Being at Home With Privacy:
Privacy and Mundane Intimacy Through Same-Sex
Locative Media Practices

LARISSA HJORTH
SARAH PINK
RMIT University, Australia

HEATHER A. HORST
University of Sydney, Australia

Smartphones have ushered in new forms of locative media through the overlay of global positioning system digital media onto physical places. Whereas mobile communication research has focused on corporate, hierarchical, or government surveillance, emerging studies examine the ways locative media practices relate to privacy and surveillance in everyday, intimate contexts. Studies of same-sex forms of intimacy in and through locative media practices have largely attended to the growth and use of male hook-up apps, but have overlooked same-sex female relationships. Beyond hook-up apps, mundane forms of intimacy in same-sex relationships have also received scant attention. This article draws from a broader ethnographic study in Australia over three years exploring the use (and nonuse) of locative media in households as part of their management of privacy, connection, and intimacy with family and friends. By moving the discussion about intimacy beyond hook-up apps, this article focuses on locative media practices of use and nonuse by female same-sex couples.

Keywords: locative media, privacy, intimacy, mundane media practices

Global positioning systems have emerged as almost a default function in smartphone apps, shaping new understandings of space (de Souza e Silva & Firth, 2012), surveillance (Humphreys, 2013), and privacy (Gazzard, 2011). Although scholars have examined corporate and governmental surveillance in an age of Big Data (e.g., Andrejevic, 2006), 2013; Cincotta, Ashford, & Michael, 2011; Farman, 2011; Lupton, 2016), new forms of social surveillance (Marwick, 2012) among families or couples create an additional—and, to date, underresearched—overlay within everyday practices (Burrows, 2017; Clark, 2012; Fitchard, 2012; Sengupta, 2012). For example, we know very little about the ways locative media practices relate to privacy, intimacy, and surveillance, and how these experiences play out among same-

Larissa Hjorth: larissa.hjorth@rmit.edu.au
Sarah Pink: sarah.pink@rmit.edu.au
Heather A. Horst: heather.horst@sydney.edu.au
Date submitted: 2017‒02‒08

sex couples and families. Indeed, much of the research has focused on male "hook-up" apps (Blackwell, Birnholtz, & Abbott, 2014; Brubaker, Ananny, & Crawford, 2014; Mowlabocus, 2010), with very few examples of same-sex female forms of intimacy mediated by locative media (Albury & Byron, 2016; Murray & Anderson, 2016; Tang, 2015).

To address this oversight, in this article, we examine same-sex female households' practices of intimacy in and through mundane uses of locative media. Throughout the article, we define *privacy* as a process that emerges through practice rather than an act of possession (Dourish & Anderson, 2006). Moving beyond binary definitions of public or private, privacy emerges as something that relates specifically to the boundary work involved in maintaining intimacy. In this article, we investigate privacy and intimacy through nuanced, ethnographic readings of it in practice—in situ and in context. We build on and expand work carried out on same-sex forms of mobile app intimacy, such as the intersection between hook-up apps and male homosexuality. This is achieved by focusing on the routine forms of intimacy played out through female same-sex locative media practices to understand the subtle and careful forms of surveillance, and what this may teach us about gendered and sociocultural notions of privacy.

In this article, we attend to the dynamic ways in which privacy and "careful" surveillance (Hjorth, Richardson, & Balmford, 2016) among intimates are maintained through a process of use and nonuse. Whereas use has often headlined mobile communication literature, studying nonuse can provide great insights into media practice (Baumer et al., 2013; Satchell & Dourish, 2009). We begin with a discussion of how intimacy is being recalibrated in contemporary households. Bringing together work on intimacy with the privacy and surveillance literature, we draw attention to the relationships between social mobile media and processes of care, with a focus on care at a distance, most notably Alice Marwick's concept of *social surveillance* and Jansson's notion of *interveillance*.

Drawing from a three-year ethnographic study of familial locative media practices in Melbourne, Australia, we highlight how forms of intimacy (Dobson, 2015; Levine, 2008) are displayed, made, and negotiated through digital practices among a subset of our participants: women in same-sex relationships. Our broader study focused on 12 households to understand media practices as dynamic and nuanced. What became apparent was that our same-sex couples developed distinctive forms of mundane intimacy and privacy through their mobile media practices. Of our 12 households, four couples were same-sex—two couples were female and the other two male. Focusing on the two female same-sex couple[1] households that participated in our study, we reflect on their practices that highlight specific and contemporary mundane intimate gestures that are transforming how we do privacy. We conclude by arguing for a more complicated and mundane notion of intimacy.

The Intimate Mundane and Care at a Distance

The negotiation of mundane intimacies in digital and nondigital worlds has emerged in the mobile communication literature through concepts such as copresence (Goffman, 1959), full-time intimate community (Ito, Okabe, & Matsuda, 2005), and studies of the use of media in transnational families

---

[1] We use the term *same-sex couple* rather than *lesbian* as the couples preferred this terminology.

(Baldassar, Nedelcu, Merla, & Wilding, 2016; Horst, 2006; Madianou & Miller, 2011; Wilding, 2006). Attention to practices of the intimate mundane brings together two strands in recent literatures concerned with the embodied and affective dimensions of everyday life at home and with digital media: the role of the mundane and banal as a site for analyzing power relations and rituals, alongside the role of the intimate as practiced in and through everyday digital media (Lüders, 2008). From Raymond Williams' emphasis on the ordinariness of the everyday (1958/2002) to Meaghan Morris's (1990) study into the politics of banality through the work of Michel de Certeau (1984), cultural studies approaches have long been interested in the role of the mundane as a site for power naturalization in everyday life (Highmore, 2002). So, too, intimacy has come under much revision with challenges to Western or Anglophonic traditional notions of intimacy (Giddens, 1992) that prioritize often face-to-face interaction as less mediated and thus, problematically, as more intimate (Berlant, 1998; Jamieson, 2011).

