

The Routledge Companion to Digital Ethnography



Edited by Larissa Hjorth, Heather Horst, Anne Galloway
and Genevieve Bell

THE ROUTLEDGE COMPANION TO DIGITAL ETHNOGRAPHY

With the increase of digital and networked media in everyday life, researchers have increasingly turned their gaze to the symbolic and cultural elements of technologies. From studying online game communities, locative and social media to YouTube and mobile media, ethnographic approaches to digital and networked media have helped to elucidate the dynamic cultural and social dimensions of media practice. *The Routledge Companion to Digital Ethnography* provides an authoritative, up-to-date, intellectually broad, and conceptually cutting-edge guide to this emergent and diverse area.

Features include:

- a comprehensive history of computers and digitization in anthropology;
- exploration of various ethnographic methods in the context of digital tools and network relations;
- consideration of social networking and communication technologies on a local and global scale;
- in-depth analyses of different interfaces in ethnography, from mobile technologies to digital archives.

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*Edited by Larissa Hjorth, Heather Horst,
Anne Galloway, and Genevieve Bell*

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ABBREVIATIONS

ANT	Actor Network Theory
BBS	Bulletin Board Services
DIY	Do It Yourself
ICTs	Information Communication Technologies
IRC	Internet Relay Chat
ISP	Independent Service Provider
<i>Keitai</i>	Japanese word for mobile phone
Locative	
media	Media of communication bound to a location
LOS	Line of Sight
MMOB	Multi-Media on Board (Hong Kong public transport)
MMORPG	Massively Multiple Player Online Role Playing Games
MMS	Multimedia Messaging Service
MUDs	Multi-User Dungeons
SMS	Short Message Service (text messaging)
STS	Science and Technology Studies
UCC	User Created Content
UGC	User Generated Content
VPN	Virtual Private Network
WiFi	Wireless Fidelity
WWW	World Wide Web

INTRODUCTION

*Larissa Hjorth, Heather Horst,
Anne Galloway, and Genevieve Bell*

As the digital becomes increasingly entwined within everyday life, ethnography's value as a key methodological and analytical approach to understand the ways in which digital media technologies are changing how we live, work, and play has increased (Pink et al. 2016; Hine 2015). Bringing together scholars from a variety of disciplines including anthropology, sociology, media, communication, and cultural studies, the *Companion* reflects upon and seeks to assess the past, present, and future of digital ethnography. Through a series of key rubrics—Debating Digital Ethnography; Relationships; Visibility and Voice; Place and Co-presence; Play; Arts; Infrastructures; Politics; and Design—*The Routledge Companion to Digital Ethnography* considers the interdisciplinary role of digital ethnography as we move into progressively more complex digital entanglements within the everyday.

In this Editor's Introduction we outline the nine rubrics and the attendant 44 chapters that constitute the current state of digital ethnography research. We conclude by introducing three provocations for the future of digital ethnography. The *Companion* begins with a section dedicated to Debating Digital Ethnography that contextualizes contemporary debates about the consequences of digital media technologies for ethnographic practice from different disciplinary vantage points. The first chapter by anthropologists Mike Fortun, Kim Fortun, and George E. Marcus provides a short history of computers in anthropology that stems back to Clifford and Marcus' *Writing Culture* (a seminal text in defining the politics and practices of ethnography and fieldwork) to contextualize new modes of ethnographic research, collaboration, and expression. Similarly, sociologist Christine Hine draws from a decade and a half of ethnographies focused on the Internet to consider how digital media cultures have shaped ethnography as a practice, reflecting upon the changes and continuity within the academy. Science and Technology Studies scholar Anne Beaulieu follows Hine with a discussion of how computationalization shapes some of the adaptations of ethnographic methods, a framework that ethnomusicologist Wendy F. Hsu also explores through her discussion of performance. Hsu further questions "the purpose of writing as the predominant expression of ethnographic knowledge" within the context of digital media.

Debating Digital Ethnography continues with reflections by two contributors, Jenna Burrell and John Postill, who consider how the digital media technologies in our fieldsites and fieldwork represent continuity rather than rupture with previous ethnographic practice.

