled up because 'neither of them were budging on doing the dishes' (Caitlin, 4 August 2014), and therefore they had left the dishes for the domestic worker

in order to avoid a power struggle. Had the domestic worker not been available to clean their home then the home network would have reached a stalemate because neither Caitlin nor Bruce were willing to compromise because they were both acting as mediators.

Domestic workers themselves were infrequently mentioned in women participant's Facebook posts and therefore did not have the visibility of children or husbands/partners for example. Nonetheless, job notices were relatively frequent, and a number of women participants posted adverts, or references, for domestic workers. In cases such as these the skills of the domestic worker were highlighted, indicating suitability for recruitment, and attributes such as "speaking good English", "being reliable", "being good with children", "being a hard worker" and "being pleasant and friendly" were highlighted. These qualities of a good and employable domestic worker reinforce typical post-colonial values as explored by Marks & Unterhalter (1978), Cock (1980, 1981), Hansen (1992), Nyamnjoh (2005). While these job notices were seldom open to scrutiny, there were a few occasions where there were instances of context collapse. For example Natalie posted;

> Is anybody looking for a reliable, hard working, trustworthy, domestic worker. I'm moving and I don't need one. Be in touch. *(Natalie, f 29. Facebook Status, November 2014)*

To which an acquaintance commented;

> I do hope you are offering a good retrenchment package and are up to date with your UIF payments[51]. *(F411, Facebook Comment, November 2014)*

This exchange highlighted the findings of Cock (1980) and Nyamnjoh (2005) that women of a higher class exploit socially marginalised women in order to maintain their social position. In this case Natalie was moving and 'no longer needed one' and therefore she could divorce herself from employment responsibilities. Although Natalie highlighted her domestic worker's skills, the post itself was fairly generic and devoid of emotion. In response, Natalie was asked whether or not she had thought about her domestic worker's financial wellbeing, which was relatively unusual in these types of posts. In this example whiteness was destabilised because the black domestic worker and her needs were brought into focus by F411.

Other than job posts and testimonials it was ironic that despite, "doing everything" (as noted in Chapter 6), domestic workers were largely invisible on Facebook. Some women participants, such as Justine and

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[51] UIF or Unemployment Insurance Fund provides temporary financial relief to workers who are unemployed. Contributions to UIF are compulsory and amount to 2% of the worker's total earnings. Available from http://www.sars.gov.za/TaxTypes/UIF/Pages/default.aspx

Lisa, actively sought to make their domestic workers visible for their proficiency, but for the majority of women participants domestic workers were very much in the back stage. When I asked Justine about this behaviour she remarked;

> It's strange you should pick up on this... I am thankful about a lot of things that make my life easier... why would I not thank a special person who does so much to help us all out... I owe so much to this woman... she looks after my children and she cleans my house I'm not going to pretend I clean it as well as she does! *(Justine, f 32, Home Visit, 3 June 2014)*

Similarly, Lisa and Henry recognised how integral their domestic worker was to their household network because of Lisa's illness. Lisa revealed that although she felt uneasy employing a domestic worker, because of her status as a stay-at-home wife/mother, she said that her illness was the main factor in their decision. Lisa also foregrounded the back stage work of their domestic worker and rendered her work visible by frequently mentioning her on Facebook. However these mentions of thanks were invisible because the couple's domestic worker was not registered on Facebook. Thus the gratitude expressed by Lisa seemed to be for the benefit of her networks, rather than the domestic worker, and therefore appeared to be a form of social capital within her friends' network. Furthermore, Lisa's performance of thankfulness was an example of impression management, which aided her own self-presentation.

As with husbands/partners, the shaming of domestic workers was observed as a relatively common practice on Facebook. However, the shaming practices regarding domestic workers were in stark contrast to when partners/husbands were named and shamed on Facebook. Whereas shaming partners/husbands was usually done in a humorous or lighthearted manner (and they were also privy to the conversations about them), when domestic workers did something wrong this was often expressed with anger and frustration. In a narrative that lasted a couple of months, Sally introduced her network to her 'wonderful domestic worker'. Sally posted numerous statuses such as, 'I love coming home to a clean house!' (Facebook Status, February 2013) and 'My house is sparkling clean thanks to my maid... so love her!' (Facebook Status, February 2013).

When I asked Sally about her domestic worker in an interview she said that her '"maid" was doing a good job, but then the wheels fell off' and 'she had to be "let go"' (Sally, f 33,Face-to-face interview, 8 April 2013). The reason for this was indicated in a Facebook status which read;

> So much for my wonderful domestic worker… Found brand new expensive linen at the back of the cupboard and it's completely ruined… she obviously put it in with the darks. SO MAD!!!!
>
> *(Sally, f 33, Facebook Status, March 2013)*

Sally confirmed that this was the reason for 'letting her maid go', but didn't talk to me about it further. The comments on this particular post from women within Sally's network agreed that this was a fireable offence and offered sympathy about the ruined linen. By recruiting support from her own homophilous networks, Sally was able to validate her position on how she handled this incident.

