GRAD SCHOOL 2.0: PERFORMING PROFESSIONALISM ON SOCIAL MEDIA

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Graduate students often perform dual roles within universities while earning their degrees. While they remain students, they occupy professional positions at the university through research or teaching positions as they develop as scholars contributing research to their fields. Allison D. Carr, Hannah J. Rule, and Kathryn Trauth Taylor (2013) emphasized the informal mentoring networks through which graduate students develop identities as teachers and scholars, describing these professionalization processes as often "patchworked" and ad-hoc. Graduate students develop professional identities not only through formal instruction, but also through informal networks of collaboration and mentoring. These informal professionalization practices become more complicated as students enter digital spaces with fewer established rules for interaction (Carr et al., 2013).

This chapter explores the implications for extending this professionalization process into online spaces through social media. The role of online digital media in graduate students' ongoing development as scholars is an open and continually evolving question. Communication within academic fields has expanded beyond professional listservs to conversations on social media. Twitter has become an important platform not only to connect with scholars who share research interests, but also to interact at conferences. An archive of tweets using the hashtag for the 2016 Conference on College Composition and Communication, for example, contained over 12,000 tweets over the course of the conference (Chen, 2016). While the field of writing studies has frequently examined graduate student literacy practices, using social media in a professional context is far from a settled question within the field and in the profession as a whole.[5] The process of professionalization remains ad hoc for established scholars as well as graduate

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5   Indeed, the situation of Professor Steven Salaita at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign provides a worst-case scenario for even established scholars using social media, and this example may have a chilling effect for graduate students and younger scholars who choose to use social media in some professional capacity.

students, with little to no formal mentoring provided from graduate programs on using social media (Carr, Rule, & Taylor, 2013).

Closely examining graduate students' social media use can provide insight into the informal processes through which graduate students develop professional academic identities. In this chapter, I focus specifically on the professional identities of three graduate students in writing studies to explore how these graduate students developed distinct methods of joining professional communities and developing identities as teachers and scholars. Much scholarship in the field emphasizes the ways that graduate students develop professional identities through a formal process of enculturation. Social media revises traditional processes and allows us to see these identities as more dynamic. They are constantly revised and created in dialogue with other communities of which they are a part. Representing a scholarly and professional identity in online spaces, I contend, requires a delicate balance between the personal and professional. The findings from these case studies suggest that a successful professional persona on social media must cultivate an identity I call "personally professional."

PRACTICE THEORY OF IDENTITY: JOINING FIGURED WORLDS

Much scholarship within writing studies, beginning with Carol Berkenkotter, Thomas N. Huckin, and John Ackerman (1988), has explored the processes through which graduate students learn to write academic genres common at the postgraduate level, but the focus of this work is primarily focused on writing instruction rather than identity construction. Contributing to a professional community, however, requires more than just a familiarity with the genres of academic writing. As Paul Prior (1998) described, graduate students develop professional identities through participation in disciplinary communities of practice (p. 139). This process is not monolithic but instead is situated within particular programs and disciplines. As Christine Pearson Casanave (2002) explored, this process of enculturation requires a negotiation of identity as these students develop as professionals and enter academic communities of practice. Within the literature, this development is usually presented as a progress narrative; students learn the discourse of the profession to become part of a scholarly community.

Mentoring practices within writing studies often follow graduate students beyond the discourse and genres of the profession into less formal digital spaces. Kendall Leon and Stacey Pigg (2011) and Patrick W. Berry, Gail E. Hawisher, and Cynthia L. Selfe (2012) described how graduate students attempt to manage personal connections and maintain identities as students within a peer group through social media at the same time that they network with scholars

in their fields through those same platforms. Leon and Pigg (2011) used the concept of digital time/space to emphasize the central role of digital media in assisting graduate students in navigating a multiplicity of tasks within the academy. Digital writing, they contended, serves as the "connective thread" through which graduate students do both personal and professional work (p. 4). For the graduate students they studied, digital technology provided a place not only to participate in the more informal aspects of graduate student enculturation discussed by Carr et al. (2013), but also a location for the more formal aspects of professionalization and networking.