Doing intimacy in contemporary contexts requires acknowledging the ways in which it can be public and community-oriented (Jamieson, 2011), especially given the variety of publics afforded by social media. As Jamieson (2011) has noted in her detailed historicization of intimacy, the dichotomy between "private intimacy" and "public community" is deeply flawed. Drawing from feminist literature, Jamieson argues that much of contemporary "doing intimacy" expands on familial ties and involves community and civic engagement, a process that sees a complete transformation of the role of intimacy in and around the notion of family. For Jamieson, intimacy is best defined as "the quality of close connection between people and the process of building this quality" (para 1). Although acknowledging intimacy may vary from subject to cultural and historical frames of reference, Jamieson argues that the multifaceted nature of intimacy enacts and embodies a variety of understandings of closeness, including the emotional and cognitive.

From feminist readings such as Leopoldina Fortunati (2002) and Amparo Lasen (2003) to same-sex gendered performativity identified by Lin Prøitz (2007), much of the early research into mobile communication focused on mobile media as a site for and of intimacy. In a special issue on "mobile intimacy" in *Feminist Media Studies*, various authors addressed the complex ways in which intimacy plays out in public spaces through mobile media (Hjorth & Lim, 2012). For example, paralinguistic techniques such as emoji (icons of emotions) and emoticons enact types of intimacy by electronically embodying emotions of the body and tactic gestures. Expanding on the "intimate publics" identified by Lauren Berlant (1998) in which she argued that intimacy has public dimensions, the special issue investigated how digital media complicate the doing of intimacy—and the attendant "boundary work"—of being intimate.

Intimacy and care have a complex entanglement, especially around the feminization of particular forms of labor. For many feminist scholars, care cultures are an important site for affective, emotional, and unpaid labor (Mol, 2008). Fields such as nursing and teaching are often underpaid, despite the pivotal role they play in maintaining many societies, because they are "feminized. The role of care as a feminized form of labor often plays out in many work and social contexts with particular "feeling rules" (Hochschild, 1979) being expected. The maintenance of particular feeling rules often involves a type of informal surveillance. For Eileen Boris and Rhacel Salazar Parreñas (2010), "intimate labor" is at the intersection between cultures, economics, technologies, and the politics of care.

Care always has had a complex relationship to surveillance (Bellacasa, 2017), but digital media complicate this imbrication further. Mobile technologies have been deployed as ambient forms of surveillance between family members (Burrows, 2017; Clark, 2012; Matsuda, 2009). Other studies of school surveillance (Shade & Singh, 2016) and intergenerational "friendly surveillance" (Hjorth et al., 2015) continue to emerge. These studies effectively recalibrate how we conceptualize surveillance.

In addition to the traditional notion of surveillance that is characterized by its nontransparency by an authority (i.e., government or corporation), Humphreys (2013) argues that three other forms of surveillance become apparent through engagement with social media: *voluntary panopticon*, *lateral surveillance*, and *self-surveillance*. The notion of the voluntary panopticon refers to the voluntary submission to corporate surveillance, or what Whitaker (1999) calls the "participatory panopticon." The voluntary panopticon emerges in a consumer society in which information technology enables the decentered surveillance of consumptive behavior. The participatory panopticon shares similarities with participatory surveillance whereby people willingly participate in the monitoring of their own behavior because they derive benefit from it.

Lateral surveillance is the asymmetrical and opaque monitoring of citizens by one another (Andrejevic, 2006). The advent of social media has given rise to other forms of lateral surveillance such as *social surveillance* (Marwick, 2012), which suggests a mutual surveillance among actors using social media. Like lateral surveillance, social surveillance involves nonhierarchical forms of monitoring (i.e., not involving the state or corporate entities) among everyday people. Unlike lateral surveillance, social surveillance suggests a form of agency: People engage in permissible and reciprocal forms of watching.

The last kind of surveillance is self-surveillance. Meyrowitz (2007) defines self-surveillance as "the ways in which people record themselves (or invite others to do so) for potential replaying in other times and places" (p. 1). Jansson (2015) suggests that social and mobile media have challenged old models of top-down surveillance. Jansson argues for a "non-hierarchical and non-systematic monitoring" practice that is embedded in the everyday he calls *interveillance*. Interveillance speaks to the growing ways in which people mutually share and disclose various forms of private information. For Jansson (2015), interveillance is dialectical whereby it "reinforces" and "integrates" "overarching ambiguities of mediatization" in which "freedom and autonomy" are "paralleled by limitations and dependencies vis-à-vis media" (p. 81). Indeed, many of our research participants articulated the interplay between interveillance on the one hand and social surveillance (Marwick, 2012) on the other.

It is the social or lateral surveillance dimensions that best encompass the paradoxes of care through technology and data in the home. Care in this context emerges in the textures, contours, and practices that form daily rhythms in relation to households. Care is a complex layering of emotion and slowness that is often entangled with practices such as surveillance. Much of the negative debates around Big Data have focused on their role to watch and control (Andrejevic, 2013). However, surveillance also has friendly, benevolent, or ambivalent dimensions (Marwick, 2012).

Feminist studies scholar Annemarie Mol coined the term *geographies of care* (Mol, 2008; Mol, Moser, & Pols, 2010) to highlight various care practices. Increasingly technologies—as tools for

surveillance—are appearing in studies of care at a distance. Many of these care practices to continue at a distance operate through locative media technologies such as smartphone apps and self-tracking wearables. These copresent geographies of care are essential parts of what make a home and the informal often tacit emotions and gestures that become part of the domestic repertoire. This entangled form of care involves doing affective intimacy and boundary work, and also, as argued by Mol et al. (2010), practices of normalization and ambiguity.

In the case of mobile media, processes of visibility and invisibility play a key role in maintaining and defining the practices of intimacy. As Gray (2009) highlights, the deployments of visibility through online media have remediated the "coming out" story in a variety of ways, a phenomenon being amplified by locative and social media functionalities. The role of visibility and invisibility in social media is a highly gendered preoccupation (Brighenti, 2010; Hendry, 2017). For Brighenti (2010), "visibility is a social dimension in which thresholds between different social forces are introduced" (p. 5). Hendry (2017) further expands on Brighenti's concepts by examining the role of visibility by young women recovering from mental illness, arguing that visibility and invisibility are key modalities for representing social connection and thus recovery. Duguay (2016) contends that LGBTQ visibility on social media can be viewed as a form of everyday activism (see also Vivienne & Burgess, 2012).

