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A Pool of Dreams: Facebook, Politics and the Emergence of a Social Movement

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ABSTRACT
In this paper we present insights from an empirical analysis of data from an emergent social movement primarily located on a Facebook page to contribute understanding of the conduct of everyday politics in social media and through this open up research agendas for HCI. The analysis focuses on how interactions and contributions facilitated the emergence of a collective with political will. We lay out an exploration of the intrinsic relationship between cultural memories, cultural expression and everyday politics and show how diverging voices co-constructed dynamic collectives capable of political action. We look at how interactions through the Facebook page challenge traditional ways for conceiving politics and the political. We outline possible research agendas in the field of everyday politics, which are sensitive to the everyday acts of resistance enclosed in the ordinary.

Author Keywords
Social media; discourse; activism; collectives; politics

ACM Classification Keywords
H.5.m. Information interfaces and presentation (e.g., HCI): Miscellaneous.

INTRODUCTION
There has been increasing interest in the role of social media and the design of systems to serve a socio-political function [5], and in the facilitation of the mobilization and organization of social movement for socio-political action and social change [26]. Social movements have been defined as "collective challenges, based on common purposes and social solidarities, in sustained interaction with elites, opponents, and authorities" [34]. Research in this field has focused on the mobilization of social actors [39, 40], the role of storytelling in social movements [6], and the development of systems to support civic

engagement for reflection and action [19]. Other research strands have examined the role of technology as an active political agent [9] and the necessity for bottom up approaches to the design of system in support of grassroots practices [23]. However, the HCI community is just beginning to understand the way social media enable members of the public and communities to construct collectives of social movements to affect change in the politics of everyday life.

In this paper, we explore the role of social media in facilitating the emergence of social movements and the potential for an understanding of the political as complex, contingent and contextual, embedded in the concerns of everyday life. We situate this work within a discourse analysis of the Facebook (FB) page of a local activist group concerned with the redevelopment of a derelict outdoor swimming pool. The social movement evolves from the re-imagining of the pool, as a multiplicity of perspectives fosters a political potential to affect change. This political potential is exposed on the FB page as a representation of posters' opinions and wishes assembled on the page.

We contribute the findings of an empirical investigation, which shows how the appropriation of FB technology is intertwined with the creation of a social movement and its mobilization in socio-political action. The paper makes this contribution through an exploration of the 'work' of socio-political discourse in social media and an empirical analysis of the evolution of collectives through everyday rhetoric. We provide a theoretical framework for the analysis, looking at the way power is performed through everyday rhetoric, as the study of "who is trying to do what to whom with emphasis on how and why they are doing it" ([15] p.5). Through these contributions we challenge traditional understanding of politics and the political, and how we can conceive of HCI interest in technology and everyday politics.

BACKGROUND AND RELATED WORK
The role of social computing in socio-political action has been an area of interest in a variety of disciplines, where the communication [3], medium [36], and design of technology [18, 10] are understood to play a significant role. In this regard, HCI research has focused on developing 'socio-technical' systems to support social movements achieving their goals [5], to support community action [1], urban

activists practices [18], collective expression [7] and creative and critical engagements with technology in order to support vibrant political communities [8]. Such work ranges from the design of systems for recruitment of individuals to political causes [18, 26], to the requirements of systems to support socio-political action, such as citizen science [1] and health promotion [29]. In this final instance, Parker et al. [29] argue for a thorough understanding of the context in which technologies operate to facilitate and enable collectives to affect social change. Equally, [24] underline the necessity to understand existing cultural practices in uses of social media in order to foster radical approaches to the design and co-design of systems to support meaningful civic engagement. To this end researchers have looked at the potential of design to open up spaces in which to contest, question and challenge matters of concern [4, 8]. Importantly, such work explores how technology and participatory design processes create agonistic spaces where discussions can engender innovative solutions amongst divergent 'voices' [4, 8].

In this way, social media have been largely regarded as one space offering opportunities for alternative discursive modes, broadening participation in political discourses, and activism. As social media and interactive systems have come to be enmeshed in everyday life, they are contributing to the change of the very notion of the public sphere [28], the modalities and spaces where we come together to discuss what matters to us. For instance, [14] argue for the democratic potential of social media to increase political participation where the quality of deliberation can benefit from affordances such as identifiability and information access. However, scholars have questioned to what extent these online practices are stimulating meaningful political participation and 'deepening' democracy in any significant way [37].

Attention has also been drawn to the uncertain interpersonal dynamics of such discursive spaces, and the need for facilitation in forming and co-constructing thoughtful political opinions and arguments [14, 36, 25]. For instance, Mascaro et al. show, through empirical data analysis from a Facebook activist group, how administrators have considerable control in setting agendas, and debates, but that equally the most contentious debates emerged through posters' engagement with the group [25]. Their findings highlighted a structural evolution on the media page where engagement and the role of administration changed over time. Through analysis of data from Twitter, Segerberg and Bennet [2, 33] find similar gatekeeping mechanisms in online practices, encouraging certain organizing actions and preventing others. Equally, Uldam and Askanius, examining the affordances of Youtube's architecture as a platform for political debate in the context of media activism, highlighted a complex interplay between political expression and censorship [36].