In contrast, Hanna ran into opposition when she posted;

> I love walking into my kitchen and seeing my beautiful sheepskin coat spinning around on 80 degrees in my washing machine. Wow what a real treat. Housekeeper not in my good books!
>
> *(Hanna, f 29, Facebook Status, July 2014)*.

Whereas Sally's homophilous network expressed sympathy with her, in this case the blame was placed squarely on Hanna. Readers of this particular post remarked, 'you probably left it on the floor so what did you expect?' (M486, Facebook Comment, July 2014) and, 'we are lucky to have a domestic workers, accidents happen' (F1328, Facebook Comment, July 2014). When I asked Hanna about this incident, in a Skype interview, she explained that she was annoyed at the time, but ended up learning a lesson in naming and shaming. She said that she ended up being shamed for her own negligence rather than the other way around;

> I'll never do that again… a lot of my friends really took me apart for posting this status… a lot of them said I had the right to be angry but that I should have approached my domestic and not come across like a 'cross white madam' on Facebook. Looking back they are right… I sound like my grandmother! *(Hanna, f 29, Skype Interview, 3 December 2014)*

This example shows a clear case of context collapse where Hanna intended her post to garner her sympathy, but it backfired when the real readers didn't agree or identify with her position. Hence context collapse shifted the power from a white middle class sensibility to a more liberal perspective.

The privileged position of middle class women was often in stark contrast to that of domestic workers. In cases such as these, heterotopias of whiteness illustrated just how far removed many women participants were from the reality of their domestic workers' lives. For example, Hilary posted;

> The worst thing about holidays is that my beautiful domestic goes on leave… housework and holidays should never be in the same sentence… they just don't get along EVER… (Hilary, f 34, Facebook Status, December 2012)

This status illustrated Hilary's frustration at having to do housework when their domestic worker was on leave. Numerous women rallied in support of Hilary, and this status received 26 "likes" and numerous comments. The fact that the couple's domestic worker had a family of her own was completely overshadowed by Hilary's need to have a clean home over the festive season. The absence of the domestic worker was clearly felt by Hilary, because she had to pick up the additional responsibilities while she was away. Yet, Hilary's husband Mark did not sympathise with Hilary having to renegotiate her network role, and commented;

Stop complaining, at least you have a house. *(Mark, Facebook Comment, December 2012)*
Although Mark's comment was tongue in cheek, it highlighted the couple's gendered relationship. Mark argued that Hilary shouldn't complain, because she was one of the lucky few South Africans who had a house in a wealthy suburb. Nonetheless, by positioning himself as outside of this domestic conflict; Mark offered little solution nor help. Mark's position also perpetuated a cycle of gender inequality because Hilary was clearly frustrated with spending her holidays cleaning the house. Yet, she was unable to see past her own frustrations and acknowledge how imbalanced her complaint was. Again, this example emphasised the perceived struggle of white women by making their work visible, while completely ignoring the fact that black women have lives outside of white middle class networks, and again these women were largely absent from these narratives.

As discussed in Chapter 6, the role of domestic workers is vast, and the support that they offer households enabled women participants to renegotiate their own roles within domestic networks, or realign the goals of the network. According to ANT these support systems only become visible when they break down. As we understand it, the inner workings of networks are largely ignored or understudied until "black boxing" (Callon, 1986b; Latour, 1987) is scrutinised. Anaylsis into black boxing occurs then we investigate *why* networks aren't working. The visibility of the intricacies and workings of networks are therefore entirely dependent on their ability to work efficiently. Despite the fact that domestic workers played a crucial role in home networks, when it came to scrutinising their network roles, they were frequently left out of these conversations. Domestic workers were seldom tagged in Facebook conversations, and often didn't have the agency to participate in conversations that were about them. This further solidified heterotopias of whiteness. In a number of cases this was because of their limited presence on Facebook, but also because the majority of Facebook participants indicated that they were uncomfortable being Facebook friends with their domestic workers. This meant that often domestic workers were spoken about, rather than spoken to, especially when they were being "named and shamed". From a discursive point of view domestic workers had almost no input into

narratives, and were therefore alienated from conversations. Hence, black women were left out of narratives about their domestic contributions and had almost no input in the white women's postfeminist narratives (Andall, 2017; Carby, 1996; Mirza, 1997; Wilkins, 2012).

