

Converged social media: Identity management and engagement on Facebook Mobile and blogs

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There is scant evidence to demonstrate that researchers grasp the social dimensions of convergence, and particularly, the academic and social implications of converged media on students' lives. Despite a surge in student appropriation of social media-enabled mobile phones for exchanging educational resources and social practices, little is known about this collapsing of academic and social contexts. Twelve purposively selected postgraduate students who used Facebook Mobile for exchanging learning resources and micro-management of their daily lives were interviewed to unravel the influence of converged social media on students' lives. Identity construction and convergence as theoretical constructs were drawn upon to examine student narratives of their Facebook interactions and navigation of their identities. The findings suggest that Facebook Mobile enhanced the students' networked exchange of knowledge and meaningful participation in learning communities. However, students expressed uncertainty about educators' judgements of their online personae, invasion of their privacy, information security and fears of jeopardising future career prospects. The study recommends best-practice pedagogical designs that emphasise deep engagement, safe communication, measures to deal with plagiarism and policy interventions to address privacy and information security.

Introduction

The surging uptake of social media-enhanced mobile phones presents great opportunities for mobile learning and networked exchange of knowledge. These intelligent devices enable easy communication with one's social contacts and enhance access to network data, email facilities and the Internet via wireless fidelity (Wi-Fi) or third generation (3G) networks. As Attewell (2005) writes, "...the delivery of learning materials using a browser on these intelligent devices allows substantial platform independence, enabling the easy porting of materials between different devices (both existing and predicted)". Mobile phones improve access to knowledge for target users, and provide access to appropriate, contextualised, personalised learning objects by linking to the Internet via mobile connections and devices (Bormida, Bo, Lefrere, & Taylor, 2003). They enable the sharing of knowledge in a dispersed learning environment through different expression modes (Takenaka, Inagaki, Ohkubo, Kuroda, & Doi, 2004).

The replacement of current-generation mobile phones with *converged devices* provides users with networked devices for effectively accessing mobile learning services (Bormida, 2005). Despite the centrality of converged web-enabled devices in networked collaborative engagement, little is known about the impact of social media-enhanced mobile phones on student negotiation of identity and meaningful learning. The present study, therefore, explores the influence of students' use of Facebook Mobile (converged media) on the negotiation of their identities and meaningful interaction in tertiary education.

Theoretical framework

Since *identity management* and *social convergence* constitute discrete concepts, theoretical understandings of these concepts are necessary to provide an interpretive lens for investigating identity and converged media. Although identity management has been a staple discourse of scholars for decades (Goffman, 1956; Butler, 1996; Hartley, 2002; Deuze, 2006), this preoccupation has not necessarily targeted constructions of identity that are mediated by social media. More so, these conceptualisations of identity management have not emphasised university students situated in developing world contexts such as Africa. Given the new phenomenon of the intersection of mobile phones and social media that is emerging as a crucial media discourse, it is critical to explore the academic and social implications of converged social media for higher education. Similarly, as the appropriation of social media and handheld devices for learning is becoming an entrenched social practice in South African education at the secondary and tertiary levels (Bosch, 2009, Butgereit & Botha, 2012; Rambe, 2012), it is prudent to

explore this emerging phenomenon to understand the dynamics of social and academic interaction via converged social media. Given its focus on understanding the intersection of converged social media, student identity management in mobile environments and the academic value of using converged media devices, this study explores the theoretical constructs that underlie media convergence, identity construction and academic appropriation of converged devices. It provides the motivation for understanding these concepts and then investigates each one separately.

Theoretical constructions of social convergence

Convergence

Convergence is a highly complex term, the definition of which defies precision due to its diverse variants. Mohamad (1999) describes convergence as the blurring of boundaries between the telecommunications, broadcasting and computer industries due to changes from traditional technological development to the new service industries (cited in Alsagoff & Hamzah, 2007). Hellerstein (2008) defines it as the ability of one or more networks to carry different services, or the bringing together in the communications area of industries that were previously viewed as separate and distinct in both the commercial and technological sense. The latest manifestations of media convergence are mergers and acquisitions of media conglomerates in the telephone, computer, cable television and media sectors (Alsagoff & Hamzah, 2007).

Social convergence

Kleinberg (2008) observes the seamless integration of the social networks that have broadened human connectivity with the technological networks that connect computers. He contends that social integration is manifested in human movements for self-expression through networked connectivity and virtual communities. Gowdy, Hildebrand, La Piana, and Campos (2009) emphasise that working with the Internet and social networks has shifted public notions of networks (coalitions, alliances, partnerships and learning communities) and created new forms of meaningful collaboration and engagement. One expression of social convergence involves the integration of diverse groups on social networks to organise, discuss and provide emergency relief in disaster management. Mobile phones and social networks serve as platforms for public and private organisation of rapid disaster management, with activities ranging from the sharing of information to financial and psychological support to affected communities (Keim & Noji, 2011).

Modal/media convergence

Media convergence entails the merging of video, voice and data on next-generation networks (OECD, 2008). For Jenkins (2004), media convergence entails the proliferation of channels and the portability of new computing and telecommunication technologies, and the application of diverse media in relation to each other. For instance, smart phones have augmented their communication functions with Internet browsers, email, text messages, camcorders and MP3 players. Convergence of modes also covers the seamless integration of different application platforms (social networking sites, email services, bookmarking, blogs) and the porting of content between them.

Augmented reality (AR)

This involves the fusion and overlaying of physical landmark features on technological device interfaces, which results in the blurring of physical and digital landscapes. Casalegno (2004, p. 316) observes that this digital expression deals with "superimposition of the real territory with the digital information of cyberspace". AR allows for the real-time mapping of complex location-aware data sets against a live video display of one's surroundings (Netcom Association, 2010).