There has been considerable skepticism in regard to online activists' practices, seen as ephemeral and limited in relation to the change they wish to achieve, with studies questioning the value of online and social media practices, also referred to as 'Slacktivism' [31, 22, 27]. Yet, other scholars have highlighted the potential of these practices, in providing an organizational aid for protests [32], raising awareness in relation to marginalized citizen's concerns and rights [35], and also as providing a new space to enter in dialogue with the State. In this regard, [30] analyzed how local activists appropriated a social media site, generating alternative modalities of dialogue with the government, thus questioning the efficacy of existing 'official' channels of communication between citizens and the State.

At the core of these studies lies the idea that technology cannot 'do' social change for people, but it can facilitate those processes. Research should therefore endeavor to build an understanding of why and how people become advocates for social change, the mechanisms that bring people together and how collectives are formed [29]. With this paper, we focus on a case study of small-scale socio-political action, where we are interested in understanding the mechanisms at play in the emergence of a social movement among citizens engaged in discussions on a FB page in order to affect the changes they wish for in their everyday life. We seek to shed light on the complexities of social movement formation for everyday socio-political action for change and further understand the relationship between cultural expression and socio-political action.

FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

We utilized a discourse analysis approach that focuses on understanding what people 'do' with their talk and the resources they use in the construction of the self, other and alternative realities [38]. Discourse analysis (DA) is helpful for this study as it looks at how people's versions of the world are gathered to perform social action and how these personal versions of the world can counter real and potential alternatives. DA recognizes the power inherent in an utterance to produce and construct objects and subjectivities that delineate modalities of what can be seen, said and acted upon [11]. In this sense what is said is inextricably linked to what is done and can be done. A Foucauldian approach to discourses analysis [11] emphasizes the way that through discourse, power is exercised throughout society. That is the manner in which through talk we produce knowledges and meanings in whose terms 'things' are done. This approach to knowledge production and its constitutive practices, however, points towards disciplinary practices that entrap and preclude possibilities for social actors to produce alternatives to the existing power structures [12]. Sometimes Foucault makes for a fatalistic impression as if we are locked into modes of saying and therefore doing, which replicate existing power structures in society, which we are incapable of changing.

Hauser [16] offers an alternative approach to understanding discourse, which recognizes social actors' fundamental capacity to challenge the status quo and expose opportunities for alternatives to emerge. Hauser locates the possibilities for social action in and through everyday talk: "*through discourse, social actors produce society*" ([15] p.112), whereby everyday talk (what he calls "vernacular rhetoric") has both a reflective and a constitutive function in society. It is through everyday talk that social actors express their values, where what is to be considered meaningful is attained through discursive practices and processes of negotiation within and between social groups. Hauser emphasizes the roles of memory and narrative in society for their potential to generate common understanding among people, and motivate common action. In recent years, the study of rhetoric has expanded to include visual representations, everyday talk, graffiti, music and bodily displays [16], and we argue can extend to the study of technology and social media in the course of political action. We therefore propose a broader understanding of politics, across everyday life, and as the process of negotiation that social actors undertake in deciding how they should live together and what should be considered meaningful [21].

Hauser's model of vernacular rhetoric identifies political resistance in seemingly mundane acts performed by ordinary people in their daily lives [16]. This model highlights how the *'rubbing up'* of multiple, diverging opinions (*'polyvocality'*) has the potential to engender alternatives to dominant power structures. Social movements' everyday talk, in Hauser's terms, *performs power*, often in unnoticed ways, through mundane acts that construct social movements through expressions of *solidarity*. By expressing our own opinion or position, we can oppose, support, or negate the position of others. In so doing, everyday talk collectivizes through '*markers of positionality*' (e.g. use of particular language, or other modes of identification) generating explorations of alternative meanings. It also creates *'negative bonding'* with the opposition to ascertain and define the movements' visions and aims, and performs, what Hauser calls, '*acts of gentle violence'* to comply with the values underpinning the movement [16]. In this respect, Hauser suggests social movements' talk is at once inclusive and exclusive, defining participants whose discourse displays membership and bonds of ambition. '*Acts of gentle violence'* might thus be slight or subtle omissions, intentionally labeling someone or something as 'our' or 'their', 'us' or 'them'.

By exploring interactions in everyday talk as elements of change we can question the complexities of power relations in society and of personal and collective agency [16]. This theoretical perspective informs our analysis, highlighting the necessity to develop analytic sensitivities that uncover resistance in seemingly mundane acts. By shifting our focus to "*discourses that originate under the surface of an official discourse [...] a model of vernacular rhetoric may detect spontaneous moments of an alternative consciousness of reality as they form and emerge*" ([16], p.45).