The role of the domestic worker was largely to perform the majority of the housework while the women participants performed more of the homemaking tasks. In this way the women participant secured more power and authority as a domestic manager because she was able to negotiate and adjust her workload as well as the home space accordingly. The success of these networks relied on all human actors agreeing on their roles however this meant that domestic workers remained relatively marginalised within these structures. One of the main issues regarding domestic worker relations are the expectations versus the low wages and low value associated with the work. The role of the domestic worker is often vague and in some cases they're expected to do 'everything' as indicated in Chapter 6. The majority of women participants, as household manager, were reluctant to foreground the domestic worker's presence on Facebook maintaining the illusion of domestopia. However there were moments when heterotopias of whiteness were revealed and destabilised because of context collapse. Foucault's heterotopia has increasing relevance in exploring social difference and Facebook is a way of allowing insight into power relations and networked human arrangement. Saldanha suggests that heterotopias help us to find out 'where, how, and for whom difference erupts and maintains itself' (2008, p. 2081). Insight into Facebook presentations revealed clear social ordering where domestic workers were only invited into aspects of white middle class domestic space, and alienated from narratives. As Kaufmann states, 'the narrative is about white women; it excludes women of colour' (1992, p. 200).

Conclusion

Women participants were largely responsible for recruiting actants into household networks. Although actants don't have fixed boundaries within networks (Callon & Law, 1997) they are assigned roles which are often based on normativity. Latour (1994) and Doolin & Lowe (2002) argue that social order and power are preserved in networks, and this was evident in terms of how husbands, children and domestic workers were presented through Facebook interactions.

This chapter revealed how human actors negotiated their roles within domestic networks; oftentimes this was alongside the confines of gendered discourses as well as prescribed gender roles. Impression management was a crucial form of identity presentation and women participants occupied the role of domestic managers on Facebook. Women participants were able to carefully project front stage versions

of their domestic lives, as well as being able to communicate with their chosen network of strong and weak ties. The ordering strategies which allow practices, such as consumption and kin work, to be performed by women participants thrive within homophilous networks. Women participants would frequently reach out to other women who were marked as domestic advisors and opinion leaders and this frequently created shared contexts where homophily could thrive.

Facebook creates sites for homophily as well as heterotopias of similarity. This study showed that whiteness is black boxed, and regarded as normative, because it is only scrutinised during moments of context collapse. It was during such moments of context collapse where heterotopias of whiteness were disrupted and alternative views could emerge. These interactions showed the weak and marginal position of domestic workers who were frequently isolated from narratives. Although black women, as domestic workers, may often be referred to in conversation as 'part of the family', as discussed by Cock, 1980 and Nyamnjoh, 2005, Facebook observations showed that heterotopias of whiteness often alienate these women from conversations.

The nature of women's work is that it is often tied to discourses around being a 'labour of love' as well as something that women are genetically predisposed to. There is a danger of oversentimentalising domestic labour as well as overplaying the shame associated with employing, and perhaps exploiting, domestic workers. Women participants often ran the risk of sounding disingenuous and phrases such as 'she's part of the family' were often used to perhaps justify the low wages and low value associated with the work. Furthermore it could mean that domestic workers can continue to inhabit the domestic network and remain invisible because the employer has acknowledged her own shame and discomfort.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the social is organised by practice, space, place and discourse because knowledge is produced in dynamic spaces and places (Foucault, 1986; Callon, 1986a, 1991; Latour, 1987, 1988, 1993 and Barnes, 2004). I argue that Facebook allows for heterotopias of whiteness because homophily encourages certain forms of knowledge and power particularly regarding race and gender. In this way spatial arrangements that support white middle class domesticity are largely unchallenged because counter discourses seldom emerge in networks that have been black boxed.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

The home is a microcosm of society (Treas, 2010) and this study has examined this very specific aspect of South African everyday life. As discussed in Chapter 2, there has been a tendency to focus on macro space and place (Ahluwalia, 2001; Amin & Thrift, 2002; Diouf, 2003; Mbembe & Nuttall, 2004; Pieterse, 2010, 2013) which has meant that there has been a gap in research regarding specific subjective experiences within the smaller spaces that humans occupy; namely the home.

The value in this research is that it pays attention to private space and women. My decision to 'study up' (Nader, 1974) and focus on predominantly white women has been to address the gap in the research field. Moving forward there is certainly room to account for the experiences of black domestic workers, black women, as well as men who may occupy these spaces in order to further broaden the view. Nonetheless, this research provides a lens through which to analyse spatial arrangements and racial and gendered relationships that stabilise and disrupt domestic space and place.

What Constitutes Home?

I began this thesis by posing the question, 'What constitutes home'? The complexity of this question was revealed by theorising numerous multifaceted understandings of space and place, from the perspective of human geography and social theory (Bourdieu, 1989, 1990; Foucault, 1977, 1980, 1986, 2002; Lefebvre 1984, 1991, 1996; Soja, 1989, 1996; Tuan, 1976, 1977, 1979). Furthermore, by analysing material and digital manifestations of the home, spatial arrangements were observed as highly networked, socio-technical, and relational.

I showed that homes are complex and networked, and an assemblage of digitally mediated and material spaces and places. Homes are a collection of objects and artefacts, human and non-human actors, and importantly, our stories and narratives. Homes, and our understandings of where home is, are constantly changing, and will continue to change through technological advancements, and the blurring between public and private space and place.