Constructions of identity management

Identity as public performance

The literature suggests that identity is not a biological fixation; rather it is a socially constructed attribute or descriptor enacted, reinforced, reproduced and contested across different spaces and times. Butler (1996) posits that gender descriptors are not imported into culture or society from "nature" outside. Instead, they are fundamentally shaped through discourse. Identity, therefore, involves a performer's public "performance" of social acts and cultural repertoires to a public or imagined audience. Goffman (1956) conceives of interaction as an engagement between individual(s) and audience(s), to whom

individuals perform and who, in turn, interpret their actions; thus, behind interaction lays an active, prior, conscious and performing self (cited in Gregson & Rose, 2000). The Butlerian performativity (of identity) involves subsequent repetition or citation of gender norms, and this citation unfolds under conditions of cultural constraint, which compel some appearances of masculinity and femininity while prohibiting others (Brickell, 2005).

Bricolage and cultural borrowing

Hartley (2002, p. 22) defines bricolage as "the creation of objects with materials to hand, reusing existing artefacts and incorporating bits and pieces". For Hartley, bricolage incorporates practices and notions like borrowing, hybridity, mixture and plagiarism (cited in Deuze, 2006). Mobile social networkers tend to employ bricolage when they assimilate, repackage and (re)construct new tastes from their consumption of foreign music and borrowed cultures, tastes and ways of constructing the world. Through bricolage (and hybridity), originality is discarded in favour of an attitude that prefers an assemblage and tweaking of multiple good copies over a single bad original (Deuze, 2006). Therefore, identities on mobile social networks might not necessarily be representations of users' true selves, but rather may be fragments of multiple, imported and modified personae.

Literature review

Although mobile phones and social media have been adopted in education systems worldwide, including in South Africa, these media have been appropriated as independent domains (Makoe, 2008; Rambe, 2009; Ng'ambi, 2011; Rambe & Ng'ambi, 2011; Butgereit & Botha, 2011). Although only limited studies have investigated the academic application of web-enabled or social media-enabled phones (Rambe, 2012, Botha & Butgereit, 2012), this study identifies and reviews those investigating the use of mobile phones and the social or academic appropriation of social media, with a view to exploring the academic application of social media-enabled phones.

Student social appropriation of phones

Given that the discourse around social media-enabled phones is still in its embryonic stages, research on the subject tends to be patchy. Studies are split between student use of mobile phones, on the one hand, and their appropriation of social media on the other. In a survey of 7,705 tertiary students in the United States, 94% were reported to own smart phones, and these devices were preferred to land-line telephones as a medium of communication (Junco & Mastrodicasa, 2007). The uptake of mobile phones as communication and social-engagement media in socially disadvantaged communities in South Africa has been encouraging. Kreutzer (2009) investigated the use of mobile phones by 441 grade 11 students in selected low-income schools in Cape Town, and reported on their concurrent usage of the web, mobile internet applications, instant messaging and digital-media sharing via their phones.

Social exclusion

Banjo, Hu, and Sundar (2008) explored the social impacts of public usage of mobile phones to evaluate claims about social exclusion that had been documented in observational studies. Their findings suggest that people who use mobile phones in public are less inclined to assist people near them. This suggests that the social isolation and exclusion created by public use of mobile phones inhibits users from helping strangers in need. McLoughlin and Burgess' (2009) research on cyber-bullying among Australian students using mobile phones and social networking sites suggests that students perceive exclusion of someone from a social networking site as less severe than other scenarios (such as posting hurtful comments). Turner (2011) surveyed 54 secondary school students on Vancouver Island to establish the rationale for student use of cell phones during classes. Keeping connected to friends and relieving boredom were cited among critical reasons for mobile-phone usage. This alludes to the temporal social isolation and exclusion characteristic of traditional classrooms.

Mobile instant messaging

Kreutzer's (2009) research into pupils' use of mobile internet reports that mobile instant messaging via mobile internet was considerably more accessible to the students than computer-based internet. Related studies have examined South African youth's perceptions, use and behaviour with regard to mobile instant messaging. Chigona, Chigona, Ngqokelela, and Mpofo (2009) emphasise that although they were ambivalent about their children's use of mobile instant messaging, parents occasionally sanctioned its use by buying air time for them. They often asked their children to use their phones to pass messages to

family members. Social dependency plays out in such uses of controversial devices, despite their potentially negative consequences.

Academic appropriation of mobile phones

While the adoption of mobile phones for educational purposes is not yet endemic, they are gradually being accepted as learning tools in South Africa. Makoe's (2010) pilot study on South African distance learners' use of the mobile instant messaging application, MXit, suggests its potential to foster collaborative conversations in familiar languages, co-generate knowledge and enhance affiliation to an exclusive community. Notwithstanding the perceived disruption of phones ringing in class, Fang (2009) describes the productive use of mobile phones or laptops for note-taking, searching for class-related materials and taking online quizzes. Javid, Malik, and Gujjar's (2011) study on university use of mobile phones reported mixed results. Productive uses included student consultations with academics on academic matters and the sharing of useful academic information with peers. Distractive usage included procrastination and lying to parents and academics.

Social application of social media

Carter (2010) documents the potential uses of social networking to communicate with traditional and non-traditional students, and to enhance student communication with faculty. However, other literature suggests that notwithstanding the ease of use and sustained connectivity, lack of direct supervision of social networking sites potentially sanctions and perpetuates online aggression and electronic violence (McLoughlin & Burgess, 2009). Rambe (2009) interrogated the potential of social media to subvert lecturer-student and peer-based power configurations. His findings demonstrate the emergence of role conflict and reversal of roles, as academically competent students assumed the roles of academic facilitators, information synthesisers and "super-mentors" (roles normally performed by academics).

