“Looking back” at personal memories on Facebook: Co-constitutive agencies in contemporary remembrance practices

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ABSTRACT

In this paper, we discuss the expression of personal memories in digital media environments. To tackle this issue, we propose a conceptualization that conceives such memories as the outcome of co-constitutive agencies that impact contemporary mnemonic practices. We look especially at sociotechnical relationships that affect the way memory contents travel temporally and through particular contexts within localized digital environments. The empirical analysis is grounded in a case study of one of the first memory-oriented features released by Facebook in 2014, the Look Back video. We asked Facebook users to answer a questionnaire about the experience of using this feature, providing insights into the production and consumption of digital mnemonic products. Our findings point to the fact that digital traces left by users in their networks interact with the performative properties of communication systems. These interactions are articulated in mnemonic products that inspire reflections on the agency of algorithms and the meaningfulness of the resulting narratives. Acknowledging the consequences of the “third memory boom” accompanying the emergence of the connective turn in memory studies, we suggest that current digital technologies demand a more comprehensive analysis of the constellation of actors and values involved in current memory processes.

INTRODUCTION

Diaries, letters, photo albums, and other sorts of media have a long tradition in supporting the life writing of subjects, families, and groups. By registering stories and enabling the retrieval of memories, such media help us to recall past experiences when we interact with them. Without media, both individual and collective memory levels would be “inconceivable” (Erll 2011a, 113). However, media go beyond the task of expanding the individual human memory through the externalization of information. They create media worlds of cultural memory according to their specific capacities and limitations—worlds that a memory community would not know without them (Erll 2011a, 116).

Indeed, media are not just containers or extensions of human memory (Hoskins 2016a), but “activities and products we produce and appropriate (…) for creating a sense of past, present and future” (Van Dijck 2007, 21), as well as agents that co-constitute it. In order to understand social phenomena such as remembrance practices, it is necessary to look at the human and technical entanglements involved. Digital media open up new horizons of investigation in this respect as they are “fundamentally altering what it [memory] is and what is possible to remember and forget” (Hoskins 2017, 7). Sociotechnical issues, the “connective turn” (Hoskins 2017, 1) and the “sudden abundance, pervasiveness, and immediacy of digital media, communication networks and archives”, pose questions as to how we reflect on our digitally produced and retrieved “(restless) past” (Hoskins 2017, 5).

Social network sites (SNS) are key environments for understanding the transformations in the way individuals and groups deal with their memories. SNS enable lifelogging, reminiscent practices, and personal memory production which, at the same time, are pierced by the performative properties of these platforms. Memories, we argue, emerge from the mutual relationship between social aspects and technological communication environments, where mnemonic contents are produced, (re-)circulated and consumed.

Facebook is, at the time of writing, one of the most popular SNS worldwide, with an estimated 1.47 billion (Facebook 2018) daily users. The various modes of interaction performed within this SNS contribute to the production of an “online presence” or “digital traces” that ultimately form the manifestation of personal memories online. We investigate Facebook’s interest in exploiting implicit and explicit memory contents shared by...
its members and how users experienced the resulting products.

The “locatedness” of personal memories in this environment demands a deeper understanding of how digital communication platforms impact on the configuration of one’s life story. What is required is an ecological approach to digital memory studies, one that applies the logic of ecosystems. In other words, multiple entities—institutional business models, users’ interests and behaviours, and technological factors—interact and co-constitute the formation of mnemonic contents.

Our method involves a case study based on the application Look Back, developed by Facebook on the occasion of the platform’s tenth anniversary. Our qualitative analysis of the reactions of users of this application enables reflection on the reception of personal memories co-constituted within and through Facebook.

**Personal memories and technologies of remembrance**

Traditionally, the field of memory studies has paid attention to the intersections of the personal and social dimensions of memory and their formative processes. Formulations by one of its founding fathers point to the relationship between individuals and their contexts of socialization. In his famous concept of “Social Frameworks of Memory,” Maurice Halbwachs (1992) proposes that individuals do ultimately “remember,” but their thoughts and accounts depend on the groups and contexts they take part in or have participated in the past. It is through these social lenses, and not just cognitive dynamics, that memories come to life.