Burrell, for example, highlights how online practices make visible the notion of “the fieldsite as a network” that is meaningfully constructed through the ethnographer’s experience. Postill also argues for continuity, noting that ethnography has long involved studying at a distance, but digital media technologies make researching from a distance—doing remote ethnography—easier. The section concludes with a chapter by Georgina Born and Christopher Haworth who reflect upon the meaning of digital ethnography itself. As they highlight, digital ethnography has a double meaning—it refers to deploying the ethnographic to understand digital culture as it does apply to the use of digital methodologies increasingly within ethnographic research.

The next section, *Relationships*, focuses upon the different forms of sociality that are being mediated through digital media cultures—especially social media. It begins with a contribution by Tom McDonald, Razvan Nicolescu, and Jolynna Sinanan who draw upon their participation on a large, collaborative project of social media use in nine fieldsites to reflect upon how social media is shaping, and being shaped by, small communities around the world. Moving from communities to families, Mirca Madianou examines how Filipino transnational family practices are being transformed in light of the ubiquitous presence of communication—what she calls “polymedia” environments. Luke van Ryn, Tamara Kohn, Bjorn Nansen, Michael Arnold, and Martin Gibbs consider how the practices around memorialization and death rituals are being altered and amplified by social media, with particular attention to how people continue to form relationships with the dead through social media profiles and pages that often persist after their death. The final chapter by Guillaume Dumont turns our attention to the possibilities of social media to move beyond kinship or place-based social ties to develop new relationships. Dumont illustrates how professional rock climbers use a variety of social media strategies, especially self-branding, to cultivate their relations with fans, their sponsors, and other professional climbers.

The third section, *Visibility and Voice*, attends to the potential and the limits of digital media technologies to transform who, when, and how people are seen and heard, and how digital media cultures may replicate or transform existing offline forms of inequality and participation. The chapter by Cara Wallis and Xi Cui turns our attention to the social media site Weibo in China. Building upon Couldry’s definition of voice, Wallis and Cui highlight the ways in which Weibo both amplifies and silences voices in China and the implications of this for developing an online public sphere in China. Patricia G. Lange reconsiders the agency of YouTube video creators, in a context where videos posted online are perceived as collective property that can be remixed or even deleted. These conditions complicate and, in some cases, counteract the agency and self-expression enabled through sites such as YouTube. Crystal Abidin’s chapter, by contrast, chronicles how a small community of commercial “lifestyle” microcelebrities engaged in self-branding in Singapore used a range of social media to transform themselves from mere “bloggers” to “influencers” using their visibility and voice for economic gain. The final chapter by Sheba Mohammid and Heather Horst on amateur musicians in Trinidad and Tobago suggests that while YouTube and other sites may assist with skills development and exposure to new audiences, many musicians still feel their voice and visibility is limited unless they migrate internationally.

Part IV investigates the overlay between Place and Co-presence. Co-presence has been a useful concept in the rise of online and mobile media to consider the various forms of presence whereby face-to-face (f2f) is not taken as superior or unmediated. Rather, all forms of communication are mediated—if not by technology, then by gestures, memories, and emotions. Jordan Kraemer’s chapter considers the role of ethnography to reflect upon culture, selfhood, and place through the emergent European transnationalism on social media in

Berlin during the #JeSuisCharlie hashtag campaign of 2015. Kat Jungnickel's chapter critically examines the cultures and practices of a grassroots hand-made version of the Internet in suburban Australia, highlighting the value of these practices for helping to imagine new ways of deploying the online and attendant forms of agency within everyday life. The following chapter by Christian Licoppe and Julien Morel turns our attention to the role of locative mobile media in "the development of unplanned, fleeting encounters with pseudonymous strangers, and virtual acquaintances in urban public places," a finding that builds upon yet also challenges Goffman's theory of frame analysis. The last two chapters of this section consider the role of mobile media in challenging notions of place. Ingrid Richardson and Brendan Keogh, for example, approach mobile media as an itinerant interface—between ethnography and phenomenology—that traverses and interweaves material, corporeal, networked, online, and offline contexts. The final chapter by Didem Özkul attends to the critical role of mobile communication as a practice of place making.