Academic application of social media-enhanced phones

A cursory look at research into social media-enabled phones suggests a dearth of literature on the subject. A proxy topic is the fragmented research on student appropriation of diverse internet applications (Junco, Heiberger, & Loken, 2010) and mobile phones (Ng'ambi, 2011; Makoe, 2010) as independent variables. Other literature examines communication, access to learning resources, and media coverage and the discourse of mobile instant messaging services (Butgereit & Botha, 2011; Chigona & Chigona, 2008). Rambe's (2012) study on university students' academic use of social media-enabled smart phones reports on their formation of academic discursive communities like tutorial groups; adoption of Facebook Mobile for recruiting potential participants for their online research studies; the sharing of academic links and learning resources; collaborative engagement on assigned tasks; and informal learning of scholarly writing. However, a sizable number of students did not exploit these due to lack of access to smart phones and poor digital-literacy skills.

Research questions

This study examines three main issues: social convergence via social media-enabled devices, student construction and negotiation of personal and collective identities, and the academic and social implications of such engagements. The focus on social convergence via social media-enabled phones arises from the increasing blurring of virtual and physical spaces on networked devices through co-presence, convergence of networked devices' functionalities; assimilation of multiple, complementary and even perceivably contradictory social practices (bricolage), and the collapsing of virtual and physical spaces (for example, through augmented reality).

The increasing student use of social media-enabled phones at elite South African universities, coupled with the domestication of these devices, further explains the need to investigate the academic implications of converged mobile devices. Given the 98% uptake of mobile phones at the University of Cape Town (Centre for Educational Technology, 2010), immersion of students' lives in social media and its appropriation for micro-management of their university life (Rambe, 2009), it seemed logical to investigate how students employed 3G phones for negotiating their personal and collective identities. Moreover, given the blurring of academic and social practices in the use of social media-enabled phones, an exploration of the academic and social implications of converged media was critical to enlightening academics about the potential of converged media to improve teaching. Based on the motivations behind

the examination of identity management, social convergence, pedagogical essence of converged media, the researcher developed three research questions:

1. What evidence in students' use of social media-enhanced phones demonstrates the social convergence of their real-world and virtual-world practices?
2. How do university students use 3G mobile phones in negotiating and managing their personal and collective identities?
3. What educational gains and social implications emerge from their use of social media-enabled phones?

Methodology

The research design was exploratory. Adams and Schvaneveldt (1991) suggest that exploratory research starts with a broad subject, narrowing the topic gradually as the research progresses. The current study focused on student academic engagement and identity negotiation using converged technologies (specifically, Facebook Mobile).

Setting

The case study was conducted in the Writing Centre, a division of the Academic Development Programme at a leading South African university. The division had approximately 20 academic staff members: the division head, programme co-ordinator, an administrator, some language experts, and about 12 consultants who were contracted on a temporary basis to support second-language learners in academic writing. Consultants were postgraduate students (honours to doctoral level) from diverse faculties across the campus (Education, Languages, Educational Technology, Sociology, Psychology, Engineering, Genetics and Geography). Two of the 12 consultants interviewed were doctoral candidates, while the rest were honours and masters students who mentored students at their respective academic levels. Writing Centre consultations were based on bookings for an appointment with a consultant, and each consultation took an average of 50 minutes.

Purposive sampling

Purposive sampling was used in the selection of 12 research subjects, and the main selection criterion was the use of a web-enabled 3G phone. Since many senior staff members were not on Facebook Mobile, they were excluded from the study. The majority of consultants in this division were on Facebook Mobile and, hence, qualified for the study. Two considerations qualified this division for investigation: the disciplinary, linguistic and gender diversity of the research participants, and their varying academic levels; and easy accessibility of respondents, as the researcher was also a language consultant in this division, which enhanced rapport and respondents' confidence in the researcher.

Despite the fact that many students did not have access to expensive 3G phones, many consultants did. It should be emphasised that the consultants' possession of 3G phones was often the result of savings from part-time work, postgraduate scholarships and financial support from their families, and should not be interpreted to mean that the entire student population of the university was from middle class backgrounds. Because this university has an explicit goal of broadening access to higher education for academically able students from previously disadvantaged backgrounds, some disparities in access to smart phones among university students were anticipated. The students who have been able to benefit from this initiative now constitute a sizable number of the black student population at this university. For instance, in 2011 academic year, the institution had 9,369 black students (Lucas, 2012).

A counter-argument is that given the increasing number of *black diamonds* (students from affluent, middle-class black families) enrolled at this elite university, student access to smart phones is conceivable. Judging from the fact that the study drew from both broadened access to networked gadgets among the affluent black African groups and the tendency of previously disadvantaged groups to save so that they could buy expensive gadgets, the research sample can be considered to be relatively representative.

Although there was a gender imbalance among the participants, the researcher had no control over this imbalance, which was due to the previous recruitment of more female students. In terms of racial categories, the *coloured race* is an Apartheid social construct that describes people of mixed race and continues to be applied in post-independence South African racial demographics. *Indian race* describes people of Indian and Asian descent.

Table 1
List of research participants, their gender and race

Pseudonym of participants	Gender	Race
Andile	Female	Black
Theresa	Female	Black
Polite	Male	Black
Olinda	Male	Black
Jairos	Male	Black
Hannah	Female	Coloured
Lindiwe	Female	Coloured
Shaleen	Female	Coloured
Shallom	Female	Indian
Amanda	Female	Indian
Mitchell	Male	White
Chantel	Female	White

Research process

Staff members and language consultants were approached personally for scheduled interviews. Those who volunteered to be interviewed were briefed on the research goals and their freedom to discontinue the interviews at any point. Respondents were required to pledge to the confidentiality of interview proceedings to prevent diffusion of information that would contaminate the results. Interviews were conducted in available consultation rooms. With the consent of participants, interviews were audio-recorded to capture the original data from respondents. Each interview lasted about an hour and covered different applications and uses of mobile social media; how individual and collective identities were negotiated via social media-enabled phones; manifestations of social convergence via mobile social media; and the social and academic implications of using such media. Respondents were assured of their anonymity, and that the data would be reported in aggregate form so that their personal identities were protected. In cases that required the revealing of respondents' identities to clarify issues, pseudonyms were employed to ensure anonymity.