Personal memories, though, can be conceived both as the product of social interactions (collectivistic approach) or the outcome of individual experiences and their mental processing within the brain (individualistic approach) (Olick 1999). In tandem with Halbwachs’ formulations and extending them, however, Olick highlights that the analysis of mnemonic practices—either individual or collective—requires acknowledgement of their context. This outlines the “contemporary circumstances [that] provide the cues for certain images of the past” (Olick 1999, 341). One aspect of this context concerns the technologies of memory and media employed in the act of remembering.

Indeed, the various forms of life writing and recalling personal pasts are tied to the use of technologies, whether they result in linguistic representations or material artefacts. These technologies also constitute the context of memory production and consumption, with subjective, material, institutional, or group aspects playing a particularly significant role in setting “mnemonic structures” that delineate “ways of organizing remembering” (Olick 1999, 346). We therefore subscribe to Churchill and van House (2008, 296) claim that “memory studies should be vitally concerned with past, present and emerging technologies of memory and sociotechnical practices of memory-making and memory retrieval.”

Digital technologies (smartphones, social networking sites, blogs) have significantly increased the amount of data and information we capture, produce, store and consume. The analyses of this situation has led scholars to state that we live in a “post-scarcity media-memory boom” (Hoskins 2011, 272), or even that digital media appropriations have inaugurated a “third memory boom” (Hoskins and O’Loughlin 2010, 116). At this stage, the act of recording, narrating and registering almost coincides with the phase of memorialization. In other words, images, accounts and analytical texts generated through digital media in the course of present or recent-past events already point to their immediate and hypothetical mnemonic character (117). Similarly, Bowker (2006, 26) has argued that the current “epoch” of scientific knowledge, with its logic of massive “databasing” for hypothetical future purposes and collaborations, produces “potential memory”.

**Between locatedness and travel: the sociotechnical life of data**

Interactions between users and SNS systems ultimately leave traces that can be potentially re-appropriated and re-combined for future consumption. Nevertheless, it is not just a matter of the individual will to remember, but also of experiencing and performing memory acts allowed or constrained by environments where contents dwell. As Hand has suggested, “[w]hether people organize or experience these traces as memory objects is dependent upon situated articulations of devices, systems, conventions, and practices” (Hand 2016, 270).

Despite the importance of “locatedness” or “situatedness”, these traces are also submitted to other procedures and appropriations that go beyond their original context. In this respect, Beer and Burrows (2013) argue for an understanding of the “social life of data”. This involves looking at the constant feedback loops and re-circulation of explicit and transactional information contained in the various “archives” that store our digital traces. Algorithms are taken as actors responsible for retrieval and a “recombinant set of processes” (Beer and Burrows 2013, 67) that generate new meanings out of data produced in various contexts.

In the context of personal memories, what is required is looking at how contents produced and consumed via SNS generate data that will potentially
travel temporally and through contexts as to produce new mnemonic meanings. We base this statement on Erll’s (2011b) concept of “travelling memory”, as it stresses that the very “genesis and existence” of memory depends on “movements” and the “ongoing exchange of information between individuals and the motion between minds and media” (12). Erll addresses digital media, stating that they “imply movement on the very level of their underlying technology: what we call a computer’s or the internet’s ‘memory’ is in fact the result of ongoing algorithmic processes” (13). In agreement with her, we argue that this is a case of personal memories “being re-contextualized, re-circulated and re-consumed” (13) within SNS, demonstrating how they become “embedded in and distributed through our sociotechnical practices” (Hoskins 2009, 92).

These sociotechnical aspects demand a special awareness of the agency of nonhuman agents over the structure of the network and the content circulating within it. Recent definitions of the meaning of “social network sites” (Boyd and Ellison 2013, 158) refer to these aspects. Changes in technology and business-models in recent years have demanded definitions that account for the increasing (a) circulation of information (b) who is more likely to see them, and (c) how present actions (reacting, commenting, sharing, among others) affect access to sources in the future. These aspects can be understood as performative properties, because these systems shape practices and, in doing so, “engage in the constitution of the reality that it attempts” (Salter 2010, xxviii) to create.