In this paper, we explore the use of FB as a platform that enables people to co-construct 'alternative' possibilities through everyday talk, facilitating the formation of social collectives with a political potential to affect change. We argue therefore that FB can be seen as technology by which power is performed, exposed and concealed through the multiple layers which comprise digital objects: the semantic layer, such as the content of a post, the network layer, which connects digital objects to other informational networks and a third layer establishing positions among users and digital objects [20].

CASE STUDY
Tynemouth is a small seaside town situated in the North East of England. The town has 17,075 inhabitants and hosts a number of visitors and surfers each week. "Tynemouth Outdoor Swimming Pool" is a derelict site located on Tynemouth seafront. The open-air swimming pool, designed to be filled with seawater by the incoming tide, first opened to the public in 1925. The swimming pool was an important attraction for local families and tourists when lidos and open-air swimming pools became symbols of civic pride and progress. Following the arrival of overseas holiday packages, indoor leisure centers and the monitoring and regulation of health and safety, the pool fell in disuse and became derelict in the 1980s. In 1996 the local council converted the site into a natural 'rock pool' intended to host the natural flora and fauna by filling it with concrete, sand and rocks. However, the design of the natural rock pool never functioned as originally conceived, and the site went through further dereliction causing disappointment in the local community. In recent years several proposals to convert the site back to its original use, had been put forward by private investors to the local council unsuccessfully.

The 'Friends of Tynemouth Outdoor Pool' (FoTOP) FB page was set up in 2010 by a group of four local residents with the aim of probing public interest regarding the possibility of reconverting the site to its original use. The page, set up for "*those who are interested in the past, present and future of Tynemouth Outdoor Pool*", remained fairly inactive (having only 9 followers) for a period of two years. The page gained sudden and significant interest following the publication of the council's planning proposal[1] on August 6th 2012 to convert the site into a multipurpose facility comprising of a beach volley court and an open-air theatre. Under UK planning law, once a planning application is submitted, the general public has a relatively short period (3-8 weeks) to express 'material' objections on the council website. The FoTOP FB page swiftly extended into a public forum, (growing from 9 to

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[1] http://goo.gl/BOZ5ea

4463 followers within the first 48 hours, then to 8000 within the first month), where memories, opinions, discussions relating to the site and the possibility to reinstate the swimming pool unfolded. Public engagement on the social media page crystallized into an active campaign. The administrators of the page started a counter-consultation in order to collect 'official' data to present to the local council. This was publicized on the FB page on August 16th, and on the streets. The campaigners convened a flash-mob protest on the pool site on August 19th, which around 200 people attended. They also organized mainstream media coverage where the FB page campaign was further publicized. Residents also submitted online formal objections to the council proposal on the council website and wrote directly to the local mayor. The campaign was successful to the extent that the council withdrew its proposal on August 24th. Thereafter a number of offline meetings and *'critical friends events'* took place, where volunteers and professionals convened to probe prospects of restoring the pool as a community project. FoTOP initiated cooperation with the council in order to bring the project to fruition. The group produced their own planning proposal[2] to redevelop the pool, benefiting from voluntary and free professional help attained through the FoTOP page. The proposal was submitted on January 14th 2013 and the group is currently fundraising to make the swimming pool project a reality.

Our analysis covers the interactions taking place on the social media page. We focus primarily on the emergence of the social movement and campaign as it is played out on the FB page alone from the day the council proposal was published on the FoTOP page. Although FB interactions are just one part of the campaign, we look at how the movement was formed prominently through those interactions and the way social media become the site where socio-political, cultural and economic contexts are articulated and developed [10]. That is, the FB page is a site for the production of the social movement reflecting and enabling the offline actions of the movement through shared articulation of values, aims and achievements.

ANALYSIS
The data set was retrieved through the FB graph API and comprises of 620 parent-posts and 3987 comments (a total of 4607 digital objects) that were posted on the page between August 2012 and January 2013. We conducted qualitative analysis of the data set with a discourse analysis approach [38]. The empirical data were coded and three analytic clusters were inductively generated: 'memories and nostalgia for the future', 'nurturing a political potential', and 'activating the political'. In each area, we look at how the functionalities and architecture of FB were appropriated to make it a tool for political discussion and action. We report pseudonymised quotes from the data set to illustrate

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[2]http://goo.gl/gPQgos

discursive processes in temporal order (confirmatory responses are omitted from this paper for lack of space). Through this we chart the process in which FoTOP formed as a social movement capable of political action.

Memories and Nostalgia for the Future
The FB page functions as a repository of life moments - memories inviting others to remember, imagine and project their visions into the future. Old black and white photographs and old film footage of the swimming pool prompt stories and memories of the site when it was in use. As stories and memories accumulate, further stories and memories are posted in response to one another. These acts of remembrance sketch out moments of childhood, growing up, learning to swim, and social events that took place on the site: swimming galas, picnics with family members and neighbors. Here is a typical example.