Data analysis

All data were transcribed verbatim by the researcher in Microsoft Word, and then sorted and scripted to identify main themes and patterns using thematic content analysis. Thematic content analysis enables the construction of meaning from data. For Taylor-Powell and Renner (2003), the meaning-making process involves the identification of themes/patterns, organising them into coherent categories, and identifying other themes that serve as sub-categories. Fourteen categories emerged: six for convergence and eight for identity management (Tables 2 and 3). Table 3 illustrates the analytical framework used to interpret identity management, and Table 4 demonstrates the application of analysis to interviews.

Table 2
Conceptualising social convergence – an analytical framework

Category/convergence type	Subcategory	Description	Research literature
Process convergence	Processes	The superimposing of virtual features on physical reality or vice versa	Casalegno (2004); Netcom Association (2010)
Social convergence	Practices	Bringing together of social practices, repertoires and activities – web searching, tweeting, social networking, emailing	Kleinberg (2008); Gowdy et al. (2009); Keim & Noji (2011)
Application convergence	Applications	Confluence of social objects – social networks, platforms, the Internet, mobile devices	Kleinberg (2008); Jenkins (2004)
Device convergence	Devices	Merging of diverse networked/intelligent devices, the seamless integration of perceivably different functions on one device	Alsagoff & Hamzah (2007); Jenkins (2004)
Digital/media convergence	Mode/media	Bringing together of text, video, audio and still pictures on a single platform	Hellerstein (2008); Jenkins (2004); OECD (2008)
Service convergence	Services	Amalgamation of perceivably different services by conglomerates; the blurring of boundaries between computer technology, satellite technology and broadcasting	Mohamad (1999)

Table 3
Analytical framework for identity management

Identity category	Description	Application of concept/ category	Source
Performance	Social interaction is a process of public role-play, in the presence of a watching audience; the audience is the privileged adjudicator of the performance.	Pictures of oneself and community, and writings on one's wall	Gregson & Rose (2000); Goffman (1956)
Performativity	Performativity of identity involves the repetitive reinforcement, affirmation, reproduction and breaking of cultural norms.	Repetitive actions, utterances and postings, and images of body postures on mobile social media intended to enact, reinforce, reproduce or subvert certain gender norms and appearances	Butler (1996); Brickell (2005)
Bricolage	"Describe[s] the remixing, reconstructing, and reusing of separate artefacts, actions, ideas, signs, symbols, and styles in order to create new insights or meanings" (Deuze, 2006, p. 70).	Annotation, repackaging, and recreation of social media artefacts and social objects, and texts to produce new, strange identities	Deuze (2006); Hartley (2002)

Table 3 (continued)
Analytical framework for identity management

Identity category	Description	Application of concept/ category	Source
Cultural borrowing	Entails the assimilation and adoption of alien social practices and cultural values into one's value system.	Users of networked technology embrace (often without problematizing) foreign tastes in music, food, attire, technology, cultures and lifestyles.	Deuze (2006)
Hybridity	Entails social agents' capacity to draw from multiple funds of knowledge, cultures, contexts and values and social systems in the creation of their knowledge base and identities	Mobile social networkers make inferences and assimilate foreign knowledge, social practices, cultural values and tastes, and embed or superimpose them on their knowledge base and cultures.	Bhabha (1994); Guitierrez, Baquedano-Lopez, and Turner (1997)
Discipline	Denotes vertical surveillance of inmates meant to ensure conformity, fear and subordination	Academic authorities and parents/guardians may engage in supervisory activities meant to influence, restrain and redirect the actions of students/children.	Foucault (1977); Dove (2010)
Self-surveillance	Self-restraint, self-monitoring and conscientious self-awareness imposed by feelings or perceptions of being watched	Subservient parties (students/teenagers) deploy strategies for insulating themselves from a vertical gaze by authorities/parents.	Dove (2010)
Collective intelligence	Open acknowledgement of the value of collaborative production of knowledge; it suggests that individual co-operative co-workers with specialised expertise can benefit from sharing in information via knowledge networks, as they cannot be experts in every field.	Amateurish social networkers co-generate knowledge through networked technologies/devices	Levy (1997); Halpin (2008)

Table 4
Application of thematic content analysis to interview transcripts

Extract	Category	Sub-category	Research comments
I was at a soccer stadium and took a picture and immediately uploaded it as my Facebook status picture for my friends to see it. I then changed my status to "I am at soccer". So, immediately my friend said on Facebook: "Where are you sitting?" because they were also there (Lindiwe)	Process convergence (PC)	Social co-presence (SP) Virtual and real (informal) (VRI)	The integration of the virtual and physical is enabled by Facebook-enhanced phones and BlackBerry Messenger chats. Co-presence of participants online is reproduced in the physical world. Relations are micro-managed through browsing and locating one's networks.
I use my phone less for voice calls and more for the web for connecting with friends. I go on Gmail then Twitter and Facebook six to 10 times every day ... I also take photos of interesting places and send them to Twitter for descriptions. (Mitchell)	Application convergence (AC)	Convergence of different social media applications Textual mode (voice, text, pictures) (TM) Social practices (SP) (calling, texting, manipulations, captions on pictures, pictures)	The intersection of applications. Seamless integration of the professional and physical world.
I transfer photographs and music between my 3G mobile phone and computer. My phone works like a flash drive. I also watch videos and access e-mails from my phone (Lindiwe).	Device convergence (DC)	Medium (M) (mobile phone, personal computer, flash drive)	Convergence of devices – personal computer and mobile phone. Convergence of media functionality – phone works as a communication, audio-visual and temporary storage device.