The same-sex households also voiced concerns about sharing intimate details about same-sex relations, and their use (or nonuse) of mobile media became a key point of discussion for our participants. During the three years of our fieldwork in Melbourne, their practices of visibility and invisibility, use and nonuse of mobile media changed and evolved as part of their maintenance of their relationship(s). Over time, relationships between intimates and media evolved and dissipated while forming a rhythm of careful maintenance and modifying expectations. Some of our participants were more active on social and locative media, which was then modified over time by their developing relationship and their partner's usage. Before turning to the ways in which same-sex couples in our study navigated locative media use as part of their everyday narrations of life, we first introduce the design of our research on locative media.

Studying Locative Media Ethnographically

As existing research has shown, locative media and technology are part of the mundane routines and intimacies of everyday life (Markham, 2013; Pink & Hjorth, 2012; Pink, Horst et al., 2016). This means that to access participants' experiences of these practices we need to surpass standard interviewing methods and instead develop ethnographic techniques through which res.earchers can engage empathetically with people's intimate experiences in mundane life (Horst & Taylor, 2014; Pink, 2015). Mundane uses of digital technologies are often "hidden" from observational research approaches because they are enacted and experienced by people when they are alone, and especially at moments that they are unlikely to share with researchers (Pink, Sinanan et al., 2016).

Given that locative media are often used on the move, this makes people's encounters with them additionally complicated to trace. Some researchers have used GoPro cameras to trace participants' uses of mobile technologies through mundane digital material environments, but here we wanted to focus on privacy and to find a less conspicuous way in which to participate in events as they unfolded. Often

locative media are activated intentionally while moving and waiting to move—in what we call *transitional moments*—such as waiting for a bus, planning a driving trip, riding on public transport, before getting up in the morning or going to sleep at night, tagging locations while on holiday, or taking time out from a social situation.

To accommodate this often-mobile research context, we used a range of methods, including sensory ethnography interviewing (Pink, 2015), video recorded tours of participants' homes (Pink & Leder Mackley, 2012), video reenactments of digital technology use (Pink & Leder Mackley, 2013), and detailed analysis of social media profiles and data storage practices (Horst, 2012; Horst & Hjorth, 2013). In combination with the video reenactment method, we used a method known as *tactile digital ethnography* (Pink, Sinanan et al., 2016) that sought to explore what participants' tactile and often tacit gestures around the screen say about embodied mundane everyday practices and the ways of knowing and remembering they entail. We developed a specific form of tactile digital ethnography that involved video recording people's hands in and around the screen as they discussed and reenacted their practices. Through a focus on the hands, we were able to follow them into the technologies and the sensory experiences their use entailed, offering us a sense of their unspoken and often-invisible everyday technology use (Pink, Sinanan et al., 2016).

These research techniques were situated within the familial rhythms of everyday life. Our wider study followed 12 households over three years (2013–16) in each of three very different locations (Melbourne, Tokyo, and Shanghai) to understand key similarities and cultural differences across the three urban and national contexts. Four of the 12 households in Melbourne involved same-sex couples—two couples were male and the other two couples were female. The 2011 census in Australia recorded approximately 33,700 same-sex couples (17,600 male same-sex couples and 16,100 female same-sex couples), or 1% of all couples in Australia. A growing part of the cultural landscape in Australia, same-sex partnerships are legally recognized as de facto unions, although formal marriage is currently restricted. We were particularly compelled to tell the stories of the female same-sex research participants given that they were the group that most overtly thought about privacy in their careful mobile intimacies.

Friendly Surveillance: Intimacy, Couples, and Care at a Distance

It just irks me that all of that data, you could actually figure out quite a bit about, about me . . . [use and nonuse] is a big conflict for me. Recently I had a really interesting discussion with two friends who are, like, complete opposites in terms of their approach to these things, so one who was just "whatever! You can't—you know, it's a losing battle" . . . and my other friend who, like, burns her, like, burns her mail after she's read it. . . . Even though I'm quite concerned about privacy I also just really, like, what my first friend was saying was true about it's a losing battle. It feels, it feels too hard, you know, to constantly be [vigilant]. It feels also too hard to monitor what sort of, to know every single app and what level of permission I've given. (Catherine, on privacy settings and locative media use and nonuse, Melbourne, 2015)[2]

---

[2] All participants were given pseudonyms to protect their anonymity.

Female same-sex couples often have been overlooked in literature around locative media, privacy, and intimacy (Licoppe, Riviére, & Morel, 2015). Much of the recent research around mobile apps and same-sex relations has focused on hook-up apps while neglecting the complex ways mobile apps and locative media are managed in everyday intimate relations in same-sex couples (Albury & Byron, 2016; Murray & Anderson, 2016; Tang, 2015). For many women, locative media have been key devices used to navigate safety and mitigate risk (Cumiskey & Brewster, 2012).

For the couples in our Melbourne study, broader concerns about the potential role of locative media for women came to the fore following the rape and murder of Jill Meagher in Melbourne in 2012. Meagher's mobile phone chip and closed-circuit television cameras were used by police to track and find the murderer, which led to a broader public debate around the virtues of friendly surveillance.[3] Thousands of people marched in the streets calling on the government to install security cameras—a type of "friendly surveillance"—in the inner city suburb of Brunswick in Melbourne to make it "safe" again (Duck & Thompson, 2012).