Much work has been done within the field on cultural identity and its connection to literacy (Cushman, 2008; Richardson, 2003; Smitherman, 2000; Villanueva, 1993). Jay Lemke (2008) called attention to the increased references to identity in scholarship, noting the "theoretical burden" that the term identity has to carry when used as the primary term to describe notions of selfhood. He demonstrated a need to understand identity in how it functions as a mediating term between social-structural phenomena and lived, interactional experiences (p. 17). Indeed, there is a tension between scholarship that discusses identity that is tied to gender, racial, and class categories and a professional identity that is situated within a specific workplace or professional community of practice. Lemke highlighted this distinction between "identity-in-practice on the short timescales of situated small-group activity" (p. 18) and concepts of identity that exist over a lifetime and are framed according to "larger institutional scales" (p. 18). Patricia Boyd (2013) discussed professional identities by drawing on Herminia Ibarra and Jennifer L. Petriglieri's (2010) definition as centered in "the various meanings attached to oneself by self and others" in professional spaces, combining a social identity, centered in social roles and groups, with a personal one.

Casanave (2002) and Prior (1998) both described identity creation within academic disciplines as created through practice, as Lemke suggested. Casanave (2002) saw identity as created through the socially situated practice of writing within a particular discipline. Both Casanave (2002) and Prior (1998) described scholarly identity as created in interaction with Lave and Wenger's concept of scholarly communities of practice. Identities are multiple and negotiated through practices and "modes of belonging" (Casanave, 2002, p. 22), through which graduate students become part of these disciplinary communities.

Dorothy Holland, William Lachicotte, Debra Skinner, and Carole Cain (1998) posited a practice theory of identity that is particularly productive for considering the ways that individuals represent themselves in social media for different audiences. Holland et al.'s (1998) framework sees identity as "lived through activity and developed in social practice" (p. 5), constantly negotiated through social activity and individual agency. These scholars posit an internal,

intrinsic identity that interacts with a cultural one. This socially constructed self is based in one's subject position, the influences of the culture in which one lives, and the powerful discourses an individual encounters (pp. 26-27). These individual elements do not in and of themselves make an individual, but they are "living tools of the self" (p. 28). Interactions between an individual and a group of people create what Holland and her colleagues called "figured worlds" (p. 41), through which individuals create identities that fit within a particular group but are still based in that individual's embodied experience.

In my analysis below, I use the term figured worlds to describe the different communities that each research participant connected to through their social media activity. These communities are created through this dialogic interaction Holland et al. described. Considering how graduate students within writing studies conceive of and enter figured worlds in their professional development and identity representation allows us to examine more closely how they navigate multiple audiences and consider their own identities within these different disciplinary communities. This practice-based, dialogic identity revises a process narrative of enculturation within professional communities and instead considers how individuals navigate a representation of self that is in constant negotiation with these different figured worlds. After a discussion of the research methodology for this study, I examine each of the case studies individually, describing the ways each graduate student negotiated personal and professional boundaries in representing their identities as graduate students.

METHODOLOGY

This research is part of a larger longitudinal study of undergraduate and graduate students' digital literacy practices on social network sites. The graduate student participants were recruited from among teachers of writing courses at a large Midwestern university. One of the primary research questions of this study concerned identity representation across different social network sites, and one criterion for inclusion in this study was an active presence on more than one social network site. Through this study, I followed three graduate students on social media for a total of ten months and collected data from the following four sources:

Digital texts: I followed research participants on social network sites and collected the digital writing they posted on these sites. I collected frequent still image screen shots of participants' profile pages and updates and also collected all tweets sent over the ten months of the study.

Detailed interviews: I conducted periodic, face-to-face interviews with each research participant, which provided deeper context and reflection on the material these participants shared through social media.