"All of our neighbours used to meet in there we loved it ,even when i look at it now it stirs millions of childhood fun filled memories, we always sat in the same spot, and as soon as mam dozed off to sleep i used to get my three sisters and climb over onto the beach, it was all such a big adventure .best years of my life,xxxxx" (Julie , 08.14.12)

It is notable here how the poster creates a vivid reminiscence of the past, connecting the pool to their habits as a family, to their cheeky unruliness as children, and to its status as a meeting point for their neighborhood. This is underlined by quantifiers: *all* of the neighbors met at the pool, *millions* of memories are stirred. The glimpses of the past given by such vignettes enable other posters to respond with and intertwine their reminiscences. The posts take on semi-ritualistic properties, whereby posters deposit their memories one after the other. Consider the following pair:

"I remember going there with mam and dad and my 2 brothers I learnt to swim there." (Tom, 08.15.12)

"I learnt to swim in this pool as a little girl…" (Suzy, 08.15.12)

As a pair, the posts link up and intertextually reinforce each other, linking the end of the first with the beginning of the second to create a cultural ideal of children learning to swim with their families. In the terms of Ingold [17], the reminiscences invite the reader to fill the gaps, respond to and establish affinity with others. They operate as temporal windows across time and space: "tracing a path that others can follow, they offer guidance without specification" [17]. Indeed, it is their very under-specification, which allows people to associate their experience with other's stories and which gives the vignettes relevance across space and time. The stories and memories enable an imagining, which the readers and posters can project onto their own families and onto future generations.

"I have only known this pool in its current state yet got to see my dads photos and hear stories of it as a pool, I'd love to see this outdoor pool restored to its original use, so my kids get a chance to experience this pool – people don't need a sea side theatre – it wouldn't get used." (Fiona, 08.20.12)

This post indicates how the stories of the pool can elicit support from those who did not actually experience it in its heyday and how these stories give the basis for endeavoring action and resistance. However, posts questioned such acts of remembrance as unhelpful *"cosy nostalgia"*.

"Guys, we're talking about years ago now... Its never going to be like that again, its one of those things where they look at it as a statue, will never be taken down... Nor will it be changed, I would love for it, but the likelihood of it happening?" (John, 08.15.12)

The post here makes an appeal to a kind of "realism" to counter the imaginings based in reliving the past, by suggesting that returning to the past might be akin to creating something lifeless and fixed. However the discourse is carefully articulated so that the poster is presented as a fellow reader, as one of the "guys" who "would love for" things to be changed. Here those who deposit memories and remember are discerned from those who observe these enactments, and offer a discursive reflection about it. This acceptance is in turn challenged.

"Stick with it John *Yep... its not gonna be the same, but the council just want to concrete it over and turn it into a raised artificial beach. The cheapest solution to their problem. [...] if we dont give it a go... we'll kick ourselves" (Ben, admin, 08.16.12)*

As the FB page gathers more public attention, FB's multimodal functionalities begin to be seen as a way to build support. Photographs and links to related successful projects add to people's responses and reflections. The next extract entails the possibility that enhancing people's nostalgia will promote the campaign.

"[...] Also can photos be added to the group as I'm sure many people in the local area will have photos of the pool being used all those years ago. just might help to get more likes and help people feel nostalgic about it all?![...]" (Harriet, 08.19.12)

In this case posting photographs on the FB page is a means to *perform* nostalgia and persuade others to 'like' the page and support the cause. As photographs and narratives prompt envisioning and re-imagining of the pool, they come to intertwine with other arguments: links to official documents regarding heritage legislations; documents of council consultations that led to the current planning proposal; and successful open-air swimming pools. This 'meshwork' of rhetorical resources is used to inspire, validate and synthetize the "dream" in real-life contexts.

Nurturing a 'political potential'

Discussions in relation to the possibility of reinstating the pool unfolds, as well as explicit political discourses related to demands for activities for families and children, healthy lifestyles, effective economic regeneration of the area, and discourses expressing a general dissatisfaction with the current and previous council's management of the town. Various people bring their own socio-political issues to the page, recognizing the possibility of seeing their wishes and desires brought to fruition.