Findings

Social convergence

Co-presence

One form of social convergence shared by students was *social co-presence*. Through Facebook Mobile, interactants' online presence was mutually visible, giving them a sense of social immediacy. Facebook-enabled phones blurred the boundaries between students' real-world practices and their virtual world, as articulated below:

I was at a soccer stadium and took a picture and immediately uploaded it as my Facebook status picture for my friends to see it. I then changed my status to "I am at soccer." So immediately my friend said on Facebook: "Where are you sitting?" because they were also there (Lindiwe).

Facebook-enabled phones allowed students' social practices in the physical world to intersect with their virtual practices. They could easily locate their peers across varied spaces. Seamless integration of spaces also unfolded in other contexts:

I can download something from my phone and send it instantly to my family via Facebook. For example, during our party preparations, I send my dad pictures of my brother's attire so that daddy could also participate in the preparations (Lindiwe).

The intersection of physical and virtual breached geography and reinforced remote communicants' social exchanges. Virtual interactants shared social objects in ways formerly inconceivable without technological interventions.

Media convergence

Social convergence also manifested in the integration of audio, video, images and textual modes. Technologically adept students showcased their confidence with technology through calling, texting, annotating, photographing, tweeting, networking and surfing:

I use my phone less for voice calls and more for the web for connecting with friends. I go on Gmail then Twitter and Facebook six to 10 times every day ... I also take photos of interesting places and send them to Twitter for descriptions. (Mitchell)

Three students exploited media richness to engage in social practices of significance to them. Although texting was popular on Facebook and blogs, the student quoted above exploited diverse media to connect with friends, to annotate photographs, and develop institutional memory of places visited.

Device convergence

Students also experienced the convergence of technological tools, applications and electronic gadgets like cameras, laptops, mobile phones and televisions. As one student said:

I transfer photographs and music between my 3G mobile phone and computer. My phone works like a flash drive. I also watch videos and access e-mails from my phone (Lindiwe).

Seamless interlinking of diverse media (audio, videos, text, e-mails) via 3G mobile phones empowered students to develop digital footprints of themselves and their discursive communities through the transfer of photographs onto different devices. The interweaving of social life with the digital landscape was also apparent:

This weekend we ate out three times and I uploaded three new albums, so I am in the picture (Lindiwe).

The digitisation and transmission of personal images across disparate spaces exhibits the merging of environments in ways that allow absent/remote audiences to participate in these practices.

Social convergence: A myth or reality?

Despite the near-ubiquitous presence of social convergence in student social practices, students did not universally share these practices: some constructed physical and virtual spaces as disparate environments. Some students questioned Facebook's blurring of lecturer-student professional relationships:

While on Linguistica [pseudonym], our Facebook group, we have lecturers as "friends." I am uncomfortable with their presence because Facebook is my private life. Just as I would not have a drink with my supervisor, I don't want them to know about my private life (Shallom).

The desire to distinguish private Facebook life from public, professional life indicates the complexities of identity management in mediated public spaces. Therefore, the celebration of social convergence

concealed its circumstantial application and acceptance. Quizzed on how much personal information she displayed on Facebook, one student recalled:

I don't put much stuff on Facebook because my "friends" are my students and ex-students. They shouldn't know much about me. My criterion is: "If I wouldn't be embarrassed to tell my mother, I will put it on Facebook"(Chantel).

The concern about her privacy was critical because she was a tutor, and therefore felt that maintaining social distance from her students was critical to maintaining a professional relationship with them. Therefore, claims about the reproduction of live worlds on Facebook need to be qualified. Some students' online personae were only fragmented scripts of their multifaceted identities rather than wholesale duplications of their real identities.

Academic networking

Three students appropriated Facebook and blogs to form academic discursive communities (like tutorial groups), recruit research participants for their studies and share academic resources. As one student affirmed:

Through [the] Linguistics group and our face-to-face meeting, we share our writing and discuss our projects ... We also reflectively share ideas (Shallom).

Nascent academic networking was self-evident as students and academic experts deliberated about issues of relevance to them. The collusion of physical contexts with online spaces denotes academic attempts to ensure the persistence of conversations across different spaces.

Academically motivated postgraduates used Facebook Mobile as a strategic tool for recruiting potential research respondents. Chantel discussed her academic motivations for using Facebook:

On Facebook Mobile, I put snippets of materials I read. I also maintain contacts with my Phonetics Debate Facebook group, my potential interviewees for my doctorate research (Chantel).

Despite the embryonic nature of the academic appropriation of Facebook, several students used it for such purposes. One student used her blog as a dialogic space for reflection on academic writing:

On my blog, I talk to my research subjects about academic writing and reflexively about writing. I share my thoughts or give article excerpts for student discussions too (Amanda).

Given that this student was researching academic writing in alternative pedagogical spaces, blogs were ideal conversational platforms for promoting student agency and voice through writing.

Cultural assimilation

The complexity of student identities played out in their adoption of foreign tastes in music and videos, creating hybrid identities. They assumed global citizen identities by assimilating foreign consumables and integrating them with their indigenous practices:

I listen to international music and television series and download them onto my mobile phone. I access series via YouTube and watch them from my phone. If I meet an international celebrity, I search their identity on Facebook Mobile (Lindiwe).

Facebook Mobile enabled students to research international celebrities and empowered them to converse confidently about them. However, it seems that the assimilation of international cultures was superficial and temporal, and often tied to popular culture rather than foreign practices, values and habits. These imported identities were discussed by a fellow student:

I exchange music with my international friends on Facebook. I also search international singers to get their genres. Facebook feeds give a human approach to current news and debates through their recreation through discussions and contributions (Amanda).

Student global identities were displayed in their international friendship networks, foreign music and news tastes and hyper-social awareness. Students shared electronic news broadcasts and became contributors, producers and consumers concurrently, assuming compound identities.