Time use diaries: Following Bill Hart-Davidson's (2007) example of time-use diaries to trace distributed writing tasks, I asked participants to complete a log of all uses of social networking sites over a typical three-day period in order to get a better sense of how they integrated their writing practices on social network sites within their daily activities.

Profile tours: Using a video screen capture program, I asked each research participant to show and describe each profile on every social network site they used. This tour was a means through which to discuss identity representation and allowed participants to speak from specific elements of their identity representation—for example, profile pictures or specific written descriptions—but also to gain insights into participants' attitudes towards privacy settings, friend lists, and other elements of social network sites.

These multiple sources of data were analyzed first through open coding and "clustering," described by Casanave (2002) as a process through which common trends and threads from each research participant's experience came together in similar ways to suggest common conclusions (p. 33). I used this open coding and clustering method to then create specific coding categories that were used in a second pass through the data. Utilizing these multiple sources of data, I was able to explore participants' identity representations on different social media sites, to explore how they integrated their social network site use into their daily lives, and to consider how these identities changed over time.

In the rest of this chapter, I will focus on specific aspects of three different graduate students' social media use. While these three case studies are not representative of all graduate students in writing studies, they remain what Dorothy Sheridan, Brian Street, and David Bloome (2000) called "telling cases" that work "not through empirical generalization, but by revealing the principles that underlie relationships between specific writing practices, the local events of which they are a part, and the institutional contexts in which they take place" (p. 14). Each of these individual case studies provides important situated, descriptive information through which we can learn more about the ways that some graduate students in the field use social media. While each student worked to present a digital professional identity within the figured world of the academic field of writing studies, they each had different approaches for managing more personal and more professional audiences.

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL MEDIA IN PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY REPRESENTATION

JACK: DIVIDING AUDIENCE ON TWITTER

Jack, a 33-year-old graduate student in writing studies at the time of the

study, was a musician, blogger, and also a father of three. Jack had profiles on the following social media sites: Facebook, Twitter, MySpace, Google, Tumblr, Flickr, Picasa, Vimeo, YouTube, and lala—a music sharing social network site. He also contributed to another music-themed blog that provides music reviews for regional concerts, but Twitter represented the social media platform he used most frequently.

While Jack used Facebook primarily for personal use, Twitter provided him with an opportunity to connect with those he did not know in real life, and he sought opportunities to build new connections with scholars in his area. Jack had three different Twitter accounts over the course of this study, which was a result of his concerns about negotiating his different professional and personal figured worlds: a long-standing personal Twitter account, a more professionally focused Twitter account about academic research interests, and one account for teaching. Jack identified specific figured worlds and their corresponding audience groups, and he represented his identity in relation to them: as a teacher on one account, an academic on another, and a musician and music critic on what he labeled his primary account.

Jack's primary Twitter account blended personal and professional figured worlds: musicians, music bloggers, friends, academics and students. Jack explained his About Me blurb on Twitter as being an important part of his identity representation, where he mentioned his position as a graduate student, a teacher, a researcher, and a music writer. Some sample tweets from Jack's main account reflect these mixed interests. The following tweets share more of his personal reflection on his life as a student:

> Still have 8 students' double-papers to grade - Got Willie Nelson promoting his new b'grass album in concert on the dvr. Let's do this. 8:31 PM Feb 27th via TweetDeck

> ahhh.. just registered for 8 hours of "thesis research" for next semester. Feels good. (as I'm sure it will until I begin said research) 2:24 PM Nov 18th via TweetDeck

These updates represent Jack's Twitter practice of combining his activities as a graduate student with comments on his daily, lived experience, such as watching the Willie Nelson concert, presenting a casual perspective on his activities as a graduate student.