Not only is the architecture of material homes changing, as revealed by Bech-Danielsen (2012) and Huggett (1977), but conceptions of the home itself have changed. Research on smart homes, for example, is evolving and branching out to account for, not only the technical aspects of smart home technology, but, the social and relational aspects of living in such homes (Harper, 2003; Mynatt *et al.*, 2001; Siio *et al*, 2002; Voida & Mynatt, 2002). The digital architecture of SNS has also opened up the

home which, as I have argued, creates another form of open-plan living, where domesticity and domestic self-presentation are brought into focus. Further research into the home, as networked and relational, will only increase our understandings of how actants behave in domestic environments, as well as adding valuable insight into relationships and power.

With the changing architecture of digitally mediated and material space and place, as well as the advancements in smart home technology, homes will continue to evolve. Furthermore, the slippage between the perceived "boundaries" of private and public space and place are likely to become increasingly fluid. Debates about privacy and surveillance, both in the home (Kapadia *et al.,* 2007; Leaver, 2015; Lyon, 2003; Stalder, 2009) and on Facebook (Acquisti et al., 2015; Hargittai, 2010; Westlake, 2008) are emerging as popular research fields. Such debates and research will develop as Facebook security and privacy settings change, and adapt to transformations in terms of how users mediate their own Facebook usage.

In Chapter 4 I discussed how homes have changed and developed as research sites, and I suggested the need to account for a new technology methodology relation (cf. Woolgar, 2002). This is because the living rooms of the 1980s, inhabited by researchers such as Morley, have changed, and we need to account for digitally mediated space and place. I have argued that we need to adopt both "elephant in the living room" and "fly on the Facebook wall" research strategies to account for networked space and place as an assemblage of the digitally mediated and material. Ethnographic studies have to consider changing environments, and I believe that allowing for digital space and place by adopting multi-sited fieldwork (Haythornthwaite & Wellman, 2002, 2008; Kelty, 2008; Leander & McKim, 2003) provides a broader and more meaningful picture of everyday life.

Home is a reflection of discourse and power relations (cf. Foucault, 1986) and I have shown how human actors negotiate territory, and that space is reflective of power and hierarchy. Women participants create place and ascribe space in digitally mediated and material versions of their homes. Furthermore, women are secured to the home because historically and culturally domestic space has been viewed as "women's place". I have argued that the resurgence of postfeminist accounts of domesticity (Hollows, 2000, 2003a, 2007; Matchar, 2013) have promoted domestic idealism and domestopia (Dolgopolov, 2003). Hence, middle class women have migrated back to the home spurred on by popular media, lifestyle magazines, cooking shows, etc (Gill, 2007; McRobbie, 2004), as well as by their own social and economic privilege that has allowed them to forego employment.

The presence of counter-hegemonic spaces, or heterotopias, is also reflective of power relations, and further study into such spaces and places is certainly warranted. My examination of domestic space and place only took into consideration, the scullery and man cave within material homes, and sites suggestive of whiteness as visible on Facebook. Socio-technical understandings of behaviour allow for insight into complex networks, and the examination of different contexts and situations would certainly reveal numerous other spaces, which would in turn highlight power struggles and resistance.

Space and place is indicative of territory and this research showed that women participants create place and ascribe space. Space reflects power and hierarchy and there were divisions between inside and outside space that were redolent of historical and cultural beliefs about gender (Attfield, 2002; Kaplan, 1998; McKeon, 2005; Simon & Landis, 1989). Nonetheless, there was certainly evidence that place is also reflective of power, because women participants were responsible for decorating, designing and "creating" the home. By putting a "woman's touch" on the home space, women participants marked their territory and used their taste and aesthetics to signify their place within the home. Furthermore, how space within the home is negotiated between actants, particularly in regards to children, reflects on changing attitudes towards gender normativity and parenting styles. Space and place is a mirror of society and women's place is still in the home. However, whilst white women are usually secured to their own homes as homemakers, a significant number of black women employees[52] are predominantly secured to the homes of their white employers in order to perform the housework. This social ordering says a great deal about gender and race in contemporary South Africa.

Where Are Your Stories?

Narrative is a way of claiming space and place. In Chapter 1 I posited that narrative allows us a history, *and* a geography. We claim space as our own by forging a symbolic attachment to it, by placing objects and artefacts with value within the space, decorating it to reflect our personalities, and by telling people that it is *ours* through narrative. Without stories we cannot claim space and place as our own, and we are also soon forgotten because, without stories, there is no evidence of our existence.

This research showed that narrative work was an important way for women participants to enact specific roles within the home such as, domestic manager, domestic goddess, supermom and so on.

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[52] Over one million black women are employed as domestic workers in South Africa and account for over 8% of the total labour force according to the QLFS 2017. Retrieved from http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0211/P02112ndQuarter2017.pdf

These roles allowed them to assert their power within the home and were an important aspect of identity building. Narrative is an integral part of self-presentation and helps to secure roles. I have suggested that narratives frequently operate as 'ordering strategies' (Law, 1992, 1994, 2004) because they are loaded with discourse.