Performative properties

Inspired by the actor-network understanding of agency, performative properties are the situated and relational practices that produce specific frameworks of reality; they thus interweave ideas with practices of enactment (Law 2004). In this context, algorithmic actors might perform/enact new knowledge domains and mnemonic practices, “which, if internalized [by subjects], would enact new and perhaps unexpected subjectivities” (Introna 2016, 23). Information produced by users interacting with each other and with the system contribute to the representation of one’s identity and memory in the digital realm. They generate direct and transactional data that feed multiple databases (Beer and Burrows 2013). In this sense, Robards (2014, online) affirms that “Facebook comes to serve two critical functions for users, as both the site upon which life narratives are performed and organized, and also the site through which the variously public and private disclosures that constitute a persona are recalled and reflected upon”. The “digital interface” that Facebook “projects to its users in its exteriorization of personal digital memory making and archiving” (Garde-Hansen 2009, 136) actually promotes what Erll—building on Halbwachs’s (1992) theory of collective memory—calls “media frameworks of individual remembering” (2011a, 129). By intertwining structural and interpersonal aspects involved in everyday life interactions, Facebook provides sociotechnical frameworks that both permeate and convey personal memories online.

From this perspective [...] networks, databases, and algorithms do not determine but actively shape their content as elements within heterogeneous networks of people and things. New possibilities of storage, circulation, retrieval, and multifaceted classification are proliferating, with significant consequences for how the production and circulation of digital traces is being organized. (Hand 2016, 272)

Through the “aggregation of multiple types of data that provide an increasingly sophisticated and comprehensive version of an individual’s life trajectory” (Hoskins 2016a, 28), Facebook paves the way for exploring the “social life of data” (Beer and Burrows 2013). These data, however, would not exist without the creative appropriation and interactions performed within this media environment.

An ecological approach to co-constitutive agencies over personal memories

We argue that Facebook’s system plays a role not just by “hosting” and “processing” data, but rather by creating an encompassing “ecosystem” that affords associations through performative properties. That is to say, personal memory contents emerging from digital media are the product of ecosystemic relationships between the various sociotechnical entities involved in their production. “The study of the new memory ecology is founded upon similar principles of seeing the material and cultural environment in consort with cognition and emotion availed through it to illuminate the emergence of remembering and forgetting” (Hoskins 2016b, 354). Here we adopt an ecosystemic approach that refers to the interaction of agentic variables, whether they are material or social. Changing or introducing new agentic variables makes the emergence of new mnemonic structures, products and practices possible.

This ecological perspective on memory complements the theoretical approach of Actor Network Theory (ANT) (Latour 2005). ANT emphasizes the association between actants (humans and non-humans)—users, their mnemonic contents, transactional data, and the system’s algorithms, among others—to argue that all of them have agency over phenomena that are usually explained in anthropocentric, constructionist or technological deterministic ways. Applying both ideas, ANT and a media-ecological perspective, allows for an understanding
of the “co-constitution (...) and recursive negotiations between users and platforms” (Hand 2016, 272), their entanglements and interdependencies concerning the production of personal memories.

We understand agency as the capacity of any entity to make a difference to any other agent’s action (Latour 2005). This basic conception emphasizes the relational character of sociotechnical environments, considering them as spaces where relationships between different actors are mutually shaped and the performative properties towards other agential modes, including authorising, affording, encouraging, blocking, forbidding, etc. (Latour 2005, 72), are expanded. Understanding agency as a co-constitutive property leads us to comprehend its effects as relational and situated, or as comprising both travel and locatedness. For example, the performative properties enacted by digital platforms are not “in” the algorithm, “in” the user, or “in” any of the actors as such, but are produced through the ongoing and situated ‘doing’ by all the actors as part of a socio-material assemblage” (Introna 2013, online).

The “Look back” case study and methodological procedures

In 2012, Facebook provided users with an application called “Year in review”, a retrospective account based on posts that generated engagement, topics trending over that year, pages liked and the number of new friends. Two years later, on the occasion of its tenth anniversary, the platform employed a similar approach to produce a recall of moments experienced by users throughout the time they had been members of the network. The Look Back application enabled users to access a video containing “some of [their] most celebrated moments over the years,” as Facebook’s slogan put it (Facebook 2014). Ever since, the SNS keeps developing memory-related products, including On this day, friendships anniversaries, and Year in Review.