For many same-sex couples, the safety offered by public accountability is often a double-edged sword. As one of our participants (Catherine) noted, being queer and "visible" on social media is a political act (Vivienne & Burgess, 2012). Catherine, for example, felt content and safe in her relationship with Susan and did not "need" to broadcast it via social and locative media to validate her relationship. Rather, Catherine equated privacy with intimacy. This association also played out and through a work–life divide: Many choices for use and nonuse, visibility and invisibility, reflect on how this might impact both work and leisure contexts. For social worker Catherine and political adviser Susan, they were constantly mindful that their digital traces (i.e., visibility on social media) could have an impact on their professional lives.

Use and Nonuse as Negotiated Privacy

Catherine and Susan had been together for five years. Over this time, their media practices and attitudes have become interwoven. Like other family members in our wider study, their uses of social and locative media were quite different. Whereas Susan never used locative media because she wanted to ensure her intimacy and privacy, Catherine actively used locative and social media. At the beginning of our study, she was constantly on Facebook. She posted several times a day, and deployed the geolocative tag when she was travelling or was somewhere she wanted other people to know. However, Susan's fears about the public nature of intimate media such as social and locative media left an impact on Catherine, whose practices transformed over the three years we followed her (See Figure 1.). Susan viewed all social, mobile, and locative media as fundamentally public in ways that could not be controlled (see Andrejevic, 2008, for more on the correlation of privacy and control).

---

[3] Much of the debate also played out on social media (Ainsworth & Casey, 2012), becoming a "trial by social media."
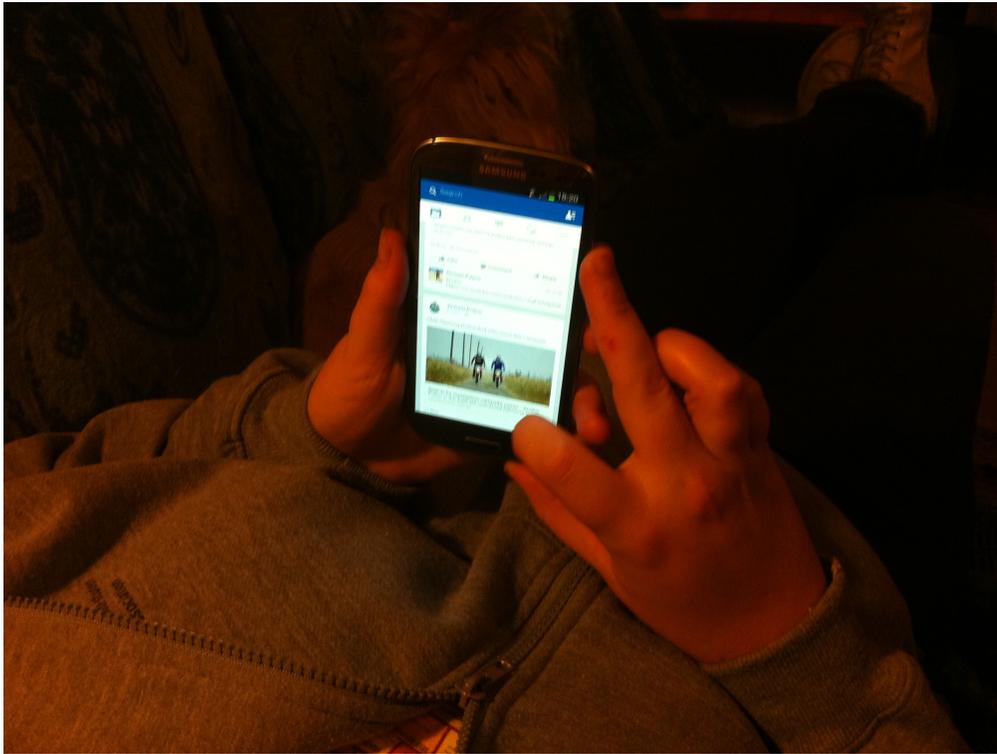
Figure 1. Catherine's use of locative is a constant process of disclosure and nonsharing.

More recently, Catherine began to use Uber and felt "safe" with its geotracking settings. On Uber, travelers can watch their designated journey in real time on the screen. Catherine often called an Uber for Susan (who had an old smartphone that was incompatible with the Uber app). Given that Catherine was the presumed traveler when she booked the journey, she could "watch" her girlfriend as she travelled in Uber and felt comforted by the electronic, careful, and intimate form of surveillance this function afforded. Here, we see both Marwick's concept of social surveillance and Jansson's notion of interveillance at play. In contrast, Susan rarely posted and maintained a "quiet but watching" presence on social media, and was more mindful of algorithms and the ways in which her data could be repurposed. For Catherine, locative media afforded a type of intimacy at a distance, or what Ito and Okabe (2005) have called *intimate ambient copresence*.

For Catherine, sharing her location on social media allowed for more spontaneous forms of catching up. Sometimes, Catherine would see a friend tag a nearby location and she would stop at the location for a spontaneous face-to-face visit. Here, locative media visibility can been understood as increasing sociability and microcoordination of place (Sutko & de Souza e Silva, 2011). In part, Catherine's shifts in locative media usage involved heeding Susan's caution. Catherine noted that when she first started to think about someone collecting and repurposing her data, she felt overcome with worry. She talked with

her friends about her fears and found very different attitudes among them. One of her friends had a lax attitude and felt she had nothing to hide, whereas other friends had changed their practices to "be more private."

When asked whether she thought being a female and lesbian informed her use of locative media, Catherine observed that broadcasting information on locative media often becomes "political." She spoke of her friends—a same-sex couple—who went to New York to get married (gay marriage has not been legalized in Australia) and posted their wedding pictures on Facebook with locations tagged. Catherine felt their posting was a bit pretentious, but she also understood that the posts were functioning on multiple levels, including as a form of everyday activism (Duguay, 2016; Vivienne & Burgess, 2012).