Polyphonic selves

Facebook Mobile purveyed diluted expressions of shared identities. South African students of Indian descent shared common social practices with their siblings in distant countries:

I receive posts from siblings in Australia on Facebook. My Indian relatives post videos and music from India. My Facebook Mobile page is linked to Matinia, an Indian school and we share quizzes on Indian identities (Shallom).

Students constructed multiple, polyphonic selves by drawing on and engaging with social objects from diverse spaces. They assimilated foreign identities through consumption of foreign social objects (videos, postings, quizzes), thereby contributing to complex, hybrid identities.

Facebook Mobile also purveyed false testimonies from students like bogus postures and facial expressions designed to project flamboyant identities. Such superficial expressions of personae mirror attempts at exploiting democratic self-expression to display complex identities:

On Facebook Mobile, there is an overemphasis on appearances. It's all about your face ... You develop a second identity and if you put much stuff out there, you endanger yourself (Amanda).

The danger of fake online identities was their potential reproduction in real life. The same student continued:

Many Facebook personas get out there in real life and it's dangerous. Like girls, there is much pressure to look good and be photogenic when going to a party ... There is much make-up and fake smiles ... Facebook is encouraging the endorsement of a fake identity offline (Amanda).

Re-enactments of fake Facebook identities in real life distort the public articulation of people's real-life personae. When compounded by immaturity, the pressure to project trendy, global consumerist identities lends itself to irresponsible behaviour.

Surveillance

Social convergence imposes the risk of vertical surveillance of youths by "invisible audiences" (Boyd, 2007) like parents, lecturers and prospective employers. One parent-student who created an alias on Facebook invited her teenage children as "friends" so as to police their social activities:

I created a Facebook profile under an alias because I was concerned about my children's whereabouts. I befriended them to check the safety of their hideouts [and] their friends and I read their walls. Nowadays the world is scary (Hannah).

The parent displays some insecurity in her surveillance of her "vulnerable" children. Her claim that "the world is scary" expresses moral panic and her controversial behaviour is indicative of a desire to protect her children from uncertain consequences.

Pseudonymous identities

The mature learner who spied on her teenage children's lives maintained a pseudonymous identity:

Since I am the "detective" on Facebook, I don't upload pictures because they [her children] will know who I am. My Facebook name is my maiden surname and my surname is my first husband's first name (Hannah)

The assumption of pseudonymous identities afforded the continuity of a hierarchical relationship bordered by surveillance. While the morality of surveillance aimed at protecting teenagers from potential danger is debatable, some reported cases of paedophiles using social media to pry into the actions of unsuspecting teenagers could have precipitated this adult's controversial behaviour. These incidences have been broadcast on South African electronic and print media. A typical example is the widely broadcast story of a paedophile nicknamed the "Facebook rapist" who adopted Facebook to lure his young female victims, whom he would rob, rape and murder. He was finally apprehended and sentenced to 50 years' imprisonment.

Moral panic

Employers google prospective employees

The lack of privacy on Facebook caused uncertainty and a fear of losing control among students. They were terrified by employers who search social networks to vet potential candidates' moral standing:

Many students often close their university Facebook accounts and open new ones upon graduation because employers desire right-fitting employees. Drunkenness and abortion at university raise eyebrows yet students have pictures of them doing stubborn things with statues and pulling sleep poses (Shallom).

Employers often exploit students' limited knowledge of privacy settings to impose negative judgements on potential candidates. One postgraduate expressed how a strong candidate lost her opportunity for a prestigious job:

The panel did random Facebook searches. So the very respectable personality she reflected in the interview didn't cohere with the critical, harsh face she put up on Facebook. The panel doubted her organisational fitness, for her Facebook pictures involved ripping people's shirts (Shallom).

Employers often rescinded job offers if a disjuncture existed between a prospective employee's behaviours and employers' expectations. Even though the Facebook image might have been a superficial, playful expression of the candidate's identity, it inaccurately portrayed the real-world persona – a tragedy of social convergence.

Identity clashes in digital spaces

Even well-groomed students are treating digital spaces like Facebook as safe havens to experiment with sophisticated positioning and mischief, undeterred by parents and guardians. The subversion of generally accepted standards has been accentuated by the use of pseudonymous identities in these spaces. As one student said:

Youth are stupid because they upload their photos on Facebook, so they expose their whole life. You see some half-naked Muslim children at parties when we are not supposed to wear short dresses ... I check their profiles to see if they are hanging out with drunkards. Children can lie about sleeping over at friends or having a study group when in fact, they are partying (Hannah).

These clashes between religious convictions and the enticements of web technology were considerable. They epitomise the complexities of negotiating self-identities as students straddle imagined, virtual and physical spaces.

Discussion

The analysis of data yielded the themes and categories outlined in Table 5. These themes and categories are elaborated in the discussion.

Table 5
The analysis of data – themes and categories

Theme	Category
Evidence of convergence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Collapsed contexts ▪ Mutual co-presence ▪ Application convergence ▪ Device convergence
Barriers to convergence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Frozen relationships ▪ Boundary closure
Productive application of mobile social networking	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Collaborative engagement ▪ Information-sharing ▪ Contextualised language learning ▪ Information repository ▪ Reflexive writing
Social consequences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Social control ▪ Moral panic
Identity management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ "Glocalised" identities ▪ Cultural borrowing ▪ Counterfeit identities ▪ Gender performativity

Evidence of convergence

Collapsed contexts

One social convergence variant was the blurring of landmark physical features with online contexts, facilitated by mobile social networks. "Collapsed contexts" (Marwick & Boyd, 2010) emerged when some students took snapshots, uploaded them on Facebook Mobile and adjusted their profiles – a witty strategy to physically locate their peers. The statement, "So immediately my friend said on Facebook: 'Where are you sitting?'" demonstrates the overlaying of online activities on offline interaction. Such blurring amounted to a proxy of augmented reality; that is, a typical incarnation of the seamless integration of cyberspace and physical spaces. This observation is supported in the literature. As Casalegno (2004) suggests, the real dimensions of physical space and information cybernetics are superimposing and supporting each other. Other expressions of collapsed contexts have evolved through the instant uploading of offline social activities.