Facebook has changed narrative in numerous ways, and narrative will continue to change depending on developments to the site's architecture and algorithms (Blue, 2010; Bucher, 2012; Madrigal, 2010; McNeill, 2012; Tufekci, 2017). Nonetheless, I have shown how narrative transmission has changed from a linear model (Kozloff, 1987; Scholes & Kellogg, 1966, 2006) to a model that is networked and collaborative. I have also explained how Facebook architecture and algorithms influence storytelling because of narrative affordances, narrative selection and in the way that it encourages collaboration. Furthermore, through visual representations such as selfies, and before and after representations, audiences are presented with front stage depictions of everyday life, which often subscribe to discourses of domestopia. The fact that networks are often homophilous means that such discourses are seldom challenged, and therefore narrative work often maintains the status quo.

As discussed in Chapter 3, discourse often involves what, or *who,* is left out of the narrative. This research showed that, in regards to this sample of predominantly white middle class women, black domestic workers were frequently outside of domestic everyday life narratives. Facebook narratives are by their very nature collaborative, yet when it came to discussing domestic workers, the domestic workers themselves were seldom afforded the opportunity to contribute to such narratives. As a result, narratives appeared to secure homophilous networks and environments, and it was only during context collapse where the extent of black boxing was revealed.

Whiteness was very much the norm in my study, and I found that black women in South Africa remain on the periphery of white middle class women's postfeminist narratives of domesticity. And, despite playing an integral role within home networks, domestic workers were, for the most part, marginalised and silent. The husbands'/partners' silence was revealed as an altogether different power dynamic. This is because husbands/partners were frequently tagged in posts, and were privy to conversations about them. Their reluctance to participate in domestic conversations appeared to be in order to secure their role as outside of domestic space and seemed to reify their distance and hierarchy. This was certainly supported by their absence from numerous household responsibilities.

Facebook has become another place to tell our stories, to reflect ourselves, our everyday lives, and our homes. Facebook photographs and posts allow us to narrate our lives to our networks, and to stake a claim on numerous spaces and places that we occupy. Facebook profiles are a digital embodiment of each individual user, and are an important part of self-presentation and identity performance. Yet, Facebook is also a digital archive that we no longer have control of after we are gone. Research into what happens to our Facebook profiles, and indeed our digital homes, after we die is growing (Brubaker *et al.*, 2013; Carroll & Romano, 2010; Garde-Hansen, 2009; Walter *et al.*, 2012), but there certainly is a need for more research in this area. The narrative work regarding front stage and back stage performances of grief and mourning, as well as the need to tie up Facebook "real estate" of the deceased certainly warrants consideration.

As with space and place, narratives reveal power dynamics and add insight into relationships. Although I only looked into specific narratives within the context of white middle class domesticity, there is opportunity to increase the scope of this study by looking to other race, gender, class and age demographics.

As I discussed in Chapter 7, although I consider the impact of the EdgeRank algorithm it is difficult to know the exact influence it had on my study in terms of participant selection and Newsfeed results. Nonetheless, research in this area is emerging (Blue, 2010; Bucher, 2012; Madrigal, 2010; McNeill, 2012; Tufekci, 2017) and will only help to further our understandings of Facebook.

Responsibility and Roles within Networks

I argued that the home remains a 'gender factory' (Becker, 1965; Berk, 1995) because gender roles are manufactured and naturalised in household networks. The fact that digitally mediated space is frequently homophilous means that roles and responsibilities are likely to be secured. My observations were of specific Facebook accounts, and there are numerous feminised and masculinised, as well as racial groups on Facebook that would reveal evidence of social ordering or disruption.

The fact is that women were still believed to be better at household responsibilities such as grocery shopping (Kerr & Charles, 1986; Lake *et al.*, 2006; Marshall & Anderson, 2000), as well as being better gatekeepers (Chapman, 1955; Marshall & Anderson, 2000; Slater, 1997; Veblen, 1899). Ordering strategies naturalised women's role as superior homemakers and absolved husbands/partners from performing such responsibilities. There was very little backlash to these gendered beliefs, and women

themselves frequently reinforced gender roles by expressing the need to control certain aspects of household management.

While this study added insight into domestic responsibilities such as cleaning, cooking, grocery shopping and child care, it also revealed the disproportionate amount of affective labour women undertake. Emotional labour is a major part of women's role within households and their need to fulfil such labour and alleviate guilt contributes to the imbalance of the workload. The affective dimension of networks was revealed as important because women participants needed to feel as if husbands/partners were contributing. Such contributions, by husbands/partners, were often disproportionately rewarded in relation to how much labour was involved.

