

## SELF OBSERVATION IN OWN ILLUSION: FACEBOOK AS THE MEDIUM OF NARCISSISM

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*“One seeing no relief for pain but walking will never recover.*

*Knowing existence is confined to a world  
not large enough for one is universal suffering.”*

*Ergun Kocabıyık*

Baudelaire’s nineteenth century depiction of the double (janus) face of modernity as being eternal and immovable on the one hand and ephemeral and circumstantial on the other (2004: 214), melting two poles into one concept, can be interpreted as the estrangement of modernity from its own sources by continually facing the new. Such reading of modernity, opens to rediscussion “modern thinking” as founded on Descartes’ “doubt” and the “duality” engrained in the logic of Aristoteles. The leading issue in this discussion is doubtless to be the *reflexivity* of modernity, an attribute comprising the evolution of one aspect over the other and the continual oscillation of opposites.

Today, the processes of ‘globalisation’ and ‘individualisation’, each having gained a meaning after co-evolving, cannot be distanced from Baudelaire’s depiction of modernity if conceived as two polarities. Modernity’s janus (double) face can only be understood as the oscillations of these two processes; this “face” being a window that opens not only outwards but also inwards to itself, displaying references to the ideals of the visible world, and, even being both a process and an end. Hence, each face gives clues to a deep “secret” and the processes creating that “secret”, comprehending which allows the recognition of the face. Throughout history, man’s struggle to comprehend herself and the processess she lives through have occurred concurrently. “Know thyself !” At this point the subject opens to a key fact that is also the source of what is being reflected: “Mirror”. The individual is acquaint-ted, by looking at the mirror, with that relating to Self, Other-self and the Other, editing herself and her environment as a reflexive process in modern living. Yet, similarly to the effect of approaching the mirror since the Renaissance, with the decreasing of the space between the processes of globalisation and individualisation, the individual, having become a master of his

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autobiography, makes a “gift” of his communal existence - in its natural circumstances- to this face and its glance.

The foundations of capitalism, the system characterising modernity, are its means and relations of production that are based on expertise and division of labour. The cycles of production-circulation and consumption are conducted at a pace hitherto unequalled in our history, necessitated by the continual need of accelerating the capital turnover (Marx, 1976: 175). The need of the accelerated circulation is met by the transportation and communication technologies. Current communication is based on digital technologies interconnected via the internet. One of the aims of this study is to expose the historical continuity between the elements rated as poles in our current communication processes and going beyond the “bipolarity” in these processes by an approach taking Baudelaire as reference and stressing the oscillatory significance of the processes. Mapping the traces of continuity is possible through the oscillations of the globalisation and individualisation processes. Narcissism is concomitant to as well as the outcome of these global and individual processes. One of the tools contributing to the visibility of narcissism is ‘FACEBOOK’ - ‘the mirror’, the globally exploited social networking service. Although the simultaneous benefits to the individual, both by seeing and being seen through the Facebook in this oscillatory medium will be discussed, the primary purpose is to trace the processes which have produced this Facebook, the modern mirror.

This study is composed around the axis of the famous words of the Communist Manifesto that “All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind” (Marx & Engels, 2008: 38).

This sentence determines the study not only with respect to content but also its format. This study will discuss the vision of the individual of “self”, the “other-self” and the “Other” while the reproduction of her biography, turned to an obligation, goes on over the communication devices. In the first part of the study, under the first clause of the manifesto “All that is solid melts into air,” the flexible production methods and the basic relations of production with the concept of the “prosumer” will be covered. In the second part, under the second clause of the manifesto “...all that is holy is profaned,” displacement of “tradition” by modernity will be traced, including the individual obligated to compose his biography within the terms of the circulation in which she has replaced “tradition”. In the third part, under the third clause of the manifesto “...and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind.”, the face appearing on the Facebook in relation to the culture of appearances in the social media, as well as the narcissistic performances as the side effects of individualisation will be discussed.

### **“ALL THAT IS SOLID MELTS INTO AIR, ...”**

Since its publication, this famous clause of the Manifesto of the Communist Party has been published in many theoretical texts, and even constitutes the name of the famous book by Marshall Berman which analyses modernity. In this book Berman

describes modernism “as any attempt by modern men and women to become subjects as well as objects of modernization, to get a grip on the modern world and make themselves at home in it” (1988: 5). This statement referring to struggles of humans to be both the subject and the object doubtlessly stresses the reflexiveness of modernity. The basic reason for this having become the discussion point of the ‘reflexive modernisation theories’ at the end of the 20th century, is the inadequacy of the terminology used, and even of the institutions, to meet the current circumstances and to describe the limits or the poles of change. At this very point, the concept of “uncertainty” can be identified as the axis of modernisation in a general sense, and as the axis of the individualised communication processes within the scope of this work;