" [...] Try to not make it too expensive to get in please as it will put a lot of people off.... And the public who would of appreciated the most would be put off coming [...]" (Charlotte, 08.17.12)

"i am now of an age when it would be so good to have that pool [...] as with two active grandsons i could watch them every min and feel safe [..] while in the healthy sea air.[...]" (Sue, 08.15.12)

"Another thought...in the aftermath of the Olympics, the government supposedly want to encourage more sport, and it would be a great time to introduce a pool [...]. Also, by encouraging exercise in a fun way, people can lose weight and get healthy, so reducing costs to the NHS." (Thom, 08.16.12)

"I've been having a think about some of the issues that would make it difficult to turn it into a pool. I'm just stating them so we are all aware. [...] these are things that I don't know the solutions to [...]. But if you want to launch a credible opposition to the current plans you need to be clued up. Good luck as ever and see you on Sunday!" (Truman, 08.17.12)

Posters are discursively engaging with social, economic and political mechanisms at play in the construction of society. These initiate processes of discursive negotiation on how they should go about opposing the council proposal and restoring the pool. It is notable how the use of different pronouns, 'we', 'you', and 'they' indicate different modalities of participation and degrees of (devolution or retention) of responsibility in respect to the matter. While there is notable enthusiasm for the redevelopment of the pool, and posters connect this possibility to other political concerns, the discourse of the page is not unanimous.

"Am I the only person who thinks it is absolutely ridiculous to even consider restoring the pool!? let's start being sensible about this, rather than giving into childhood nostalgia!"(Nick, 08.15.12)

"It would definitely be better put to use as something else OTHER than a swimming pool. I have named a couple of ideas earlier. What else do you lot think it could be turned into?? [...] DEFFO NOT A FREEZING, OPEN AIR SWIMMING POOL, NO THANK YOU." (Rachel, 08.16.12)

The poster above links into arguments previously made. In this way she presents herself as a positive thinker, not to be rejected for contradicting the idea of redeveloping the pool. Indeed this prompted discussions on the feasibility and costs of developing a heated pool. However several posters were keen to formulate a sense of the majority view and recognised the impossibility of reaching unanimity.

"There are no public outdoor pools in the north east - plenty of skateboard parks and restaurants though - looking at the comments far more people for it than against it so the majority say its a great idea - the price of diplomacy is that not everyone can agree - but facts are facts. :-) BRING BACK THE POOL." (Gemma, 08.17.12)

FB's functionality whereby people can scroll down and read other's people posts, is used to show where opinions may incline. The display of different comments on the page is used to validate the formation of a collective whose aims are beyond simply dissenting the council proposal.

"surely the people who make the decisions about the whole issue should read all these comments, at the end of the day it is us the normal everyday family who would use this facility, an artificial beach is crazy. [...] Let us bring back a sense of community through fresh air and family enjoyment. Lets get behind this campaign" (Bob, 08.16.12)

The statement above, challenging and critiquing the authority, *"the people who make the decisions"*, is directed to the FoTOP page readers and posters to initiate a collective that politically validates people' wishes and opinions as they unfold. The continued collective discourse exposes social actors' realization of the efficacy of FB as a channel by which a variety of modalities of expressions close to their everyday socio-cultural lives can be voiced.

"We have seen some very positive changes in our world by using social media [...] Let's not be misled by statements from our Council of what the majority what [want] *- it has been made clear today that the restoration of our open air pool is what we really want (Tina 16.08.12)"*

"I am glad this page is here, finally the public gets a say" (Joe, 16.08.12)

The FoTOP page is presented as addressing the lack of dialogue with the local council and a subsequent lack of understanding of people's daily realities and wishes. With this emerging political consciousness, the FB page begins to represent, for these posters, a potentially impactful form of expression. The FB page offers a platform where discursive processes take place, but also where a community of support is formed, one that can make the pool a reality.

"Consider forgetting about the council having the funding or the resource (or vision...) to develop this as a serious project on their own [...] call and visit the outdoor pools who have established a sustainable model, figure out how much money you need, raise it from multiple interested parties, craic on and run it as a social enterprise. Consider it not least cos you're onto a winner." (Simon, 16.08.12)

"Now why didn't we think of that! Lets stop this farce of an application first and look at developing our own funding strategy, using the MASSIVE skill base that has surfaced on here over the last 48 hours!" (Ben, admin, 17.08.12)

The focus here shifts from the council to the political potentials of the emerging movement itself, which now comprises a constituency offering a range of voluntary and professional help to facilitate the pool redevelopment.

Activating the political
The rubbing together [16] of these discourses delineates a polyvocal collective, fostering a process of political consciousness by which posters become more aware of what they want and come to perceive the FoTOP page as a political space. In this regard, the FB functionality of 'likes' and comments are considered means to call the council proposal into question.

"according to the current application lodged with planning for the artificial beach, 5 public consultations have revealed that no-one actually wants the pool back!!! The more people we get on here... ie "likes" and especially positive comments will go along way to disproving this." (Ben, admin, 08.16.12)

Following the significant number of memories, opinions and discussions shared on the FoTOP page, the administrator proposes to collect opinions in a way that can to be used 'officially', as evidence to the local council.