By publicizing the intimate in the public context of social media, we are reminded of Berlant's (1998) seminal work on "intimate publics" before social media. As Berlant observed, in the last century, intimacy took on new geographies and forms of mobility, most notably as a kind of "publicness" (p. 281). For Berlant and Warner (1998), visibility of nonheteronormative identities within public spaces and discourse can "queer" the publics and create counterpublics. Furthering this discussion in terms of LGBTQ visibility, Duguay (2016) argues that social media can provide spaces for alternative performances of sexual and gender identities, which in turn create "counterdiscourses." Catherine's comments about her queer friends' visibility acknowledge the importance of social, mobile, and locative media practices in normalizing counterdiscourses. However, she also guarded her relationship with Susan with great privacy and did not broadcast their relationship in accordance with Susan's wishes to not share intimate details on social media.

Navigating Boundaries Through Locative Media

For writer Amanda and fitness instructor Nerida (See Figure 2.), notions of privacy and intimacy were interwoven through work–life practices. Amanda worked almost exclusively from home as a writer. Even though she had only recently purchased a smartphone and described herself as somewhat technophobic, Amanda was the primary source of advice and assistance for the household's media needs. For Amanda, the mobile was social and the laptop was primarily related to work, and she actively maintained this separation. Although Amanda was always within arm's reach of both mobile and laptop, she always set time aside to read paper books in the evening and refused to have digital technologies at the dinner table. Here, we see an active deployment of work–life distinctions through digital use and nonuse (Gregg, 2011).

Amanda actively compartmentalized her work and life boundaries through controlled movement of her devices in the home environment. Whereas Amanda created boundaries between new and old media, Nerida constantly blurred her work and leisure use of digital technologies and media. Amanda was quite private in general, although she did use Facebook on her mobile (and also maintained Nerida's Instagram account) to share many photographs without any overt concern for locational data. This could appear as a fundamental contradiction: Amanda craved privacy, but did not let this concern play out in her use of Facebook and Instagram. In fact, much of Amanda's locative media sharing—such as geotagging—was carried out through Nerida's account. There were parallels here between Catherine and

Susan whereby one member of the couple was technologically savvy and the other was not. The one who was more ICT literate took on more of a brokering role and decided what settings (e.g., privacy and location) were safe. Sometimes this also entailed sharing individual accounts or leaving accounts open for both partners to share. Nerida was mindful of the issues around sharing geolocative data through mobile social media, and only had it functioning on Instagram or sometimes on Facebook. However, often she tagged a location after an event. This was done for safety issues and was noted in our fieldwork with most of the female participants.

Figure 2. Amanda and Nerida using their devices together on the sofa at home.

In contrast to the previous case study of Catherine, Nerida spent the majority of her day out of the house. Nerida's media use almost solely occurred through her smartphone, which, unlike that of Amanda, was ruthlessly organized into pages and categories. Nerida's phone was with her all day—even in her pocket during dance classes—and she stated that she would be heartbroken if she lost it. Although self-defined as extremely outgoing, Nerida was quite concerned with the privacy of the data stored on her mobile. These concerns played out through her Facebook use in that she often limited her interactions to private groups and avoided locative features in apps when on the move.

Nerida's emotional attachment to her smartphone was not uncommon. Her complicated feelings of needing to be always contactable resonate with the findings of earlier studies into mobile media whereby work was conceptualized as a wireless leash (Qiu, 2007) and precarious work practices were seen as exploited by the forms of intimacy enabled through mobile media (Gregg, 2011). Nerida's and Amanda's different engagements with media, and their relationship to expertise, were typical of the middle-class Melbourne households that participated in our research. For Nerida, the choice to switch off locative media was related to her desire for privacy and the need to preserve a charge on her smartphone. Nerida's and Amanda's mindful nonuse of locative media on the smartphone was contrasted by their use of the computer for which such concerns were less apparent.

Nerida and Amanda noted that they used social mobile media such as Snapchat a lot when they were first coming together as a couple. As Amanda stated, she was not into selfies until she started a relationship with Nerida. Before long, they were sharing intimate selfies via Snapchat to express a private

and fleeting moment. Both actively used media that were about creating an intimacy within their relationship while keeping others out—what has been identified in mobile communication studies as *telecocooning* (Habuchi, 2005). Nerida did not participate in locative media practices such as tagging often—only on rare occasions in which she wanted to memorialize a moment in a particular place and time.

Many of Amanda's and Nerida's media practices involved the reinforcement of intimacy through privacy. For them, privacy involved not using locative media that were perceived as having a more outward, collective, sharing/disclosure focus. The rise of nonuse has become a key area in understanding patterns of use (Baumer et al., 2013; Baumer, Ames, Burrell, Brubaker, & Dourish, 2015; Satchell & Dourish, 2009). Increasingly, researchers are starting to realize the importance of understanding media practices as part of a continuum that involves use and nonuse subject to the rhythms of everyday life.

Returning to the example of social worker Catherine and political adviser Susan, media use was also used to reinforce work and life boundaries. For Catherine, Facebook was an "echo chamber," which means that some news or information gets overcirculated and others get ignored. This led her to change her daily habits, whereby she instead started going onto ABC News before Facebook when she woke up in the morning. She only used the locative media function when on holiday "to show off" or when she was at a political event to make visible the importance of politics in her personal life.

Catherine spoke of Susan's influence in changing her practices that have made her less active in her posting and disclosure of location. Catherine stated that often she and Susan would check Facebook and other social media while sitting together, so they could talk about what they were reading and their interpretations. Catherine noted that Susan had commented that some of Catherine's more ambiguous posts made her feel nervous that Catherine would be viewed negatively. This caring and yet "careful" surveillance was double edged as it modified practices. As Catherine noted,

> Susan's phone's really old so she can't use the Uber app—she can't even get the Uber app—so I quite often have to book Ubers for her. . . . And then it's kind of funny because if I want to I can actually watch her on [the global positioning system]. I can watch her, where she's going. . . . [The locative function on Uber] makes me feel confident that somebody is watching as well. You can also do a thing called "Share My Status." I like to share my status with people when I'm on the way and so they know I'm coming. It's a bit about safety, a bit about convenience. (Catherine in interview, Melbourne, 2017)

The constant modification of locative media practices of disclosure and nonuse as part of partnership rhythms emerged as a key feature of our female participants. Use and visibility motivations were informed by both interveillance and social surveillance—what Hjorth et al. (2016) call "careful surveillance." The significance of sharing location was amplified in the case of same-sex couples. Some locative media tracking functions such as Uber were used to watch carefully at a distance. Others were used for tracking as proof of overseas holidays or special events to be shared. What became apparent in fieldwork were the relational aspects of locative media as a perpetual process of use and nonuse in navigating contemporary notions of

intimate publics. Doing intimacy and its attendant boundary work is an important part of how contemporary notions of privacy are playing out through locative media use and nonuse, visibility and invisibility.