*...because subjectivity and inwardness have become at once richer and more intensely developed, and more lonely and entrapped, than they ever were before. In such a context, communication and dialogue both a desperate need and a primary source of delight. In a world where meanings melt into air, these experiences are among the few solid of meaning we can count on (Berman, 1988: 8-9).*

The melting, within the second half of the twentieth century, of these “solids” mentioned by Berman, through the reality gained by the technology-focused cycling in production-circulation and consumption processes, the ideal of flexibility and the subsequently digitalised technologies are the problems considered in this subsection. Flexibility, in its most idealised form, is striving to shape all processes, from production to consumption, and thereby to destroy the risks of excessive demand caused by massive population. At the point we have reached today, the ideal of flexibility is widely and intensely practiced. Its intensity is commensurate with the pace of technological advance as well as the links to expertise on fine detail. Its expanse relies on the organisation of practically all production and service sectors within the framework of this ideal.

Application by Ford, in the first half of the twentieth century, of the scientific management techniques of F. W. Taylor to industrial production eradicated the production delays, or the frictions in movement and circulation resulting in slowing down the capital turnover. However, the very impediment “fordism” could not surpass was the massive production methods and the vertical separation of the production process. In the second half of the century, these impediments were flexed to feed the pace requirement of the capital by reduction of stocks, revising delivery systems and placing electronic controls, etc. under the displayed slogans of “just in time”. This process no doubt also covered logistics, electronic banking and the consumption dependent on computerised systems. Hence, in fact, culture and culture-dependent life style around ‘fashion’ turned to a faster turning hoop. The production method accelerating the turnover of capital not only concerned the hard objects, but transgressed to shaping processes in all aspects of life, such as entertainment, shows, of presenting history in the museums or geography in tourism and the planning of leisure time (Harvey, 1992: 229). All of these goods and services came to be produced by individualising, i.e., taking into consideration the demands of the consumer. In this process the axis of consumption has moved from need to demand and desire.

The flexibility ideal determines not only the turnover of the capital but also the position of the workers in the production process. The claim of “intensiveness without centralisation” is founded on the freeing of the labour force. But the application mode of this claim on the production methods does not abstract the system of relationships from vertical separation. At best, it distances the relationships from being face to face. In this method of engaging small work groups, the flexible working hours are, using clearer terms, loading on of extra duties. It is expected that workers regard pace as the principle of the process of work, be open to change, be distant from precautions dependent on experience, and be less tied to formal procedures. Even when working from home, which is the extreme point of ‘flexibility’ in timing, the worker does not have a right of opinion in the process of production, except on the choice of the place of work. The situation of getting encumbered with extreme work results in the addition of problems of authority stemming from intragroup dynamics, and of the responsibility of taking initiatives and even risks, in addition to the macro-economic inequalities. (Sennett, 2002a: 57-61).

The third leg of the system of the flexibility ideal is the consumer. Alvin Toffler’s hybrid concept the ‘prosumer’, formed from the ‘producer’ and the ‘consumer’, is a convenient concept to discuss the consumer dimension of the matter. Toffler had first used the term to meet the production situation for the usage value in the agricultural community where the producer is producing to use as well as to give to the landlord or to exchange. According to Toffler, who had claimed that following the industrial revolution, production and consumption had been separated from each other and the prosumer had been forgotten by the economy since most industrial products were distanced from being directly usable so much so that the conversion value and the consumer value were no longer pronounced together. However, following the progress after the 1950’s, this combination, due to economical and social reasons, stepped in again and the prosumer succeeded in socialising and overcoming individual problems, and finding a place in the economy. Toffler offered many examples such as dialling of numbers by the consumer as against connecting the numbers; replacement of the pump operators by the consumer during the petrol crisis, use of the automated teller machines. He claimed that during this process the borders between the producer and consumer sides had disappeared, and in the third wave where they had merged, the new production method had become ‘half conversion and half usage’ (Toffler, 1989: 267-278). In reality, the basic reason for opening a place to the consumer in the production process had been to avoid overproduction resulting from mass production and at the same time to reduce the production costs by including the consumer in the production process. The more explanatory form of the reference given to Toffler in this study exists in the concepts of “use value” and “exchange value” of Marx and also A. Smith. However, the concept of the “prosumer” is quite useful to explain the production methods and their relationships shaped by flexibility and to investigate their reflections on the social media in the context of this study. However, the intention here is not to give credit to the shift claimed by Toffler, but to the contrary, it is to do with the loss of the chance of many to be individuals with a social position allowing them to recognise self and to comprehend life.