Part V, *Play*, focuses upon the intersection between the contexts and practices of play. Tom Apperley's chapter begins with his examination of gaming as a localized cultural practice through the case study of a Venezuelan cybercafé in which he reflects upon how play can afford spaces for social inclusion in technologically constrained environments. Crystle Martin's chapter on World Wrestling Entertainment (WWE) and its fandom shifts this section to forms of play that often do not receive the attention of gaming scholars yet represent some of the most popular forms of play globally. The next contribution by Emma Witkowski attends to the location-based running mobile app, *Zombies, Run!*, and the ways in which the app draws upon women's feelings of vulnerability in public space. Building upon her phenomenological study of running, gender, and play, Witkowski argues that understanding these playful movements in public spaces can help to rethink the relationship between the body and locality. The final chapter by Isabel Fróes and Susana Tosca examines children's practices in and around emergent mobile technologies (especially tablets) through a focus upon the role of children's hands. Together, the work by Witkowski, Fróes, and Tosca combines phenomenological and digital ethnographic approaches to advance our understandings of play and the body.

The *Companion* then turns its attention to the interplay between digital ethnography and the Arts. The chapter by Paolo Favero reflects upon the ethnographer's role as increasingly like that of a curator whereby they are exhibiting "the ethnographic" in new open-ended modes that reflect the "multimodal, non-linear, relational, and materic engagements with the visual world that characterize the habitats of contemporary art." Larissa Hjorth, William Balmford, Sharon Greenfield, Luke Gaspard, Amani Naseem, and Tom Penney's contribution explores the role of digital and non-digital play through a series of workshops with young people. The chapter considers how participatory design and art practice can inform ethnographic methods (and vice versa). Drawing upon long-term ethnographic research on digital photography, Edgar Gómez Cruz explores what he terms the "(be)coming of selfies"—that is, the conditions and processes that configured the development of imagery as a central element in online practices. Marsha Berry looks at the emergence of mobile filmmaking, with particular attention to the ways in which smartphones are affording new types of curation and transmedia filmmaking. The final chapter of this section, by Jennifer Deger, returns to the theme of curation through a discussion of her collaborative work on mobile phones with remote Aboriginal communities across north Australia. Deger posits an integration of visual and digital ethnographies that provoke and enable new forms of ethnographic poetics.

The next section, *Infrastructures*, considers the multiple dimensions and roles of infrastructure (social, material, immaterial to name a few) in thinking through the politics and

practice of digital ethnography. Building upon the previous section's focus upon curation and the arts, Haidy Geismar interrogates the emergence and use of Instagram as a platform, software, and archive. Taking an anthropological perspective on smartphone photography and social media, Geismar argues that a study of Instagram as archive should

embed this technological practice and digital infrastructure in broader issues about the representation of culture and the culture of representation, the epistemologies of social media archives, and the form of collecting and exhibiting popular and personal photographs both online and on mobile platforms.

Alexandrine Boudreault-Fournier's work on digital music circulation in Cuba shifts our attention from platforms and software to use, through an analysis of digital music technologies. Boudreault-Fournier argues that digital music technologies have enabled alternative networks to emerge to counteract the limits and restrictions on media circulation in contemporary Havana, and concludes the chapter with a reflection on the changes these music technologies have made to the practice of (digital) ethnography.

Hannah Knox's chapter takes an "infrastructural approach to digital ethnography" in order to understand social change. Drawing on her fieldwork on domestic energy use, Knox argues that an infrastructural approach enables insights into the interplay between the technical, the material, and the social. The next chapter by Stephen C. Rea, Ursula Dalinghaus, Taylor C. Nelms, and Bill Maurer analyzes both technical and social infrastructures for "financial inclusion" through mobile payments. Comparing three financial inclusion efforts—Kenya's M-Shwari, Reserve Bank of India's "payments banks," and the Central Bank Ecuador's mobile payment system—Rea et al. demonstrate how mobile payment systems "ride the rails" of other infrastructures. This section concludes with a chapter by Juan Francisco Salazar on "polar infrastructures." As Salazar observes, "infrastructures are built networks that facilitate circulation of goods, people, and data and allow for their exchange over space." In Antarctica, there are multiple national infrastructures that underpin Antarctica's mobile telecommunications networks whose operations require an understanding of the other infrastructures that shape life on Antarctica.