Conclusion: Careful Surveillance

Mobile communication researchers have noted the paradoxical and complex fabric of surveillance as a site for ambivalence. What constitutes surveillance is deeply implicated in practices of doing intimacy and their connections to privacy and boundary work. Recent studies into familial surveillance have demonstrated the ways in which new media are creating new implications for surveillance and privacy yet to be fully understood (Burrows, 2017; Leaver, 2017). For instance, a recent special issue of *Social Media & Society* highlighted some of the emergent provocations facing future industries in which parents overshare images of infants (Leaver, 2017). The role of surveillance and care within and through media often involves a complex mix of emotional attachment, control, and power.

In contrast to more vertical, hierarchical forms of surveillance, concepts such as social surveillance (Marwick, 2012) and interveillance (Jansson, 2015) have sought to elucidate the horizontal ways in which surveillance is being rewritten by boundary work practices of "doing intimacy" and its relationship to privacy. For Nerida and Amanda, ephemeral media such as Snapchat were used to reinforce intimacy as deeply interwoven with privacy. On the other hand, tinkering with locative media use and nonuse allowed Catherine and Susan to navigate the echo chamber of social media to maintain their relationship. For the more media-savvy Catherine, locative media apps such as Uber were used to keep a friendly eye on Susan during her travels. Here, feelings of intimacy with others—people, media, and animals—were deeply informed by what we might call careful surveillance. The term *careful surveillance* describes the way we monitor and watch our intimates as cohabitants subject to our care. Yet, it also deliberately implies that surveillance should be a careful practice, one that we consider very carefully in terms of its impact on others.

In this article, we have explored female same-sex couples' locative media practices in Melbourne to think through some of the particular cultural intimacies. Over the period of three years, we noticed a shift, most notably in how participants were modifying their practices in accordance with their partners through the intimate mundane. In the case of Catherine and Susan, Catherine started to become more careful with her use of locative and social media. This was done out of respect for her partner's concerns about how locative and social media render intimate moments semipublic and how these practices, in turn, impact work–life relations. As locative media become increasingly part of the default settings of smartphones, understanding how they are being deployed in mundane and intimate contexts can provide insight into future challenges for, and of, privacy. In the current political climate, the role of gendered use and nonuse for visibility and invisibility will see new textures of intimate publics.

References

Ainsworth, M., & Casey, B. (2012, September 28). Worldwide outpouring of grief after man arrested over Jill Meagher's disappearance. *Herald Sun*. Retrieved from http://www.heraldsun.com.au/news/victoria/worldwide-reaction-to-arrest-over-jill-meaghers-disappearance-on-social-media/news-story/bdfea159a67f062895b3ac4a46f1e571

Albury, K., & Byron, K. (2016). Safe on my phone? Same-sex attracted young people's negotiations of intimacy, visibility, and risk on digital hook-up apps. *Social Media + Society*, *2*(4). doi:10.1177/2056305116672887

Andrejevic, M. (2006). The discipline of watching: Detection, risk, and lateral surveillance. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, *23*(5), 391–407.

Andrejevic, M. (2013). *Infoglut*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Baldassar, L., Nedelcu, M., Merla, L., & Wilding, R. (2016). ICT-based co-presence in transnational families and communities: Challenging the premise of face-to-face proximity in sustaining relationships. *Global Networks*, *16*(2), 133–144. doi:10.1111/glob.12108

Baumer, E. P. S., Adams, P., Khovanskaya, V., Liao, T. C., Smith, M. E., Sosik, V. S., . . . Williams, K. (2013). Limiting, leaving, and (re)lapsing: An exploration of Facebook non-use practices and experiences. In *Proceedings of CHI '13*. Retrieved from https://blogs.cornell.edu/idl/files/2017/02/Baumer2013-Limiting-1kzf52i.pdf

Baumer, E. P. S., Ames, M. G., Burrell, J., Brubaker, J. R., & Dourish, P. (2015). Why study technology nonuse? *First Monday*, *20*(11). Retrieved from http://firstmonday.org/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/6310/5137

Bellacasa Puig de la, M. (2012). Nothing comes without its world: Thinking with care. *The Sociological Review 60*(2): 197–216. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2012.02070.x

Berlant, L. (1998). Intimacy: A special issue. *Critical Inquiry*, *24*(2), 281–288.

Berlant, L., & Warner, M. (1998). Sex in public. *Critical Inquiry*, *24*, 547–566.

Blackwell, C., Birnholtz, J., & Abbott, C. (2014). Co-situation and impression formation using Grindr, a location-aware gay dating app. *New Media & Society, 17*(7), 1117–1136. doi:10.1177/1461444814521595

Boris, E., & Salazar Parreñas, R. (Eds.). (2010). *Intimate labors: Cultures, technologies, and the politics of care*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Brighenti, A. M. (2010). *Visibility in social theory and social research*. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Brubaker, J., Ananny, M., & Crawford, K. (2014). Departing glances: A sociotechnical account of "leaving" Grindr. *New Media & Society, 18*(3), 373–390. doi:10.1177/1461444814542311

Burrows, B. (2017). YouTube kids: The app economy and mobile parenting. *Social Media + Society*, *3*(2). doi:10.1177/2056305117707189

Certeau, M. de (1984). *The practice of everyday life*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Cincotta, K., Ashford, K., & Michael, K. (2011, November). The new privacy predators. *Women's Health*. Retrieved from https://www.womenshealth.com.au/

Cumiskey, K. M., & Brewster, K. (2012). Mobile phones or pepper spray? Imagined mobile intimacy as a weapon of self-defense for women. Feminist Media Studies, *12*(4). http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2012.741893

Clark, L. S. (2012). *The parent app: Understanding families in the digital age*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

De Souza e Silva, Adriana, & Frith, Jordan. (2012). *Mobile Interfaces in Public Spaces Locational Privacy, Control, and Urban Sociability*. Florence: Taylor and Francis.