As Jack began to write more music reviews, connecting to the music community on Twitter became more important, which also gave him new writing opportunities. With his music connections, Jack was able to attend almost fifty concerts for free, which he saw as a testament to the networking power of Twitter:

> This whole network of maybe these music writers that I've
> become associated with because of Twitter, like I got this job
> writing for this blog through Twitter, and I've kind of, I don't
> necessarily have any kind of notoriety and clout, but every once
> in a while there's a little bit of like, oh, I wrote this piece for this
> blog and it gets picked up, you know, and retweeted, and that's
> the first time I'm ever had any of that, right? Like most of us . .
> . don't get our stuff published kind of across the web.

As Jack progressed through his academic program and worked on scholarly publications, Twitter and the access it provided to a different figured world allowed him to reach a different public audience and to publish in spaces beyond academic journals.

In order to manage the different figured worlds to which he belonged, Jack frequently experimented with the ways he reached audiences on Twitter, and he created and abandoned separate teaching and academic Twitter accounts. Jack developed the teaching account to communicate with his advanced composition class without "subjecting students to personal tweets." He required his students to check the class Twitter account frequently, but only about four or five students tweeted actively. Despite low participation, Jack found tweeting a valuable activity to engage in with his class, which was an advanced composition class focused on multimodal composition. Keeping the class Twitter posts on a separate account was a way for Jack to manage his different audiences on Twitter. Jack stated that he didn't want class announcements going out to all of his other Twitter followers:

> So I mean, I could have created like a hashtag or something
> like that that would have made that specific tweet go to my
> students, but still if I sent that through my regular account,
> everybody that follows me would see it, and like what, what
> would the point of that be? I don't really know. It's weird, and
> so I don't know that I would be comfortable sending out that
> kind of tweet that obviously has an audience that can respond
> to it and the information there is important, um, but I always
> feel less comfortable just sending it out to the world.

Jack noted that he often saw other academics tweeting with their students on a regular Twitter account but didn't feel comfortable doing the same, even as he worried he wasn't giving students a good example of how most people use Twitter. After about a month, however, Jack noted that he kept missing his students' messages because he did not log into his class account regularly enough,

and he stopped using the account specifically for his students. The following are tweets he sent from primary account after he moved class information back to his primary account:

> #classhashtag students: All but done w grading your projects. Look for them back tomorrow sometime. Great work overall, guys. I'm super impressed. 12:09am March 1 via TweetDeck

> #classhashtag folks: Love this video a girl made stranded in the Pittsburgh airport. Check out her editing/music choices. 8:35 AM Feb 23rd via TweetDeck

> #classhashtag students: don't forget I need ur (double)write-ups tonight by midnight (& hey, rest of the world: I teach. I tweet. why not both?) 8:59 PM Feb 19th via TweetDeck

The final tweet here shows Jack acknowledging "context collapse," which Alice Marwick and danah boyd (2011) described as the practice of social media sites unifying different communities and audiences under one "friends" or "followers" list. While this merging of figured worlds made Jack a bit self-conscious, he relied on the activity of other Twitter users, his followers, and other academics to justify that what he was doing was a common practice, something he refers to in this final tweet directly.

At the beginning of this study, Jack had recently retired his academic Twitter account. He noted that he had already made connections with academics through his personal account before starting the second one, so he had few follows through the academic account that became primarily a "container for links." When Jack was required to tweet for a graduate course, however, he revived the account. At times, he tweeted material from both academic and personal Twitter accounts simultaneously, but at other times, these two accounts had distinct topics and audiences. Jack described this decision as one he made as his research interests developed: Both the academic tweets and the music tweets were becoming more specialized. Given the success he had in networking with musicians and writers through his primary Twitter account, he saw the potential for a Twitter account focused specifically on academic issues to work the same way. He commented on this audience distinction in an interview:

> I guess I sense the power of Twitter in that way, and so I want to represent myself to this other group of people when I'm becoming more comfortable talking about academic things there, and I suppose as I get more and more comfortable in that community, that I'll want to interact with those people more often as I get to know them, and meet them maybe at

conferences, or read their work or whatever. I see the Twitter network as a way of staying connected and interested and having people know who I am and that kind of thing. All this stuff is kind of important when I get a job.