When these three aspects of the flexibility ideal are considered in relation to the current means of the developed mass communication, it is possible to observe the disappearance of limitation to the content of implements and tools, and to claim the almost natural integration of portable devices and conforming with daily life. At the initial stage of mass communication devices, the consumer had been identified as '*the audience*'; becoming '*the user*' at the introduction of the internet at the Web 1.0 stage. Specifically for the purposes of this study, the consumer can be referred to as '*the prosumer*' at the Web 2.0 stage when interaction has the capacity for descriptive, portraying functions. The templates offered to the prosumer by these technologies facilitate the formation and alteration of the contents by personal choice. Thus, as both the producer and the consumer, the prosumer is the last step element realising the flexibility ideal of the system, providing an 'opening' to the new socio-economic requirements, as argued by Toffler. When this 'opening' is over the social networking service Facebook, displaying the face and the biography of the prosumer, it can be easily claimed that it is the prosumer's identity, labour and experiences that partakes in the give and take. While joining, on the 'Home Page', the other prosumers in a fragmented and dissociated flow, at the very personal 'profile' site formed by the prosumer, all details of identity, photographs, videos, likes and dislikes, friends, and practically all his activities (including the individuals influenced, and comments) are displayed. These don't yield a reference to memory or trace in the known sense. The profile assumes a cinematographic significance in the "timeline", which is a new application. The "profile" allowing the prosumer to move it from top to bottom, from the old to the new, gives the prosumer the opportunity to direct and act in his own production over a time line. Well, the "poles" have been diverted and gone into one another. Just like in stockholm syndrome, prosumers are tured into both a terrorists and hostages. For constructing an 'identity', we are doing nothing else than consuming ourselves by playing an 'identity' and subjective illusion game (Baudrillard, 2005: 56). On the other hand these preferences and actions constituting the "identity" are also another way of joining the flow on the Home Page. Thus the prosumer has created an area to be spectated by others and herself. For the prosumer, who has fashioned the fetish character for herself and others to watch, this area must be continually renewed not to lose its attraction.

*Prosumer* indicates a situation contrary to his implications. At the current stage of capitalism, the limits of production and consumption are fizzling out under the dominance of "circulation". The need of the system to accelerate the turnover rate has caused the designation of the complete process of the circulation phase. Therefore, in this context, the continually colliding production and consumption have significance only with respect to the extent of the circulation. This points to the fact that circulation has become the defining condition of the total process, and that every aspect of the system has to be recognised in this respect, i.e., through circulation. This is, as mentioned at the begining of this study, the basic reason of the extent of the ambiguity in the production ways and its associations. In a life style given itself up to circulation,

the communications and dialogs which take their place among hard resources as described by Berman, have also yielded their hardness to circulation.

**“...ALL THAT IS HOLY IS PROFANED, ...”**

All that are holy depend on tradition. Modernity, since the Renaissance, has had a current that runs down the tradition it originates from and cannot hold a traditional style to define itself. It derives its dynamism from “disembedding” and “re-embedding” practices. These practices can be recognised by the distancing of time and space. In the pre-modern period, while space was defined by locality, i.e., existence; during ‘modernity’ these concepts leave their positions to the relations of the absent others. The modern absence which has replaced the congruency of time and space also makes up the reason for uncertainty. In this respect, when disembedding the cycling tradition inherent to ‘time and space’, it re-embeds it with modern institutions and their systems of expertise within the limits of trust (Giddens, 1998: 25-28).

Giddens places this case of “trust” against the reality of uncertainty, and classifies it into four grades: “family systems”, “local community”, “religious cosmology”, and “tradition”. Tradition gains its significance from meaningful routines it develops from (1998: 99-108). Tradition, which has been there to organise the past and is to organise the future, relies on repetition as the relevant and defining resource for the present. Continuity based on repetition and the guardians who establish the link between tradition and reality constitute its trustworthy significance. With these components tradition has rituals, and therefore it is outside the intellect. It can be interpreted as being ritualistic, but guidance is needed for this (Giddens, 1997: 62-65).

With the development of modernity traditions are gradually discharged from the cultural environment. With changes in their meanings parallel to those in the location and the local practices, traditions continue to exist in other forms, which Giddens describes as “relics” or “customs”. Customs are routines with organised repetitions that have binding power. Personalised customs are shaped by commodification and gain collective significance by the effects of institutional reflexivity. However, this collectivity has lost its ability to make references to the future or to adhere to another entity (1997: 101-102). “The post-tradition society”, which Giddens has proposed to depict this stage of modernity, is the direct outcome of the globalisation process. However, according to her, this society is not an end but a beginning. In this social structure the stage belongs to action, research and the new social order (1997: 105-106). The custom based on repetition, which has replaced tradition, provides a means to keep ties between the past and the present. But, what has become current is not the popular but the personal past and its resource for repetition is the individual worry. Therefore Giddens names customs as frozen autonomies. Identity has also taken its share from this transformation and has been turned into a plot that requires continual re-editing. Therefore, in western societies the need to seek psychological support has increased (2000: 60).