Dobson, A. S. (2015). *Postfeminist digital cultures: Femininity, social media, and self-representation*. New York, NY: Springer.

Dourish, P., & Anderson, K. (2006). Collective information practice. *Human-Computer Interaction*, *21*(3), 319–342.

Duck, S., & Thompson, A. (2012, October 1). Police dismantle shrines to Jill Meagher on Sydney Rd in Brunswick. *Herald Sun*. Retrieved from http://www.heraldsun.com.au/news/victoria/more-than-30000-victorians-march-to-honour-jill-meagher-and-vow-never-to-forget/news-story/65bcd2ccc2024d07b29a0e25ec90d02b

Duguay, S. (2016). Lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, and queer visibility through selfies: Comparing platform mediators across Ruby Rose's Instagram and Vine presence. *Social Media + Society*, *2*(2). doi:10.1177/2056305116641975

Farman, J. (2011). *Mobile interface theory*. London, UK: Routledge.

Fitchard, K. (2012). *By 2016, 70M families will keep tabs on each other with GPS*. Retrieved from https://gigaom.com/2012/09/04/by-2016-70m-families-will-keep-tabs-on-each-other-with-gps/

Fortunati, L. (2002). Italy: Stereotypes, true and false. In J. E. Katz & M. Aakhus (Eds.) *Perpetual Contact: Mobile Communications, Private Talk, Public Performance* (pp. 42–62). Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Gazzard, A. (2011). Location, location, location: Collecting space and place in mobile media. *Convergence*, *17*(4), 405–417. doi:10.1177/1354856511414344

Giddens, A. (1992). *The transformation of intimacy: Sexuality, love and eroticism in modern societies*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Goffman, E. (1959). *The presentation of self in everyday lif*e. London, UK: Harmondsworth.

Gray, M. L. (2009). Negotiating identities/queering desires: Coming out online and the remediation of the coming-out story. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 14*(4), 1162–1189. doi:10.1111/j.1083-6101.2009.01485.x

Gregg, M. (2011). *Work's intimacy*. New York, NY: Polity Press.

Habuchi. I. (2005). *Accelerating reflexivity*. In M. Ito, M. Matsuda, & D. Okabe (Eds.), *Personal, portable, and pedestrian: Mobile phones in Japanese life* (pp. 165–182). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Hendry, N. A. (2017). *Everyday anxieties: Young women, mental illness and social media practices of visibility and connection* (Doctoral thesis, RMIT University, Melbourne, Australia).

Highmore, B. (2002). *Everyday life and cultural theory: An introduction*. London, UK: Routledge.

Hjorth, L., Horst, H., Pink, S., Zhou, B., Kato, F., Bell, G., . . . Xiao, M. (2015). Digital kinships: Intergenerational locative media in Tokyo, Shanghai and Melbourne. In L. Hjorth & O. Khoo (Eds.), *Routledge handbook of new media in Asia* (pp. 251–262). London, UK: Routledge.

Hjorth, L., & Lim, S. S. (2012). Mobile intimacy in an age of affective mobile media. *Feminist Media Studies, 12*(4), 477–484. doi:10.1080/14680777.2012.741860

Hjorth, L., Richardson, I., & Balmford, W. (2016). Careful surveillance and pet wearables: At home with animals. *The Conversation*. Retrieved from https://theconversation.com/careful-surveillance-and-pet-wearables-at-home-with-animals-63883

Hochschild, A. R. (1979). Emotion work, feeling rules, and social structure. *American Journal of Sociology*, *85*(3), 551–575.

Horst, H. A. (2006). The blessings and burdens of communication: Cell phones in Jamaican transnational social fields. *Global Networks, 6*(2), 143–159. doi:10.1111/j.1471-0374.2006.00138.x

Horst, H. A. (2012). New media technologies in everyday life. In H. A. Horst & D. Miller (Eds.), *Digital anthropology* (pp. 61–79). New York, NY: Berg.

Horst, H. A., & Hjorth, L. (2013). Engaging practices: Doing personalized media. In S. Price, C. Jewitt, & B. Brown (Eds.), *SAGE handbook of digital technology research* (pp. 87–101). London, UK: SAGE Publications.

Horst, H. A., & Taylor, E. (2014). The role of mobile phones in the mediation of border crossings: A study of Haiti and the Dominican Republic. *The Australian Journal of Anthropology*, *25*(2), 155–170. doi:10.1111/taja.12086

Humphreys, L. (2013). Mobile social networks and surveillance: Users' perspectives. In A. Jansson & M. Christensen (Eds.), *Media, surveillance, and identity: A social perspective* (pp. 109–126). New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Ito, M., & Okabe, D. (2005). Technosocial situations: Emergent structurings of mobile email use. In M. Ito, D. Okabe & M. Matsuda (Eds.), *Personal, Portable, Pedestrian: Mobile Phones in Japanese Life* (pp. 257–275). Cambridge: MIT Press.

Ito, M., Okabe, D. & Matsuda, M., Eds. (2005). *Personal, Portable, Pedestrian: Mobile Phones in Japanese Life.* Cambridge: MIT Press.