"This FB page is a testament to how passionate you all are about the pool, and how you would like to see it used [...] However we need to turn all of this energy into something a little more useful, [...] I am going to set up a an online form which we'll use to collate responses and opinions in a way that can be used 'officially' and in a way that will have a little more credibility than a FB page..." (Ben, admin, 08.17.12)

The statement above marks an important moment in three ways. First, the administrator openly recognizes contributions on the FoTOP page. Second, by positioning his action (i.e. setting up an online form), as a means for collective action (i.e. "we'll use to collate responses and opinions") the admin starts an "official" campaign. Third, it heightens the credibility of the administration and the campaign through recognition of existing political power structures and "official" channels. The statement also illustrates how the administrator does not see FB as an "official" political tool. The campaign proceeds through a multidirectional approach to action. A flash-mob protest takes place on site on August 19th, providing mainstream media coverage. FB posters contribute to the group's "official" counter consultation, write to the local council and formally object the proposal. The campaign successfully forces the council to withdraw its proposal.

"so proud to be part of something so special [...] we don't need to resort to back handed tactics or violent protests to get what we want, sometimes just a bit of well mannered but firm objection (backed by 7000) can get the job done! Well done and keep up the good work, I hope we will find a solution that suits everyone!" (Lesley, 08.25.12)

The poster expresses here the close feeling developed in relation to the campaign and the formation of a collective striving towards the same aims. Being heard and obtaining their wishes (victory) are displayed as a rare achievement. The poster presents the quantified support of likes as one of the elements contributing to their 'victory'. However, the validity, lack of identifiable information and geographical provenance of 'likes' are questioned and so is the consensus relating to the redevelopment of the pool.

"Sorry to put a downer on your jubilation, but the number of people who like your fb page do not necessarily agree that the pool should be reinstated. Also, your group represents a minority of residents and therefore is a minority voice." (Sarah, 08.24.12)

"So what if everyone who likes this page is not a local [...]. Change can be brought about by and I think we have proved there is sufficient support to at least attempt this challenge for future generations." (Angela, 08.25.12)

The ability to bring together a large number of people into a common cause simply through 'liking' a page creates a previously unknown constituency. The mundane act, 'like', creates a strength and support that can be used politically by the group to endeavour the redevelopment of the pool. In this regard FB functionality of 'Insights' provides the administrators with detailed data analysis of the numbers of people, gender, age, location, language spoken, and sources of like (recommended, mobile, on page). This information is used to suggest that through 'friends of friends' the group is a much larger political 'constituency' than its actual membership. The knowledge of quantification of the admin allows him to paint a picture of the state of the campaign that without FB wouldn't be able to attain.

"our Facebook page data tells us that we actually have a grand total of 1,047,591 friends between us [...] Imagine what we could achieve with that many supporters [...] The fact that so many people are actively participating, talking, debating (and even just reading) demonstrates how much we all care about this [...]. But what's even more exciting is that you're all part of what could potentially be one of the North East's biggest and most exciting coastal regeneration projects in a long, long time. This is how history is made, folks [...]" (Ben, admin, 08.27.12)

The quantification of likes and FB Insight enables the admin to prompt excitement for the campaign and establishing a sense of support with FB others, whereby the page acts as bonding mechanism among people. For the page admin, contributors and 'likers' of the FoTOP page are now equally considered part of the campaign. However, opposing political purposes are continually expressed, diverging opinions intersect on the page exposing a multiple, polyvocal collective, in the Hauserian sense [16].

"Regeneration...I'm so confused as to why residents say no to the councils proposals... I live in Whitley Bay and it upsets me to see the area so run down, the shops empty. May be residents need to start shopping locally and supporting local business we all need to put extra effort into helping rebuild the towns, but it starts with us not the council." (Pauline, 08.30.12)

Here the poster disconnects with the campaigners' motivations for dissent. She places herself 'out' of the emergent movement, but 'in' the collective of residents who share the same town, initiating a reflective process in relation to a broader proactive attitude beyond the cause.

"the residents want something worthwhile to draw in visitors. The council just wanted to stick a cheap, meaningless plaster on an eye sore..." (Roy, 08.30.12)

"[...] This group does not exist simply to upset the council. [...] All I would do is ask you to read some of the posts/comments on this page and keep an open mind." (Gavin, 08.31.12)

The movement is here presented as a committed collective with a proactive and positive attitude and the posts on the page are used to engender public understanding on the matter. Indeed once rhetorical connections are made between intertwined personal recollections and opinions, criticism relating to the return of the pool, is countered.

These connections enable a strong sense of a collectivity to emerge, a sense of 'we' and what is 'ours', even to the point that negative thinking should be discouraged.

"as a child I was one of hundreds of children who every summer enjoyed that pool [...] and without romantic dreams and the enthusiasm of these people a fantastic piece of our heritage will just be another eyesore on our beautiful coastline and remember it is not just the people of Tynemouth that remember and loved this pool so quite frankly if you cannot be positive about this perhaps it would be better to keep your opinion about this to a minimum" (Rob, 09.01.12)

As the campaigners endeavor into making the outdoor pool a reality, they also come to realize the 'dream' is a big challenge, one that requires self-belief and positive thinking and a degree of like-mindedness. The control of the administrator over the content of the timeline, and the comments that are allowed, is also significant.