Here we present a case study of the Look Back feature. It arranged selected posts in a video according to the relevance (number of likes, for example) in a content instance acquired. We consider it a “mnemonic product” that exposes personal memory accounts resulting from the sociotechnical frameworks of memory and performative properties that co-constitute ecosystemic relationships within Facebook. These “moments”, a term frequently used by Silicon Valley-based companies (Oremus 2015), emerge from the algorithmic curation of personal digital traces stored in Facebook’s databases. These quantified memories curated and preselected automatically by the platform’s algorithmic systems are not always, however, meaningful moments for those whose memories are (re)presented (Hoskins 2013). Robards’ analysis of Look Back refers to it as a “video [that] brings the significance of the digital trace into a new light, challenging concepts of personal histories and the longevity of everyday persons” (Robards 2014). Therefore, understanding the perception of users regarding the transformation of their personal memory practices seems highly necessary.

In order to understand how Facebook users perceive the co-constitutive agency of other actors over their memories, we collected information about the Look Back application from two different sources. The first is an online questionnaire answered by 135 Brazilian Facebook users, a group representing a very engaged public on Facebook. This survey was advertised on Facebook from October 3 to November 3, 2014 and respondents were encouraged to answer questions about their feelings and attitudes toward the selections made by Facebook’s algorithms. Brazilians are among the heaviest Facebook users worldwide, taking the fourth position in the number of active users who spent an average of four hours per week connected to the network as of January 2015 (Kemp 2015).

While Look Back was a global media product available to users from different countries, exploring it within the Brazilian context enables culturally and socially specific readings of the phenomenon. In order to overcome this limitation of our initial sample and to identify broader patterns of reaction to the Look Back feature, we also turned to a second complementary source that consists of comments left on a post published on the Official Facebook Page to advertise the application (Facebook 2014). There, we found comments left by a broader range of audiences belonging to various nationalities. We then conducted a qualitative analysis of these materials by generating codes and categories to perform an interpretative analysis.

Discussion I: co-constitutive agencies of personal memories

Active Facebook users may have already been reminded of a friendship anniversary, as well as contents published by them on that same day some years before. Coming across such automatic curation of past acts—some of them not as meaningful as the platform believes—is part of Facebook’s mnemonic facets. However, we should avoid suggesting that the phenomenon is an outcome of the agency of algorithms that select presumed relevant “moments”; instead, we argue, they are the outcome of co-constitutive agencies of various entities and their associations.
By identifying the opinions and attitudes of Facebook users who had encountered the Look Back video, we discuss both current mnemonic practices and offer a perspective on the production of automated personal memory accounts. Respondents of our questionnaire (n = 135) were men (36.7%) and women (63.3%), with the majority between 25 and 35 years of age (62%)\(^2\), living in 12 different Brazilian states. Most of them (93.5%) had been members of Facebook for more than two years, which suggests their familiarity with this sociotechnical environment. The analysis of issues addressed by respondents in the open-ended questions indicates how Brazilian users received the application developed by Facebook. Information available within the comments area of a Facebook post about the Look Back feature reinforces some of the identified behavior patterns.

One of the key aspects perceived by our research participants in regard to the co-constitution of their personal memories in the Look Back feature was the agency of algorithms. A few scholars (e.g. Schwarz 2014; Bucher 2016; Hoskins 2016b) have addressed this issue in the context of online memory processes, but a deeper understanding of the reception of products derived from the algorithmic agency is still missing. Algorithmic agency is understood here as a relational process that has essential performative properties. What algorithms do while sorting and selecting users’ content has various consequences, some of them more practical and visible, others more normative and subtle. However, all of these consequences result from “how technology mediates our experiences, perceptions, and behaviour, and how human agency affects the uses of technological artifacts” (Nagy and Neff 2016, 4926).

Performativity properties refer to the specific logics enacted through the way Facebook selects what users will see on their Look Back videos. Furthermore, algorithms also play a role in filtering what appears on each News Feed. As the popularity of each post defines its chances of being included in the Look Back video, contents that are not distributed to a wide audience are less likely to be considered “important” moments. Other “signals” used by Facebook for ranking and distributing content are based on the preferences of each user regarding certain topics, as well as more objective information such as: how old a post is, who its author is, internet speed and the device used at the moment of connection. Based on this data, the News Feed Ranking algorithm makes predictions and estimates a relevance score for each publication.