The next section in the *Companion* is focused upon Politics. Sirpa Tenhunen begins by reflecting upon the interplay between mobile phones in India and the long history of engagement in local politics in rural West Bengal, India where she has been working for over a decade. The implications of new mobile telecommunications infrastructure for political engagement continue in Mirjam de Bruijn's chapter on mediated political agency in contested regions of Africa. Focusing on mobile social media, de Bruijn highlights how it is opening up spaces for sharing opinions and dissent in ways not possible in public spaces in conflict areas of central and southern Africa. Veronica Barassi then turns our focus to a series of three political groups in Europe to understand the complexities of activism through social media. In particular Barassi draws attention to the tension between collective social movements through social media and the corporate entities that own the platforms and infrastructures for social media activism.

The chapter by Heather Ford continues this thread through a focus on Wikipedia participants in Nairobi, Kenya. Specifically, Ford reflects upon the "authoritative" and seemingly inclusive force of Wikipedia and what gets rejected and silenced by today's knowledge production machine. The final chapter of this section by Richard Beckwith and Ken Anderson explores the role of environmental sensing and control in the context of Portland, USA. Focused upon the ways in which different stakeholders emerge around access, use, sharing,

and ownership of sensor data, Beckwith and Anderson consider the productive tensions between civic engagement, participation, and the emergence of “data citizens.”

The *Companion* concludes with a section on Design, especially the intersection between design and the future of ethnographic practice. Christo Sims begins this with his chapter “The Politics of Design, Design as Politics.” Through fieldwork on a recent design project—a new public school in New York City—the chapter proposes ethnography has much to learn from design practice and failure. The next chapter, by Elisenda Ardèvol and Débora Lanzeni, reflects upon their fieldwork with digital designers in Barcelona, Spain, arguing that ethnography is a process of knowledge not about the world as it is, but the universe that we learn with others. The following three chapters explore the possibilities between design and ethnography through an exploration of three interventions that take a speculative approach to design. The first of these, by Yoko Akama, Katherine Moline, and Sarah Pink, considers “disruptive interventions with mobile media” through *Design+Ethnography+Futures*, a research initiative to explore how a future orientation to research could invite new forms of change-making. The next chapter by Anne Galloway focuses upon the creation and aspirations of the More-Than-Human Lab which seeks to explore sustainable possibilities for people to live with animals, plants, and the land. The final chapter, by Elizabeth Chin, poetically brings together the politics of design—especially the erasure of race—with the speculative turn by using wearables to examine inequality through design, enabling participants to re-imagine what is and what can be. Collectively the projects reflect upon the limits and possibilities of design for engaging social change.

Provocations: The Future of Digital Ethnography

As in any field-defining endeavor, this *Companion* does not and cannot include every domain or dimension of digital ethnography. Rather, it seeks to provide readers with positioned perspectives on key debates in and around digital ethnography as a field, frame, and set of methods. Over the 44 chapters that constitute this volume, we have identified nine key rubrics that represent important conversations in this interdisciplinary field, ones that we view as moving the field forward in productive ways. In this concluding section we briefly outline three areas that have emerged from this *Companion* that we believe are fruitful directions for digital ethnography.

Interdisciplinary Iterations

Throughout the chapters in this *Companion* many of the authors articulated the need to consider the ways in which ethnography—and digital ethnography—is shaping our methodological practices as well as the epistemological frameworks that we operate within. The first section of the *Companion*, Debating Digital Ethnography, includes provocative chapters by Hine, Postill, and Hsu as well as Born and Haworth that all directly address how the practice of ethnography is changing due to an engagement with digital environments. However, many of the chapters in the Art and Design sections also draw our attention to the ways in which the interdisciplinary spaces through which we operate spur further thinking about the utility and usefulness of ethnography. We see this process in Deger’s collaboration and curation of an exhibit that is now travelling globally, or in Favero’s discussion of open modes of curation. We also gain insight into new possibilities through Ardèvol and Lanzeni’s discussion of openness and ongoingness in their engagement with designers. The chapters by Hsu on performance and Chin on wearables and performance provoke ethnographers (and designers) to use these

technologies to explore possible futures, opening up new forms of engagement with arenas such as “data” (see below). In effect, design and art can provide spaces for speculation and for creative, even playful explorations of ethnography as a series of changing approaches, theories, and probes. Continued commitment to these interdisciplinary conversations is critical for the vibrancy of digital ethnography as a field and practice.