Not only were women responsible for managing the home and recruiting and enrolling actants, but they were also responsible for most of the homemaking and kin work. Kin work has become another form of labour for women, and there was evidence of the pressure that Facebook puts on women to communicate with extended kin and friendship networks. Fox & Moreland argue that the omnipresence of Facebook in everyday life, because of mobile devices, means that it 'affords constant accessibility' which impacts on the expectation of contact (2014, p. 171). Furthermore, this comes with added labour because 'social pressure from social network members to comment immediately on friends' posts and pictures or post their own pictures of recent events' is expected, especially from women (Fox & Moreland, 2014, p. 171).

Postfeminism is about choice (cf. McRobbie, 2004) and women participants were able to reconfigure their network goals and responsibilities in order to adopt more egalitarian roles. The fact that domestic workers were often silenced in terms of being able to take part in conversations and narratives, and the fact that they are unable to negotiate much flexibility in their household roles is further evidence that they are on the periphery of these particular postfeminist narratives. Yet their role within such narratives allows middle class women to rewrite their roles and create new stories for themselves.

The mobility of women is a central issue and changing patterns in hiring domestic workers is something to consider. In contrast to studies by Cock (1980, 1981) and Nyamnjoh (2005) most participants hired domestic workers once or twice a week. There was certainly the underlying sense that this was not just for economic reasons, but to absolve themselves from the responsibility of hiring a domestic worker full time. My hunch is that this may also account for the rising popularity in using agencies to outsource domestic work, but this would need further interrogation and study.

What does ANT reveal?

ANT reveals that everything is networked and relational. As technologies continue to develop we need to understand, more than ever, how human actors interact and form relationships within networks. Understanding how actants are enrolled as intermediaries and how black boxing happens adds insight into the complexity of environments.

I have shown that households are highly networked. Moreover, I have also shown that narratives are highly networked. As humans we are highly susceptible to accepting prescribed and normative roles, therefore we need to understand and acknowledge the power of discourse in conditioning, securing, and solidifying such network roles. Challenging discourses, and being aware of homophily within networks, will allow us to collapse normativity and to question how we are enrolled and translated into networks (Callon, 1986a, 1986b; Gieryn, 2000; Latour, 1987; Law, 1992, 1999).

The limitation of ANT is that it is impossible to scrutinise every actant within every network, and that it is an exercise in selection. Yet, it is this very open-ended quality of ANT that makes it so valuable. Narratives and networks are fluid, and stories and relationships are constantly evolving. ANT is significant because it gives agency to all actants, and views every actant, within a network structure, with equal importance (Doolin & Lowe, 2002; Knights & Murray, 1994; Law, 1992, 1999, 2009). It is this democratic organisation that allows researchers to focus in on particular actants, and to study how they mediate or subscribe to their own roles. Researchers are also able to shift the lens onto specific actants that may emerge as noteworthy as research develops. Furthermore, because ANT gives agency to all actants, this means that ultimately actants are able to challenge their own network roles by being acting as mediators. This means that black boxing has the potential to be disrupted as actants are made aware of their network roles and potential power imbalances.

ANT also shows us how stories evolve within networks and how we are able to author our roles and adapt to power shifts. And, as researchers we are able to change the lens to focus on different narrative accounts, allowing us, in part, to choose where and how to situate ourselves within such narratives. The valuable place that ANT has in social theory and human geography is certainly justified because of the ever changing nature of space and place and how we construct it through narratives.

> She entered the story knowing she would emerge from it feeling she had been immersed in the lives of others , in plots that stretched back twenty years, her body full of sentences and moments...
> (**Michael Ondaatje**, **The English Patient**).

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APPENDICES

Appendix One: Introductory Letter & Consent Form

Appendix Two: Questionnaire One

Appendix Three: Questionnaire Two

Appendix Four: Questionnaire Three

APPENDIX ONE: Introductory Letter & Consent Form

Dear_____

You may or may not be aware that I am currently doing my PhD at UCT.

My working title is:

'Beyond Cupcakes': Young women's gender and identity performance and the presentation of domesticity on social networks in South Africa.

This study aims to investigate young South African women's use of social media, namely Facebook, and potentially Pinterest, as spaces for gender performance, with a particular focus on domesticity.

I will explore the discourses of domesticity and attitudes towards domestic work of young, middle class women, who are entering the stages of establishing a home as newlyweds, or who cohabit with common law partners.

I am focussing on

1. practices of everyday life; how you use Facebook and Pinterest on a day-to-day basis
2. kin/friendship work; the sharing of recipes, domestic advice, networking between women etc
3. conspicuous consumption; the display of domestic products

My proposal has been approved and presented to the Film & Media Department at UCT, as well as David Buckingham who is a media scholar from the UK.

In short I need about 30-40 women to take part in this study. I have identified you as someone who posts content on Facebook and Pinterest around the central ideas of domesticity; things like cooking, cleaning, gardening etc.