Jamieson, L. (2011). Intimacy as a concept: Explaining social change in the context of globalisation or another form of ethnocentricism? *Sociological Research Online*, *16*(4). Retrieved from http://www.socresonline.org.uk/16/4/15.html> 10.5153/sro.2497

Jansson, A. (2015). Interveillance: A new culture of recognition and mediatization. *Media and Communication*, *3*(3), 81–90. doi:10.17645/mac.v3i3.305

Leaver, T. (2017). Intimate surveillance: Normalizing parental monitoring and mediation of infants online. *Social Media & Society*, *3*(2). https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305117707192

Levine, N. (2008). Alternative kinship, marriage, and reproduction. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *37*, 375–389. doi:10.1146/annurev.anthro.37.081407.085120

Licoppe, C., Riviére, C., & Morel, J. (2015). Grindr casual hook-ups as interactional achievements. *New Media & Society, 18*(11), 2540–2558. doi:10.1177/1461444815589702

Lüders, M. (2008). Conceptualizing personal media. *New Media & Society, 10*(5), 683–702. doi:10.1177/1461444808094352

Lupton, D. (2016). *The quantified self: A sociology of self-tracking*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Madianou, M., & Miller, D. (2011). Mobile phone parenting: Reconfiguring relationships between Filipina migrant mothers and their left-behind children. *New Media & Society*, *13*(3), 457–470. doi:10.1177/1461444810393903

Markham, A. (2013). Fieldwork in social media: What would Malinowski do? *Journal of Qualitative Communication Research*, *2*(4), 434–446. doi:10.1525/qcr.2013.2.4.434

Marwick, A. (2012). The public domain: Social surveillance in everyday life. *Surveillance & Society*, *9*(4), 378–393. Retrieved from https://ojs.library.queensu.ca/index.php/surveillance-and-society/article/view/pub_dom

Matsuda, M. (2009). Mobile media and the transformation of family. In G. Goggin & L. Hjorth (Eds.) *Mobile Technologies: From Telecommunications to Media* (pp. 62–72). New York: Routledge.

Meyrowitz, J. (2007, Feb). *Watching us being watched: State, corporate, and citizen surveillance*. Paper presented at "The End of Television? Its Impact on the World (So Far)" symposium, Philadelphia, PA.

Mol, A. (2008). *The logic of care: Health and the problem of patient choice*. London, UK: Routledge.

Mol, A., Moser, I., & Pols, J. (Eds.). (2010). *Care in practice: On tinkering in clinics, homes and farms*. Bielefeld, Germany: Transcript Verlag.

Morris, M. (1990). Banality in cultural studies. In P. Mellencamp (Ed.), *Logics of television: Essays in cultural criticism* (pp. 119–144). Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Mowlabocus, S. (2010). *Gaydar culture: Gay men, technology and embodiment in the digital age*. Farnham, NY: Ashgate.

Murray, S., & Anderson, M. (2016). Lez takes time: Designing lesbian contact in geosocial networking apps. *Critical Studies in Media Communication, 33*(1), 53–69. doi:10.1080/15295036.2015.1133921

Pink, S. (2015). *Sensory ethnography*. London, UK: SAGE Publications.

Pink, S. and L. Hjorth (2012) Emplaced cartographies: Reconceptualising camera phone practices in an age of locative media' *MIA (Media International Australia),* no. 145. 145-155

Pink, S., Horst, H. A., Postill, J., Hjorth, L., Lewis, T., & Tacchi, J. (2016). *Digital ethnography: Principles and practice*. London, UK: SAGE Publications.

Pink, S. and K. Leder Mackley (2012). Video as a route to sensing invisible energy' *Sociological Research Online*, February 2012, Retrieved from http://www.socresonline.org.uk/17/1/3.html

Pink, S., & Leder Mackley, K. (2013). Saturated and situated: Rethinking media in everyday life. *Media, Culture & Society*, *35*(6), 677–691.

Pink, S. and K. Leder Mackley (2014). Reenactment methodologies for everyday life research: Art therapy insights for video ethnography' *Visual Studies* 29(2), 146–154.

Pink, S., Sinanan, J., Hjorth, L., & Horst, H. A. (2016). Tactile digital ethnography: Researching mobile media through the hand. *Mobile Media & Communication, 4*(2), 237–251. doi:10.1177/2050157915619958

Prøitz, L. (2007). *The mobile phone turn: A study of gender, sexuality and subjectivity in young people's mobile phone practices* (Doctoral thesis, University of Oslo, Oslo, Norway). https://www.duo.uio.no/bitstream/handle/10852/27243/NY_314_Proitz_hele.pdf?sequence=2

Qiu, J. (2007). The wireless leash. *International Journal of Communication*, *1*, 74–91. Retrieved from http://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/15

Satchell, C., & Dourish, P. (2009). Beyond the user: Use and non-use in HCI. *Human-Computer Interaction, 366*, 9–16. Retrieved from http://www.dourish.com/publications/2009/nonuse-ozchi.pdf

Sengupta, S. (2012, June 25). "Big brother"? No, it's parents. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/26/technology/software-helps-parents-monitor-their-children-online.html?pagewanted=all

Shade, L. R., & Singh, R. (2016). "Honestly, we're not spying on kids": School surveillance of young people's social media. *Social Media + Society*, *2*(4). doi:10.1177/2056305116680005

Sutko, D. M., & Souza e Silva de, A. (2011). Location-aware mobile media and urban sociability. New Media & Society, *13*(5). https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444810385202

Tang, D. T. S. (2015). Essential labels? Gender identity politics on Hong Kong lesbian mobile phone application Butterfly. In L. Hjorth & O. Khoo (Eds.), *Routledge handbook of new media in Asia* (pp. 348–362). New York, NY: Routledge.

Vivienne, S., & Burgess, J. (2012). The digital storyteller's stage: Queer everyday activists negotiating privacy and publicness. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, *56*, 362–377. doi:10.1080/08838151.2012.705194

Whitaker, R. (1999). *The end of privacy: How total surveillance is becoming a reality*. New York, NY: New Press.

Wilding, R. (2006). "Virtual" intimacies? Families communicating across transnational contexts. *Global Networks*, *6*(2), 125–142. doi:10.1111/j.1471-0374.2006.00137.x

Williams, R. (2002). Culture is ordinary. In B. Highmore (Ed.), *The everyday life reader* (pp. 91–100). London, UK: Routledge. (Original work published 1958)