"Hi P. constructive and/or critical feedback is always welcome. So, if you've got some in depth research, or inside/industry knowledge, or some solid financials/projections to back any of this up, or even if you know anyone who has, it would be great if you could share it/them with us. [...] you also now appear to be insulting and patronizing over 8,000 people while you're doing it. [...] Everyone else, you may want to read this: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Troll_(Internet) I'll be quite happy to delete any comments that are solely designed to provoke, rather than offer constructive debate." (Ben, admin, 09.03.12)

Unconstructive provocations on the page are singled out. The administrator takes on an editorial control to ensure that both positive contributions and constructive debates are taking place providing 'acceptable parameters' of participation. For the next poster these are essential requirements for the group in order to face the task ahead.

"[...] I must say I feel very passionate in the quest to re-open what was once an extremely popular community facility. In the main the comments on this page have been extremely constructive and professional. At the end of the day we really do need to work in partnership with our local council, who [...] have very much listened to the 'community' and abandoned their original redevelopment plans. Now we have arrived at this point let's keep the momentum and work alongside our council to bring this dream back to a reality. [...] I am a professional businessperson who would be more than willing to offer some of my time to this worthy project" (Dale, 30.08.12)

The poster's reflection initiates the prospect and necessity to cooperate with the local council in order to realize the pool as a project. It is notable the use of pronoun "we" and "I" denoting the interplay between personal feelings and agency and collective agency in the attainment of common good. In the next post the potential realization of the pool project through cooperation with the council produces enthusiasm also in relation to other future prospects.

"my family are very excited about this proposal getting the full backing off NCC, hopefully we can all work together and try to rebuild Tynemouth [...]" (Claire, 01.17.13)

The poster here presents the possibility of rebuilding the town itself as a collective matter that can be achieved through dialogue and cooperation between residents and the local council.

DISCUSSION

The visibility of posters' memories and discussions facilitated the process of ascertaining what was meaningful among them. The interactions on the FB page became a prominent means by which a collective capable of affecting material change formed. The findings challenge the way we conceive of politics, exposing the possibilities for an understanding of the political as a matter of everyday life and embedded in ordinary people's mundane acts. In the following section, we discuss how HCI might conceive of: the ways we design to support social actors in discourse; how digital objects and functionalities can be appropriated into everyday political acts; and how everyday ways of doing and saying, including the use of digital systems, constitutes the political.

Collectivizing discourses

Hauser suggests that cultural memory relates to questions of power in two ways: how people draw resources from the past to shape their present and future; and how people resist attempts by others to distort and appropriate their memories and experiences [15]. The seemingly mundane acts of sharing memories and old photographs on the FB page may be considered as *implicit acts of political resistance* and *solidarity* as those memories were antithetical to the council's proposal. They synthesized the 'dream' and invited others to associate and join in acts of imagination, resistance and solidarity. Nostalgia, often understood as inert dwelling in the past, here is about the awakening of a set of values, inscribed in personal meanings, which collectively 'make' the outdoor pool. It is the exposure of individual and 'private' values that, allowing the discovery and recognition of commonalities, engenders the formation of collectives [30]. Studies in HCI and related fields have illustrated the benefits of shared subjective experiences and opinions for citizen activism and social movements [3, 2, 6, 30]. For instance [6] highlighted how crowd-sourced storytelling helped people with similar life experiences collectively define an issue and act upon it in a sensitive context. This study shows such processes extended to cultural expressions and memory in everyday talk.

Yet, as FB pages are open to anyone to contribute to, the polyvocality of diverging opinions around the issue was manifest. These engendered discursive and reflective processes towards the definition of the movement aims and a political consciousness with a broader sense of activism. Prior research has underlined the necessity for political spaces fostering discussion through the exposure of a multiplicity of perspectives in the quest of common solutions [8, 4]. However, we account for a tension between multiple perspectives and the attainment of material change.

As the movement's aims are defined (the redevelopment of the pool), posters discourage negative contributions and the page admin suggests censoring what he considers unconstructive provocations. While issues of censorship of opinions limiting productive discourse were highlighted in other studies of political discourse in social media such as [25, 36], Hauser provides a nuanced reading for these behaviors. In his terms, these *'acts of gentle violence to conform'* exemplify the way, once relations are established in social movements through affiliation, a demand for commitment and allegiance to the aims of the movement is required [16]. Thus we recognize that *what collectivizes also excludes* in the struggle to affect material change. Future work might consider the ways in which the 'administration' of social media can go unseen, and design in relation to this by exposing the 'gentle violence' of political participation. Likewise, we might use digital systems to expose the ways citizens are excluded in traditional political systems.