As these interests developed, he saw the increased tweets about music and musicians as separate from and distracting to a more academic tweeting audience. Jack considered the change as successful, as several scholars he had connected with on his primary Twitter account had already switched to sending links and communicating with him primarily through his academic account. The tweets he sent from this academic account ranged from reflections on academia and academic culture:

> being a successful academic is about learning to celebrate (not envy) your colleagues' brilliance & w/out spite or fear daring to add to it 5:45 PM Dec 8th via TweetDeck

> That may be the secret of life, actually. 5:45 PM Dec 8th via TweetDeck

> Been thinking about the observation of new grad student that everybody talks about how busy they are. Academics have a culture of busyness. 9:07 PM Oct 6th via TweetDeck

> It's true, but why? Is our projected busyness evidence of our "seriousness" or devotion to our work? Or a trick to guard against more work? 9:18 PM Oct 6th via TweetDeck

> If you have an answer, I'll have to read it tomorrow. I'm busy grading right now. 9:19 PM Oct 6th via TweetDeck

Along with the tweets presented here, Jack also often discussed scholarship through his academic Twitter account, sometimes tweeting questions for his own research or quotations from his reading. Jack saw this account as a way to discuss his developing research interests, connecting them to material he found online, and most importantly, connecting with like-minded scholars. Distinguishing boundaries between "colleagues" and "friends" remained one of the challenges of Jack's split Twitter accounts. Parsing out this inevitable overlap was something that Jack constantly struggled with in representing his identity with a number of different figured worlds on Twitter.

He anticipated using this academic account more actively as he became more established as a scholar himself. After he published something, he said, he would feel "more justified in interacting with people. I just kind of feel like the new kid, you know, that's not a very good metaphor. I don't know all the dance

moves yet." As Jack developed his scholarly interests and planned to contribute to the field in more traditional ways through academic publishing, he anticipated that his scholarly Twitter identity would also contribute more to the scholarly conversations he saw happening on this social network site as well. Here Jack describes developing an identity for the figured world of an academic field as happening gradually on Twitter. While he began to participate in conversations, he was not yet a central figure.

Jack was excited, though, to receive some attention from someone he referred to as a star academic and a frequent tweeter:

> He replied to me once. And I was kind of like, this guy isn't responding to me, this is crazy. And it was also something really stupid too, like I was joking that my hair was getting long enough that I could comb it and look like Justin Bieber, and he said something, congratulations, or something like that. But it felt cool to be noticed, you know, by this person.

Even though the conversation was about something completely innocuous, Jack was excited that this academic noticed him and commented, as he felt it gave him some sort of notoriety. It is also notable that the tweet that drew the attention of this scholar was not a professional tweet or one connected to Jack's research or teaching, but a more casual tweet about a celebrity. This example demonstrates that using Twitter successfully sometimes means blending personal and professional content. In his Twitter use, Jack saw himself connecting to and shaping his online identity in connection to multiple figured worlds, a practice that developed continually through each update he sent. Jack saw these different figured worlds as flexible in sometimes blending personal and professional content, and this approach seems to have been his most successful one.

ESTHER: ACADEMIC ENTRY INTO PERSONAL SPACES

Esther, a graduate student in writing studies and a teaching assistant, was also a blogger and a knitter, sharing projects and participating in events with her fellow knitting friends online. Esther had mostly lapsed profiles on MySpace and Orkut, and she used Facebook, Twitter, and blogged through LiveJournal and WordPress. The social network site she used most frequently, however, was Ravelry, a site specifically for knitters. Esther joined all of these sites in graduate school, prompted by friends (Orkut, Twitter), musicians she enjoyed (MySpace), and even students (Facebook). Esther considered herself an occasional user of Facebook, with Ravelry consuming the majority of her online time and attention.