On the Look Back video, users saw a sequence explicitly organized as follows: 1) the year when the user registered on Facebook; 2) pictures of his/her first moments on the SNS; 3) most-liked posts (including texts and pictures); 4) pictures the user had shared. The information shown on one’s Look Back is thus selected according to the visibility and feedback each item receives from his or her connections. This last issue is mainly related to Facebook algorithms, as they are ultimately responsible for deciding who in the network will see each post. In this sense, interactions between social and technical actors play a crucial role, especially “the encounters between people and representations of their past [that] are mediated by algorithms” (Schwarz 2014, 11). In this sense, we draw attention to the sociotechnical frameworks of personal remembering within Facebook.

More than 90% of the respondents of our questionnaire were aware of quantitative criteria involved in the selection of contents presented in their Look Back videos. Criticism and uncertainty in relation to these standards, however, were also mentioned. Some users even disagreed that those were the most liked posts (for example, “data presented as the most liked is wrong” [Resp042]). Users seem to be conscious that there are hidden aspects involved in the selection, such as the number of views received by each post. These implicit criteria, that “not even God knows” (Resp078), produce an impression of randomness in the curation of “moments” worth remembering.

Respondents also perceived the number of interactions and the quality of connections as decisive for the selection process. In fact, the algorithmic selection of Look Back videos reflects the platform’s performativity properties. Quantified and relational aspects taken as signals by the algorithm also contribute to creating sociotechnical frameworks of memory. These modes of framing the relevance of personal moments registered on Facebook mirror the interdependence between actors involved in assessing and ranking personal accounts.

**Discussion II: meaningfulness of the selected content**

Apart from identifying the quantitative emphasis placed by Facebook on the selection of relevant moments, respondents also held different opinions as to the quality of the narrative produced. The application offered editing tools to users, who were then able to change the contents presented on the Look Back video. Around 46% of the users said that they would like to edit the first selection proposed by Facebook.

Critical views about this memory product were expressed both by respondents who liked (43%) and disliked (35%) the content of their retrospectives. Overall, though, the format seemed adequate for most of the users, although there were some
complaints that it was too short (1 minute) or simply boring. The post announcing the Look Back feature on Facebook’s Official Fan Page, even four years after its publication, still receives comments asking for instructions on how to generate or access a Look Back video. This is an indication of the resonance, pregnant and long-lasting significance in some users’ imagination.

Of the 61% who were happy with the result of this automatic curation of their online traces, some were interested in further opportunities to recall important moments shared on Facebook. However, the quality of those moments does “not always reflect the significance for the person’s life” (Resp081). Some of the 35% of respondents who did not approve of Facebook’s Look Back video also voiced a similar opinion.

Our findings suggest that there is a conflict between a subjectivity based on quantitative metrics and the way users project their identity. Some respondents even said that a “robot”—referring to the algorithmic agency—is incapable of capturing the feelings and emotions related to each moment. The selection does not seem to reflect their personality. Some users recognize that this is the case because their online presence is not an accurate representation of their personal lives, sometimes deliberately so because of privacy concerns. Statements to this effect indicate a conscious awareness of sociotechnical entanglements and their outcomes. The algorithmic agency over subjective content has driven users to self-reflexive moments, an important aspect to understand contemporary remembrance practices in digital platforms.

The few users (8%) who reported being fully in agreement with the representation and moments shown on Look Back videos revealed that they became emotional while watching the video. Traditional memory forms such as re-reading letters and diary texts are frequently related to these emotional states, as well. Nevertheless, there are also sad and embarrassing moments that remain preserved in Facebook’s lifelogs. As the automatic selection does not capture how the life of users change—friends and relatives die, couples divorce or break up, jobs are lost—contents related to these uncomfortable memories remain on the database and risk being included in memory products such as Look Back.

Just over a third (37%) of our survey respondents planned to share their retrospective video with their connections. This reaction demonstrates a moderate degree of willingness to make that content circulate, since the information it contains is “not as important for others as it is for the individual” (Resp061) whose memory traces are represented. As users interact with different groups—that are also part of the sociotechnical frameworks of memory—it seems difficult to condense into a single video contents that could be of interest and meaningful for users’ entire personal network. Editing the video and sharing it with specific audiences could be a way of overcoming such constraints.