Appropriation of Facebook functionalities

HCI research has explored social media systems as political actors offering broadcasting mechanisms to foster activism in health contexts [29] and as tool for citizen participation and protest organization in countries of political conflict [39, 40]. For instance, [39] indicated how people in Tunisia appropriated FB to turn a network of friends into a platform for political activism. In the current study the FB page is not just used to raise awareness on the issue and organize offline protests, but also as a forum for discussion, where public opinion develops. The FB page structure, facilitating the visibility of discourses, is used to generate further discussions, engender understanding, and indicate where people's values may lie. The page is appropriated as representation of the political will of the people assembled on it, as a living document of their wishes and opinions [21]. It is used as a display of resistance and support, and as an argument upon which the campaign and plans to produce a counter proposal to reinstate the pool, develop.

Qualitative (memories, opinions, visuals, links) and quantitative data (likes and quantification) work together to form the movement's discourses. In this respect the mundane act of pressing 'like', establishes a network of support and affiliations entailing consequences [10]. 'Likes' and corresponding quantification are appropriated as a means to distribute information, raise belief in the campaign and, as perceived by posters, apply pressure to authorities. While some posters and the page admin interpret 'likes' (and quantification) as valid expressions of support, others dispute such interpretation. It is the hidden articulations behind the 'likes' [20], their ambiguous and polysemic meaning, which allows their use as rhetorical means. Crucially important is not only data collection, but also its interpretation, i.e. the 'story' that is constructed with it. The work of 'likes' in this sense, is intertwined with the 'work' of memories and opinions displayed on the FB page.

Research into citizen science, [1, 26] highlights how data collection was seen as a way to promote activism, influence and apply pressure, but equally how it depended on interpretation. This study can lead to important questions in relation to data collection and its use. Future work might explore the affordances of online digital objects (i.e. beyond the like button) to make articulations more transparent and dynamic facilitating the visibility of discursive processes and assisting collective interpretation.

Everyday talk and politics

FB multimodal communication opens avenues for different modalities of cultural expression and participation, embracing some of the diversity of everyday talk. FB provides a space where people can formulate their cultural voice [13]. Cultural expressions of individuals who in their everyday life perform a multiplicity of roles (citizen, parent, tourist, shop keeper, etc.) comprise personal values and memories as well as economic and political discourses. The findings illustrate a complex notion of the 'civic', one in which personal stories, opinions and wishes blur with communitarian duties to achieve public good [24]. The study presents a challenge to the dichotomy between private and public, the social and the political. What is personally meaningful and what civic might be are contextual, contingent and dynamic affairs that are produced through discursive processes in any given social group [15].

In our findings, FB interactions and data play a crucial role in the formation of the movement, but are also perceived by the admin as not 'officially' valid, at least not alone. This exemplifies, in Hauser's model, the way social movements can be aware of forms of governance and regulation and have an intrinsic need to react to those in power [16]. However, Hauser suggests, unofficial and official discourses should not be conceived in opposition, but in dialogical relationship with one another, illustrating the diversity of ways social actors strive to achieve change. In this way we can begin to conceive of the political as existing across everyday life, rather than existing solely in official spaces allocated to it. Building on [10], the findings suggest an understanding of politics as the result of social actors' complex reflexive and discursive processes to negotiate and ascertain what is common and meaningful in order to affect the changes they wish in their everyday life. Thus political consciousness starts with the visibility and the recognition of everyday acts of resistance performed by ordinary people [16].

As technology becomes the site where socio-cultural, economic and political contexts evolve [10], we argue for the necessity for HCI to develop methods and sensitivities to recognize and increase our understanding of the impact of technology on social actors' everyday rhetorical forms. Our findings show how the FB page rendered different ways of 'seeing' the world (memories, opinions and 'likes') into 'objects' that could be seen, talked about and acted upon, which led to dynamic processes of negotiation among people. By interpreting 'likes' as merely mundane acts, and online activism in terms of individual moral cleansing [22], we are in danger of failing to understand the ability of social actors to display political resistance and the diversity of ways in which they participate in affecting change.

CONCLUSION

The FB page provided the visibility for cultural expressions (personal memories, stories, etc.) and opinions relating to the issue of the pool that sparked discussion and debate among posters. In the context of the planning proposal, these were ways of saying and doing, which allowed individuals, and the collective, to begin to shape the outdoor pool as a possible reality. The appropriation of FB's functionalities and exposure of the social actors' discursive processes had a central role in facilitating the construction of a common vision and the definition of the movement. Hauser's theoretical model of everyday talk [15, 16] can help us recognize agency and political resistance in everyday talk and the mechanisms at play in social movement formation in everyday politics. This opens up avenues for nuanced ways in which we can conceive of politics and activism in HCI. We call for future work to look more closely at the mechanisms at play in the politics of participation and power relations in social movements and design for and expose the nuances of complex discursive processes to action for change.

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