Participation in this study is optional and will involve me analysing examples of your domestic posts on Facebook. Participants will be kept anonymous, and I will be rigorous regarding the ethical parameters of this project. At no stage will I use any information that you are not happy to share.

Initially I will just be looking at what you post over a period of time, I may look into your history too but I will clarify this and ask for your consent at a later stage. Only content that is related to domesticity will be analysed; things such as status updates about cooking, photographs of baking, planning for celebrations, childcare etc. (your children will be kept anonymous and will not be referred to by name or photographed).

I will then ask you to participate in a series of interviews and to provide comment on some of your posts. This will not take up too much of your time and you may opt out of the study at any stage.

Ultimately this research is a historical and cultural analysis of domesticity and postfeminism and asks questions about what kind of behaviour social networks are facilitating. I will not use any content, photographs etc. without your consent.

If you are happy to consent to helping me with this study I will be in touch regarding ethical considerations etc.; if you have any questions or concerns please do not hesitate to voice them. Many thanks for taking the time to read this and I hope that you agree to assist me with this. If you are unhappy to participate I fully understand.

If you are happy to participate in this research please complete the consent form below.

Regards

Jaqui

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

IYUNIVESITHI YASEKAPA • UNIVERSITEIT VAN KAAPSTAD

Working Title of Research Project: *'Beyond Cupcakes': Young women's gender and identity performance and the presentation of domesticity on social networks in South Africa.*

Film & Media Department University of Cape Town

1. I agree to participate in this research project.
2. I agree to have my personal Facebook profile observed from January 2013- January 2015, under a pseudonym, and within the parameters of the research project, i.e. the researcher is allowed to analyse posts and content that is domestically focussed. (Domestically focussed includes housework and homemaking practices identified as cooking, baking, cleaning, gardening, grocery shopping, household DIY, homemaking projects, home renovations, purchasing household appliances or household goods, parenting (specifically motherhood) and domestic workers.)
3. I agree to have my answers from questionnaires one, two and three used in the study under a specified pseudonym.
4. I agree to being interviewed for the purposes of this study. I agree that this may be recorded.
5. The purpose and nature of this research has been explained to me.
6. I have read the consent form. Any questions that I have asked about this research, and my participation in this research, has been answered to my satisfaction.
7. I agree to my responses being used for research on condition that my privacy is respected.
8. I understand that I am under no obligation to take part in this research project.
9. I understand that I have the right to withdraw from this research project at any stage.

Name and signature of participant   _____

Date_____

I have explained the project and the implications of being interviewed to the participant and I believe that the consent is informed and that he/she understands the implications of participation.

Jaqui Hiltermann_____Sign_____

Date_____

For updates and further information please contact Jaqui Hiltermann

Email: given

Cellphone number: given

Thank you for your participation and support, you will be informed as to where you can view the final thesis.

APPENDIX TWO: Questionnaire One

Thank you for agreeing to help with this research. This is the first of a couple of questionnaires that I would like you to answer.

If you are uncomfortable answering any of the questions please leave them out. You are not obliged to give me any information that you are not happy disclosing.

The questions are quite broad so please answer them to the best of your ability.

Many thanks

Jaqui

SECTION 1 (PERSONAL DETAILS)

Please note that you are not obliged to answer any questions that you are not comfortable answering.

1.1 Are you married, in a common-law partnership, co-habiting etc.?

_____

1.2 Do you have children? If yes how many?

_____

SECTION 2 (Employment)

Please note that you are not obliged to answer any questions that you are not comfortable answering.

2.1 Are you unemployed, employed full time, employed part time, employed contractually, employed temporarily, etc.?

_____

2.2 What is your current job title? _____

2.3 Briefly explain the nature of your work._____
_____
_____
_____

2.4 Do you have any other form of income aside from your job? (briefly explain)

_____
_____
_____
_____

2.5 How many hours do you work per day?_____

2.6 Do you ever work weekends?_____

If yes how often on average (every weekend, fortnightly etc.)?_____

If yes how long, on average, do you spend working on
weekends?_____

2.7 Out of 10 how satisfied are you with your employment situation?

   (10 being extremely satisfied, 1 being very unhappy)_____

2.8 Out of 10 how hard do you think you've worked to get to your current
   position?_____

2.9 Who is the 'breadwinner' in your household? Husband/partner, you, or are you both equal in terms
   of
   salary?_____
   _____

SECTION 3 (HOME WORK)

Please note that you are not obliged to answer any questions that you are not comfortable answering.

3.1. Are you a stay at home mum?_____

3.2. Are you a stay at home wife/partner?_____

3.3 What were the reasons behind the decision to stay at home or to be
employed?_____
_____
_____
_____

SECTION 4 (DIVISION OF LABOUR)

Please note that you are not obliged to answer any questions that you are not comfortable answering.

4.1 Who cooks the meals in the household?_____

(if it is shared please indicate, on average how it is divided? Or indicate if each person makes his/her
own breakfast/lunch.)