Data Ethnographies

While not designed into the original call for contributor papers to this *Companion*, throughout the volume there is evidence of an increasing engagement with “data,” including different forms of so-called “big data.” With a few notable exceptions (e.g. Boellstorff and Maurer 2015a, 2015b; Nafus and Sherman 2014), ethnographers have been somewhat reluctant to engage with the spate of research on big data. In part this is due to an ongoing commitment to stay attuned to the everydayness of our engagement with digital media technologies. Data—big, better, small, rotten, or uncooked (Boellstorff and Maurer 2015a, 2015b)—is becoming part of day-to-day life for many people around the world (see Beckwith and anderson, this volume). Many researchers are exploring the limits of Big Data (boyd and Crawford 2012; Lupton 2016) as well as deploying ethnography to understand Big Data as a type of storytelling that consists of the gaps, biases, and power relations (Watts and Nafus 2013).

Indeed, at the Digital Ethnography Research Centre (DERC) where two of the editors (Hjorth and Horst) work, a series of workshops was convened to focus upon “data ethnography.” Workshop participants have to date explored the emergence of data in everyday life through studies of self-tracking technologies, the shift to mobile data in small island developing states, the role of data in games and playful media, the relationship between data and selfies and a range of other topics (see Pink, Horst, and Hjorth 2016 in preparation). We have also been interested in what it is like to live, feel, and imagine with data. While engaging with big data analytics may be part of this discussion, an ethnographic approach to understanding data (of whatever size or scale) promises to yield new insights for our understanding of data, and the practice of digital ethnography.

Making and Theorizing Change

Finally, it is clear that ethnography is not merely a useful tool to describe everyday practice; it is also playing a critical role in intervening in the world. Drawing from the empirical, ethnography can provide insight into motivations and practices that in turn shape future directions for digital media. This is made most explicit in the chapters in the three sections on Politics, Infrastructures, and Design. For example, Akama et al.’s *Design+Ethnography+Futures* initiative and Galloway’s More-Than-Human Lab all seek forms of intervention in the world to enable and enhance change-making. Hjorth et al.’s exploration of the intersection between play, art, and design through workshops with young people considers how ethnography can enable reflection and change with formal and informal contexts. Barassi’s account of political groups in Europe also looks to the possibilities of social media for making change. Yet, these moves to shift ethnography and ethnographers toward the practice of intervention carefully hinges upon a sustained commitment to understanding the realities of digital media’s shaping of the world, and theorizing of social change more broadly.

The focus upon the hidden infrastructures in Rea et al.’s account of mobile money and financial inclusion efforts reinforces the need to understand the structural and regulatory environments that create conditions of use. Many of the chapters also interrogate the design

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and ownership structures of the corporations such as Instagram and, in Ford's study of Wikipedians, the structures of participation that shape use. In the studies of self-branding by Dumont and Abidin and the studies of visual cultures and user agency by the likes of Berry and Cruz, we see how consumption and production practices are changing. Wallis, Xi Cui, and de Bruijn's chapters highlight the seminal role of the state—and state restrictions and prohibitions—in making different platforms meaningful. Others account for changes and resistances to digital media across different cultural contexts reinforcing the importance of attending to history and context. Digital ethnography will only be effective inasmuch as it makes a commitment to understanding, making, and theorizing change alongside the commitment to deep, thick readings of nuanced practices. Meaningful interventions—even methodological interventions—must be situated within the broader social and historical contexts. Research focused upon understanding how, when, and why change occurs also requires an openness to working with this knowledge—and the collaborators with whom we engage in the field, online, in the academy, and in the world—to engage in change-making. This productive tension is key to digital ethnography's own future as a field.

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