Mutual co-presence

Another expression of social convergence immanent in student narrations was mutual co-presence. Two forms of mutual co-presence were observed: the abrupt meeting offline of interactants who had a mutual consciousness of their online presence; and geographically remote interactants participating in a common online activity that drew on distinctly offline activities or social practices. The first variant affirms the compression of distance and time that digital technology affords. Contrary to Jenkins's (2004, p. 35) claim that "our ties to older forms of social community are breaking down, our rooting in physical geography is diminishing", it seems that new forms of expressing community and reinforcement of geography are emerging through mutual co-presence. As an example of the second form of mutual co-presence, one student highlighted her father's synchronous co-participation in her party preparations through the sharing of pictures on Facebook Mobile. This affirms the potential of mobile social networking to ensure the visibility and communicative readiness of distant online communicants. This dovetails with Lugano's (2008) observation that the technical convergence of computer and mobile networks opens opportunities for social networking activity anytime, and breaks traditional time and space boundaries.

Technological convergence

Technological convergence manifested in two dimensions: application convergence and device convergence. Several students alluded to their concurrent access and use of multiple social media applications. A recursive use of different web-based applications is self-evident in this narration: "I use my phone ... more for the web for keeping in touch with friends. I start with my Gmail, then Twitter, and Facebook." Learners' use of multiple applications is reported in the literature (Griffiths & Light, 2012; Gowdy et al., 2009). Device convergence involves the merging of distinct, intelligent electronic devices into a single, multi-purpose device or the synchronised porting of data and computerised information across different intelligent devices. As one mobile social networker stated: "I transfer photographs and music from my 3G mobile phone to computer". My phone works like a flash drive." Another student used Twitter for annotating the photos he took using his mobile phone, demonstrating his confidence with the technology.

Barriers to convergence

Frozen relationships

In spite of the widely celebrated claims about convergence, some students were distressed by the blurring of academic and social life – a consequence of media convergence. The statement "I am uncomfortable about their [lecturers'] presence there because Facebook is my private life" critically questions the widely accepted claims about the glamour of convergence. Student ambivalence about teacher presence on converged social media resonates with concerns about loss of privacy in "mediated publics" (Boyd, 2007). Other research explains this contradiction of demanding privacy in "public" spaces. In relation to South Africans' use of Facebook, Petersen (2008) interprets this contradiction as "freezing relationships" – keeping in touch with acquaintances with whom users are not keen to keep connected, but whom they also do not want to lose as friends (cited in Chigona et al., 2009, p. 3).

Context awareness and boundary closure

Students with tutoring duties relentlessly protected their privacy by sharing little of their private lives with students. The utterance "I put on Facebook the things that my mum already knows about" dovetails with strong gatekeeping practices that potentially reproduced tutor-student social distance. Literature on privacy control suggests that technology users' actions are based on calculated risk. A "privacy calculus" (Laufer & Wolfe, 1977) requires that individuals compute the negative impacts of disclosing personal information to individuals and organisations and the perceived benefits of sacrificing their privacy. Related literature suggests that information disclosure rides on the premise that individuals form physical or virtual informational spaces around themselves with defined boundaries (Xu, Dinev, Smith, & Hart, 2008). Boundary opening and closing rules are governed by contextual influences like the nature of relationships, expected use of the disclosed information and perceived benefits of disclosing information (Petronio, 2002).

Educational gains of mobile social networking

Collaborative engagement

Mobile social networking enhanced the sharing of URLs and academic information, and the showcasing of peers' academic interests. The comment "On Facebook and on Twitter, I share my research and academic interests" mirrors "collective intelligence" (Levy, 1997), showing that mobile social networking can be a vehicle for academic growth. Levy (1997) documents that internet technology enhances the instantaneous, global exchange of data and ideas, and that these networks are increasingly mobilising the intelligence, experience, skills and imagination of humanity (cited in McGonigal, 2008).

Contextualised language learning

Another holy grail of converged social media was the exchange of academic literacy practices, particularly the practices and stylistic conventions of academic writing. Given that mobile social media present a rendezvous for reinforcing affinities and challenging monolithic knowledge production, blogs served as safe spaces for learning academic writing. Facebook groups also constituted ambient environments for academic-student engagement and exchange of their writing. Other literature affirms the contribution of social media platforms to the mediation of foreign-language learning and enhancement of sophisticated academic skills (Al-Shehri, 2011).

Information repository

Students appropriated Facebook Mobile for annotating research notes from articles during online research. For postgraduate students, it also constituted a personal online directory for recruiting prospective survey respondents. The conversion of Facebook into a generic "listserv" demonstrates the creativity and hyper-communicative qualities of students. Since Facebook Mobile flags the online presence of participants, it presents opportunities for sustained collaboration and feedback. Kekwaletswe and Ng'ambi (2006) contend that the social presence afforded by synchronous instant messaging via mobile phones provides learners with continuous awareness of available support and encourages the sharing of learning experiences.

Social implications

Social control

Converged media, however, presented mixed social consequences. Students who posted controversial, sexually explicit pictures of themselves or their peer networks on their Facebook walls often disqualified themselves from career-development opportunities on campus. However, it was interesting that none of the students interviewed professed this behaviour themselves, but rather attributed it to their peer networks or some South African youth in general. Societal values, therefore, impose forms of control by judging any social conduct against prescribed social norms and values. Social conduct that conceivably contradicts established social norms (like hating one's boss) is regarded as morally unacceptable. The blurring of offline-online spaces demands the posing of critical questions about whether students' immature behaviour online can be taken seriously in offline contexts.

Moral panic

While youths exploited Facebook Mobile to project their diverse social activities, their parents expressed resentment and anxiety over these expressions. Social vices like alcohol abuse caused alarm, prompting adult students to monitor their teenagers' activities. One parent confessed to snooping on her unsuspecting children.