- Breakfast?_____

- Lunch?_____

- Dinner?_____

4.2 Is there a difference between week night and weekend cooking?_____
_____
_____

4.3 How often do you go out for dinner? _____

4.4. In general what are the circumstances for going out to dinner?_____
_____
_____

4.5 Do you enjoy cooking?_____

4.6 Does your partner enjoy cooking?_____

4.7 What are the meals that you enjoy preparing?_____
_____
_____
_____

4.8 Is cooking/baking a hobby?_____

4.9 Who does the grocery shopping?_____

(Is it an equally shared responsibility, your responsibility or his responsibility?)

4.10 On average how often do you go grocery shopping?_____

4.11 How do you feel about grocery shopping?_____
_____
_____

SECTION FIVE (Domestic Workers)

Please note that you are not obliged to answer any questions that you are not comfortable answering.

5.1. Do you have a domestic worker?_____

5.2 How often does she work for you?_____

5.3 Does she do any cooking?_____

5.4 Does she look after your children (if applicable)?_____

5.5 What are the main reasons for having a domestic worker?
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Thank you for taking part in this questionnaire

APPENDIX THREE: Questionnaire Two

Thank you for your continued participation. If you are not on Pinterest please just answer the questions that apply to you.

1. Do you have a Pinterest account?

   _____

2. How often do you go on Pinterest?

   _____
   _____

3. If you do not use Pinterest why is this?

   _____
   _____

4. On average how much time do you think you spend on Pinterest during one session?

   _____
   _____

5. What are your main reasons for going on Pinterest?

   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____

6. What do you use Pinterest for?

   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____

7. What are the things that you enjoy doing on Pinterest?

   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____

8. Who do you think uses Pinterest?

_____
_____
_____

9. Do you know any men who use Pinterest?

_____

10. What do you think men use Pinterest for?

_____
_____
_____

11. What do you think about men on Pinterest?

_____
_____
_____
_____

12. What do you think about Pinterest?

_____
_____
_____
_____

13. Do you have many boards?_____

14. What are your boards for? (The ones that you use the
most)_____
_____
_____
_____

15. Has Pinterest changed the way that you plan events, parties, etc. or helped you in any
way?_____
_____
_____
_____

16. What do you think about the degree of difficulty (as a whole) of the content on Pinterest? How
easy do you think it is to recreate/copy?

_____
_____

_____

_____

17. How many times have you completed a Pinterest project (recipe, craft, etc.)? Please elaborate
    on how it went.

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

APPENDIX FOUR: Questionnaire Three

1. Do you post photographs of your domestic triumphs on Facebook?_____
   1.1. What is the main reason for doing this? (Or NOT doing this)

   _____
   _____
   _____

2. Do you ever update your Facebook status with examples or anecdotes relating to domestic success?_____
   2.1. What is the main reason for doing this?

   _____
   _____

   2.2. How do you feel when your friends comment on your success?

   _____
   _____

   2.3. Have you ever had negative feedback from friends?

   _____
   _____

   2.4. Why do you think this is?

   _____
   _____

3. Do you comment on other friends' domestic triumphs?_____
   3.1. Why is this?

   _____
   _____

4. Do you ever post photographs of your domestic failures on Facebook?_____
   4.1. Why is this?

   _____
   _____

   4.2. Do you ever update your status with examples or anecdotes about your own domestic failures?_____
   4.3. Why is this?

   _____
   _____

   4.4. Do your friends ever post photographs or post status updates with examples or anecdotes regarding their domestic failures on Facebook?_____

5. What do you think the "nailed it" meme (below) is saying about domestic photographs online and Pinterest projects?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

5.1 Can you personally identify with this Internet meme?_____

5.2 Why is this?

_____
_____
_____

6. What/Who is your first port of call regarding…

6.1 Cooking
advice?_____
_____

6.2 Cleaning advice?_____

_____

6.3 Child care advice?_____

_____

7.1 Do you ever ask for help regarding domesticity or domestic projects online? (Can you give an example)

_____

_____

7.2 Do you find the advice helpful?_____

_____

8.1 On a scale of 1-10 (10 being maximum domestic goddess status) how would you rate your mother in terms of her ability to provide you with domestic advice?_____

8.2 On a scale of 1-10 how would you rate your mother-in-law in terms of her ability to provide you with domestic advice?_____

8.3 On a scale of 1-10 how would you rate your paternal grandmother in terms of her ability to provide you with domestic advice?_____

8.4 On a scale 0f 1-10 how would you rate your maternal grandmother in terms of her ability to provide you with domestic advice?_____

8.5 On a scale of 1-10 how would you rate Facebook in terms of its ability to provide you with domestic advice?_____

8.6 On a scale of 1-10 how would you rate Pinterest in terms of its ability to provide you with domestic advice?_____

8.7 On a scale of 1-10 how would you rate YouTube in terms of its ability to provide you with domestic advice?_____

Thank you for your participation