Esther first presented more of a teacher persona on Facebook when she joined the site in 2005. She described her initial interest in Facebook as based on her students' activities on the social network site:

> They were kind of influencing me to do it. I didn't really have any curiosity about it per se; I think I was more interested in this thing my students were using to do certain kinds of writing. I mean I had already been kind of attuned at that point to talking about students' writing in lots of different settings, so I was just kind of interested in seeing this format that they were writing in and what it was like. So my interest in it was more about them than something I thought I would use for myself.

At the time, Facebook membership was restricted to those with an .edu email address, and many of Esther's friends were no longer in college. She noted that there was resistance among her graduate student friends for other reasons as well:

> I even knew there was lots of resistance to it at that point, and this idea of having your personal life in any way displayed in a public forum was really, by some people I think, frowned upon and supposedly affects your ability to get a job, or you know, you have to represent yourself in certain ways.

Esther first joined Facebook as a teacher, interested in her students' literate activity on the site and interacting with them about writing in this location. Esther first approached this site, then, through the figured world of writing instruction. She used Facebook to keep in touch with former students and also to consider the type of writing they engaged in on the site. Esther, therefore, had a number of former students who were still friends with her on Facebook, and she was connected with other writing classes through the site, joining a Facebook group formed by her business and technical writing students one semester, for example.

As a graduate student, Esther had concerns about her representation as a scholar. While Jack worked to develop a professional identity in interaction with a specific community of scholars on Twitter, Esther did not cultivate an academic scholarly identity connected to an academic field and professional figured world in the same way. Although Esther cited knitting as her primary influence in joining Twitter, she also observed her colleagues tweeting professionally from conferences. She tweeted from her phone at one primary conference in her field and preferred tweeting live events:

> I tweeted a lot during 4Cs, and then I haven't since then. So

> I would say I'm kind of interested in using it for academic purposes, but I kind of like it for more of the live stuff, like it was really fun at 4Cs. I liked when people were tweeting from presentations I couldn't go to. I liked tweeting from presentations myself. Um, and it was fun, there was like different other kinds of exchanges that happened. Like I tweeted that we were going to have Ethiopian food, and somebody—so somebody did the mention for me, asking what restaurant it was, and then I did that for her telling her where to go. So just like stuff like that. It's kind of cool, it feels very live.

Esther only connected to a few academics on Twitter and saw it primarily as a tool to enhance her conference experience, rather than a place where she could join academic conversations on a regular basis. She expected other academics to see her tweets not because they were her followers on Twitter, but because they were using the common conference hashtag. She occasionally tweeted when she was frustrated about academic topics, however, particularly dissertation writing:

> today's agenda: coffee, writing, breakfast, writing, lunch, writing, knitting break, writing, potluck, Mexican food, board game, writing. 1:37pm, Sep 18 via Tweetdeck

> How am I supposed to be brilliant if Microsoft word won't save? What do mean insufficient memory? Trust me, the diss is not that long yet. 3:19pm, Sep 24 via Tweetdeck

> That came out terribly wrong. Should read: what do you mean there's insufficient memory. In my defense, I only slept 4 hours last nite. 3:20pm, Sep 24 via Tweetdeck

Like Jack, Esther also sent updates from her daily lived experience as a graduate student. She noted that for these tweets, for example, the figured world she reached was a closer community of friends and fellow graduate students. While Jack described entering conversations on Twitter as a way to enter a scholarly community, Esther saw her own connections in this area to be entered around a particular event and bounded by that event rather than developed over time.

Esther also experimented with integrating Twitter into her teaching practices. A few of the other instructors of this course were using Twitter to communicate with students, and Esther started using it in the classroom to explore its possibilities. These tweets were minimal, however, and she only used the class hashtag eight times herself. As an optional part of the class, her students' use of Twitter was minimal, primarily to tweet about links and connections to the

class, and Esther stopped using it several weeks into the course. While Esther joined Facebook as a writing teacher, she used Twitter for live events and less formal uses.