Identity management

Cultural borrowing and "glocalised" identities

On Facebook Mobile, students engaged in cultural borrowing, fusing traditional customs with Western popular culture and thus enacting hybrid identities. Globalisation has triggered among South African youth some tendencies of cultural borrowing and adaptation, as well as individualism (Soudien, 2007). Some students appropriated their phones for downloading international music and television series. The fusion of foreign cultures with indigenous cultures, tastes and norms generated complex, "glocal" identities. For Kraidy (1999, p. 471) this cultural hybridity among the youth is normal, due to "their hybrid ability to negotiate a variety of traditions and contexts", and "to understand and conciliate these different cultural systems".

Counterfeit identities

The unregulated nature of Facebook Mobile presented a "safe" habitat for student experimentation with exaggerated or counterfeit identities. Some were appalled by the exhibitionist behaviour manifested in an "over-emphasis on appearances...and the [enactment of a controversial] second identity". As Rambe (2009) reiterates, social networks provide student-controlled, personal learning environments, which are unsupervised spaces for student experimentation with multiple personae.

Gender performativity

Converged social media allows for the (re)production of digital footprints indicating the youths' identities: personal profiles, photo galleries and wall postings that articulate their networks and personal thoughts. This form of gender performativity (Butler, 1986) plays out vividly in this excerpt: "Like girls, there is much pressure to look good and be photogenic ... much make-up and fake smiles, so many adjustments on Facebook." Butler (1986) suggests that not only are humans culturally constructed, but in some sense they construct themselves. Identity constructs like gender become a corporeal locus of cultural meaning both received and invented (Butler, 1986).

Policy recommendations

Social media-enhanced best practices of pedagogy

The blurring of traditional learning and mobile social networking spaces potentially augments traditional instruction through cross-pollination of knowledge production in these spaces. Therefore, academics should develop best practices of pedagogy that exploit the opportunities rendered by converged social media. For example, they can design learning tasks and activities that require students to integrate their use of learning management systems with mobile social media. Productive uses of mobile social media in classes include: web-searching of academic content, students' critical questioning of lecturers and students' collaborative interactions on task-related matters. However, Ng'ambi (2011) bemoans the fact that instead of embracing productive educational uses of smart phones, lecturers have often focused on their distractive nature or denounced them in lectures.

New technology inventory

Academics are challenged to research detailed profiles of student preferences, including learning styles and preferred technologies, as background information for developing a comprehensive technology inventory. The inventory should become the foundation for integrating social media into mainstream pedagogy to gainfully support student learning. This is critical because the current technology architecture at many universities does not adequately accommodate students' social learning needs and faculty-student interactions. Prensky (2004) suggests that despite smart phones' phenomenal computing and communicative affordances, the American education system is yet to appreciate their academic potential; hence, the considerable debate on how and when to use them.

Security and safety of mobile social networks

The convergence of mobile social networks with offline interactions and the use of location-specific mobile software like GPS challenge academics and communication policy-makers to explore ways of ensuring students' safety from paedophiles and stalkers. Educational campaigns on the safe and appropriate use of web-enabled technologies are necessary.

From an academic perspective, educators should develop strategies for balancing student demands for privacy via Facebook Mobile and academic provision of meaningful support. Reconciling academic and social relationships in these mediated public spaces would ensure that lecturer-student social distance is bridged without compromising deep academic engagement.

Copyright issues and surveillance

Given the prevalence of the sharing of academic materials and work in progress via Facebook Mobile, possibilities for plagiarism cannot be ruled out. University policies on plagiarism should be tightened or remodelled to allow for the regulation of mobile social media particularly in the proper referencing of work in progress and the punishing of academic dishonesty. Educational campaigns should target inducting students into the appropriate academic use of mobile social networking and referencing of social web resources.

Conclusion

This study found that social convergence on mobile phones took many forms: co-presence of remote interactants, convergence of social practices (texting, communicating, social networking, chatting, photographing, commenting and annotating) and the collapsing of offline and online contexts. Collapsed contexts often played out in the online documentation of offline activities through the instant posting of photos of recent social events. Collectively, these activities constituted evidence for the increasing convergence of spaces, media and social practices, which was indicative of social convergence.

From an academic viewpoint, students employed converged social media (Facebook Mobile) to organise and convene academic meetings, share academic material they read online and reflect on their academic writing. Yet social convergence was not a universal phenomenon: some students resisted Facebook's blurring of the academic (professional) and social (or personal) practices. They were also ambivalent about the academic involvement of their educators on Facebook, as they viewed them as instructors and not necessarily as real friends. This expectation to keep their social lives detached from their academic

practices on Facebook suggests that claims about convergence need qualification, as they are contextually based.

Students also employed Facebook Mobile as a tool for the construction and management of personal identities. Instances of cultural borrowing manifested in student preferences for foreign music, international celebrities and international friendships. However, these assimilations constituted "soft versions" of global identities, as they did not necessarily translate into the adoption of foreign values, social norms, practices and customs: no student claimed that such borrowing fundamentally transformed their cultural perspectives and behavioural conduct.

Lastly, mature students who were also parents projected some moral panic in their appropriation of Facebook Mobile to check on their teenagers' whereabouts. This controversial behaviour can be attributed to their concern about paedophiles who exploit social media to prey on unsuspecting young victims. Similarly, in the absence of sufficient information about potential candidates' moral conduct, prospective employers were also reported to search candidates' online profiles to better understand their moral behaviour.

This work concludes that the academic application of Facebook is an oxymoron that brings several academic gains and presents several challenges for higher education. The development of learning communities, fostering of opportunities for democratic expression and exchanging of knowledge need to be weighed against several other concerns like student ambivalence about educators' judgements of their online personae, privacy invasion and security of personal information.

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