The observation of reactions to the Look Back feature also inspires our reflections upon the preservation of digital traces. Facebook, through its automated curation and disclosure of stories and moments, retrieves the “archived” potential of mnemonic contents from its database to compose a narrative of its users’ traces, giving sociotechnical life to data. As performative properties of algorithmic systems, these narratives enact specific logics both about what deserves to be remembered as well as about the visual configuration of mnemonic contents. This might, in turn, reconfigure what memory on digital platforms ultimately is (Hoskins 2017, 1).

Having Recognized the mnemonic meaningfulness of contents shared by their users, social network sites that are closed down (e.g. Orkut) usually offer their remaining users the possibility of copying a digital version of their profile contents. On Facebook it is also possible for users to download and delete stored data, yet it is not clear if all the information about user behaviour and preferences can be deleted from Facebook servers. Therefore, “far from representing the dematerialization of the object and the liberation from the archival gaze, digitization presents us with new material structures through which memory is constructed” (Sluis 2010, 2). In fact, “remembering and forgetting in today’s media ecology” is permeated by “paradoxical states of permanence and obsolescence, of empowerment and loss of control, and of stability and ephemerality” (Hoskins 2016a, 14).

A noteworthy case is the mnemonic significance acquired by the “online presence” of deceased people, which has been called “digital afterlife” (Carroll and Romano 2010; Lagerkvist 2017). Research on this subject has identified how relatives and friends of deceased users appropriate the digital traces left behind. This “last digital breath” inspires not only the recollection of posts, photos and other content shared by the deceased, but also interactions among those who remain active on the SNS and “with” the deceased through his or her profile. This social practice relates to the Look Back application because various users have requested videos featuring dead people, usually relatives who passed away. Comments left on the Facebook Official Page (Facebook 2014), for example, formed a campaign that sought to help a father to gain access to his deceased son’s Look Back (for a detailed account, see Robards 2014; Arnold, Lambert, and Nansen 2016). This emergent phenomenon, however, is received in a different way by people who do not want to constantly encounter dead friends and relatives on their timelines (Bucher 2016). One respondent of our survey even said that “it just could have
been made by a robot, it showed me a picture of my deceased father” (Resp136). The variety of attitudes towards digital traces reveals how complex the entanglement between technology and memory is becoming.

Concluding remarks

The Look Back feature is no longer active. Facebook discontinued it in 2015, but, at the time of writing, users still seek to claim their retrospective videos, especially on the Facebook Official Page (Facebook 2014). Downloaded videos—as well as parodies and remixes—continue to circulate on YouTube. This resonance shows how this memory product has endured and became important for individuals’ memory-making processes. The company continues to invest in research and development of other products that deal with the concept of memory (Konrad 2017). Making users access and re-signify old posts and data is a profitable method for generating access to the platform as users—despite their critical stance—do seem to be interested in being reminded of their own digital memories.

Our study has sought to map and interpret how Facebook users deal with the fact that part of their life narratives is now digitized and submitted to co-constitutive sociotechnical agencies. With the growth of digital literacy, users seem to become aware of the consequences the agency of other actors—human or otherwise—has for their personal accounts (Araújo and Magalhães 2018).

This ecological approach to online memory provides important insights about the mediation of personal narratives in the present environment. Understanding the performative properties that co-constitute personal memories is a crucial move towards enabling the creation of more adequate tools for building digital memory accounts in the future. This could provide people with a critical view of the formation and preservation of their own digital traces, and give them more control over their experience. Therefore, further research on the perception of sociotechnical frameworks of memory in other social contexts, comparing national or generational specificities, for example, would be valuable. With concepts such as co-constitutive agency and sociotechnical frameworks of memory we believe that the field of memory studies will be able to address and critically assess contemporary media and memory entanglements.

Notes

1. By using the word “exploiting”, we refer to the appropriation of data (e.g. posts, pictures, count of likes) published in the past and reissued to their original authors in a mnemonic and, at times, nostalgic manner. This practice also provides Facebook with new forms of engagement that make users access the platform and generate revenue to the company.

2. As of January 2018, a survey demonstrated that this age group was the most representative among Brazilian Facebook users: women and men from 25 to 34 years of age, 14% and 14% respectively. (We are Social 2018).

3. In this regard, it is worth mentioning issues related to the lack of control and privacy (denounced by activist and lawyer Max Schrems at least since 2011), uses of data for political purposes (2018 Cambridge Analytica Scandal) and the impossibility of disconnecting through the so-called “digital suicide” (Lagerkvist 2017).

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