Esther was finishing her dissertation at the time of the study and was actively applying for academic positions. Esther did not have a professional digital presence beyond her graduate student profile page on her university's website, which she found sufficient for her purposes. Our conversations about the job market and her social media usage, though, primarily occurred within the context of censoring information about the interview process and her campus visits. She noted on several occasions that she had to remove or censor family members' posts on her Facebook wall regarding her travel. She was concerned about privacy regarding her status as a job candidate, and she worked to ensure none of that information was available to her Facebook friends. Rather than promoting a professional academic identity in order to connect to other scholars, she instead managed her online identities by removing information. While Jack was hypersensitive to audience and considered a number of different figured worlds with which he was communicating on Twitter, Esther primarily conceived of her updates as reaching primarily friends, and she represented her academic life through a personal lens.

Becca: Negotiating Personal and Professional

Becca was a graduate student in writing studies and a teaching assistant in the undergraduate rhetoric program, and she participated in a university belly-dancing troupe and uploaded some of their performances online. She also maintained a store on Etsy where she sold jewelry. During this study, Becca was active on Facebook, Etsy, and Academia.edu.

Of Becca's roughly 300 Facebook friends, she connected with a few family members and friends from high school and college, as well as with groups of friends at her university: graduate student friends, former students, professors, and members of her belly-dance troupe. While Becca thought frequently about her identity representation on Facebook, she valued the connections she made with each of these different figured worlds and sought to represent herself in ways that would work with these different audience groups.

Becca's use of Facebook required her to negotiate a number of different audience groups that straddled her personal and professional life. She connected with former students on Facebook, some of them her own dissertation research participants. She had strict policies for friending current students; she would accept friend requests from current students but not initiate them. She placed these current students in a special group on Facebook by using the Facebook

Groups feature available at the time that restricted content to this group.[1] Becca noted that she used to do the same with her professional contacts, and she connected to both her own professors and other scholars in her field of study. She gave up using a specific Facebook group with this figured world and allowed her information to be shared more widely with her professional connections. Part of Becca's approach to social media use where she blended her personal and professional figured worlds was a result of a larger argument she had about academic culture:

> I don't know, this is generally something that bothers me about academia that we're not supposed to be entire people. We're just supposed to be academics and we can't have personal lives, and families, and hobbies, and emotions and all that kind of good stuff like real people might have. I think that's crap, and if anyone were to find me on Facebook who was a potential employer and have some problem with anything I was doing, I get the feeling I wouldn't want to work with them anyway, so it's like, I'm not going to make two separate profiles.

Rather than reaching segmented audiences on different social media profiles, Becca saw blending these identities and figured worlds not only as a personal preference, but also as a statement about blending personal and professional concerns within the academy. While she came to this conclusion for different reasons than Jack, Becca also cultivated a kind of personally professional identity on social media.

During the second half of my study, Becca was preparing for the academic job market and was actively searching for and applying for jobs. As she began to envision a professional identity for herself as a faculty member rather than a graduate student, these identity concerns led her to make revisions to her identity representation online. She joined Academia.edu, a social network site for academics, primarily to enhance her professional online presence and to connect with other scholars with similar research interests. While Becca found little interaction happening on that social network site, she found the site to be an important way for her to direct information about herself online to this location.

Becca also restricted access to her Facebook profile during her job search process, noting that she tried to influence and direct the first impression search

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1   In 2010, Facebook allowed users to separate their own friend list into separate groups; users were not notified about being placed in a group. When sharing content on the site, users had the opportunity to either restrict a particular group from seeing certain content or could share updates with just that group.

committees might have of her when looking for her online, and she changed her privacy settings to make her Facebook profile hidden to those who were not her friends on the site. While Becca attempted to maintain her philosophy of representing her whole person rather than separating her personal and professional identities, she acknowledged that controlling this first impression was an important part of her online representation and crucial for representing herself as a professional, a teacher, scholar, and writing researcher:

> I didn't want someone searching the web for me and being their first, their first introduction to me to be a picture of me belly dancing when they're looking for a writing teacher. You know, it just seems incongruous in ways that are not incongruous to me but may be to other people.

Here Becca noted that blending figured worlds in online environments can be confusing and disruptive. While Becca has a number of different personal and professional interests, she attempted to separate them in online spaces while she was on the job market. As she began to represent herself beyond her local and personal networks to others in her professional community, Becca found it necessary to construct an identity more specifically for a professional, academic figured world and to promote this identity in online spaces. While she blended personal and professional in most of her social media use, managing her persona for the job market meant directing specific parts of her identity for specific professional figured worlds.

REPRESENTING AND REVISING PROFESSIONAL IDENTITIES

In Alice Marwick's (2013) ethnography of the tech industry in Silicon Valley, she argued that social media self-branding strategies result in online identities that become safe for work, removed of any personal or potentially embarrassing information to become bland, corporate versions of individuals in online spaces. While her argument remains specific to the tech industry, concerns about professional identity and audience have the possibility of creating a similar situation for graduate students.

Rather than considering a digital professional identity to be a monolithic concept, the experiences of these graduate students instead suggest a multiplicity of different ideas of what it means to be a writing researcher and academic. Esther's introduction to Facebook was through her identity as a writing teacher, and she took the most conservative approach in connecting with scholars in her field on social media. Becca ultimately changed her privacy settings and

her profile picture as she prepared for the academic job market, but she also expressed a conscious effort not to censor other aspects of her identity in academic circles. Jack continually revised how he represented his identity for the different audiences he connected with on Twitter. The experiences described here suggest viewing the ways that graduate students develop professional identities not as a process narrative of enculturation, but instead through dialogic interactions with the different figured worlds graduate students are a part of in digital spaces. The approach that seemed most successful for Jack, and to a lesser extent for Becca, was a "personally professional" identity that combined more professionally oriented content with everyday minutiae.

Developing a professional identity through social media does not happen just through building a profile, but in the accumulation of specific moments of interaction with different communities. Esther and Becca chose to manage their professional identities as they approached the academic job market by revising privacy settings and removing information. While these activities may change one's initial identity presentation at the surface level of the profile, the approach does not consider the ways that this data can persist online, through tagged photos, information shared by other social media users, and archives or databases. This digital record, so to speak, becomes even more important for younger students. The graduate students featured here all joined these social media platforms during graduate school. As students develop a longer history of online activity, stretching to high school and even before, the persistence of personal information affects one's ability to manage or alter it, thus becoming an even more important consideration in developing professional digital identities.

While this study has taken a practice approach to identity, this identity construction also interacts with individuals' other identity categories, including race, class, gender, ethnicity, and sexual identity as well. While Jack's more personal updates were well received, and Jack more actively sought out professional communities on social media, both Esther and Becca were ultimately concerned about presenting some aspects of their personal identities to professional audiences. While the three case studies presented here cannot offer conclusions about the role of gender in professional identity representations, the data presented here cannot be separated from these identity categories either.

This balance between the personal and professional has important implications for graduate student mentoring as they begin to network with other scholars through social media. Developing a professional identity in coordination with social media requires graduate students to navigate multiple audiences and figured worlds as they work to develop their own sense of identity as teachers and scholars. Yet digital spaces are always in flux, and the rules for acting within them are contested and constantly changing. Studying digital professional iden-

tities requires similarly flexible frameworks. Viewing digital professional identity as multiple and enacted through interactions that strike a balance between more professional and more casual content can help writing researchers better understand the role of social media as part of students' professional identity representation. This research suggests a personally professional identity as an effective one for graduate students developing professional digital identities through social media. More research is needed to better understand the social media use of scholars at all levels and the perceptions of that use among graduate faculty and hiring committees. More research on the use of social media in professional contexts can help us better understand its influence on graduate student identity and professional development.

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