Everything holy rests on tradition, and tradition in today’s format of modernity has been “disembedded” and has been “placed in the flow”, one step away from the

analysis of Giddens. To be able to follow up this current depends on observing the gradually shortening oscillations between the processes of globalisation and individualisation: Bauman discusses globalisation in terms of the comparisons he makes between the global and the local. He argues that local units have lost the capacity to create a significance to place themselves above the individuals and being local during the current dominance of globalisation can only end in poverty. While the distinguished live through the process of globalisation in a homeless style, the rest are tied to the locality and the local. The superiority of the distinguished, in other words, the owners of capital, is in their mobility (2006: 9). The deletion or the transformation of values and meanings related to time and place by technologies has polarised rather than homogenizing societies. Whereas the locality/place lacks any pressing or definitive effects on the distinguished capital owners, the opportunities for the others to refer to identity derived from locality have disappeared. In this polarisation, owners of capital are recognised with their remarkable ability to move, while those confined to locality are left with the problems of belonging to a place. (Bauman, 2006: 26).

This global classification Bauman has proposed appears to be a system of thinking based on polarities far from the ambiguity axis of modernity at this phase of reflexivity, but it is not so. Modernity has not only disembedded tradition but also the locality which has let tradition exist. Therefore, for the individual who has dissipated tradition - the basic element of cultural memory, identity and thus the framework of belonging - there has remained no other choice but to continually getting re-embedded in the flow. This current is shaped by the practices determined by the distinguished during their global movements specifically for the circulation of capital and offered to the consumer individual.

In parallelism to Baudelaire's recognition of modernity in an opposing wholeness, the only way to get embedded in the global current today can be conceived as the obligation to join the process of individualisation. The individualisation process splits all the cables the identity of the individual has been secured with. Given this indistinct, displaced life-style, the responsibility to set up values to position into the flow is wholly the individual's. This responsibility doubtlessly turns into a troubling process. As the said value setups are not tied to any tradition or locality, they do not involve a continuity, in which respect uncertainty becomes the key concept of the process of individualisation. Ambiguity eliminates collective action in response to any popular demand, the idea of integration, and buries in history the idea of common interest. Hence it is not possible to gather around the common cause or any natural address. (Bauman, 2005: 36).

Beck claims that social classes have lost their worth since the individual has formed his own biography by education, mobility and competition through the reflexive modernisation process (1993: 93-95). The preferences of the individual, gaining visibility through these three criteria, determine what sort of identity he/she is to own. This is the "do it yourself" or the "job jugglers on the tight rope" tale, and the individual is in "homo-options". In a stance opposite to Bauman, Ulrich Beck and E. Beck-Gernsheim describe this stage of modernity as a process not involving the society

and its space. They claim that individualisation, which has replaced it, is made possible only through the town, education, consumption and mass communication; and that the questions “who am I?” or “what do I want?” can only be answered within the scope of these conditions (1996: 25-31).

Emphasis on the town and communications therein, while connecting this and the next part of this study, also provides the means to discuss the polarity of virtual-reality and physical reality which bear ideological significance for this study. The concept of location shakes this polarity from the start, since it defines both the imaginary and the physical. The town is a planned locality, and while this planning process continues there exists a language that describes directly what is being lived in it. The “imaginary”, indicating that the locality is a designed entity, goes a step further by pointing to a continuity. For example, the internet borrows architectural terminology, such as site, room, window etc. That the distinction between the imaginary and the real is a continuation of dualism; and that perception of these two localities is only possible through continuity is claimed in the “*cybrid*” concept. This concept based on the interaction between the physical and the virtual locality has a dual orientation (The Metapolis Dictionary of Advanced Architecture), in that the physical locality has as much effect on the virtual as does the virtual on the physical.

Facebook, an illustration to this study, is a ‘social sharing site’ that bases its name and its principal function on the information cards ‘teachers’ have designed to acquaint their students. Hence, these cards next to bearing basic identity information, are also the locality of the performance of the student throughout the course, to be evaluated for the purposes of teaching. Facebook, recognisable in physical reality as a card concerned with identity, is incomparably limited in this scope next to the locality it leaves to the imaginary, programmed at a higher level of expertise. The objectives and the controlling parties have been transformed at the ‘imaginary sharing site’ of Facebook, where it has come, on a considerably more horizontal plane, under the control of the owner of the identity. Here the familiar teacher-learner hierarchy has disappeared and the individual keeps his own tally through which she establishes interaction with herself and the others. Starting with this as well as many other examples, it becomes a necessity to comprehend that the relationship here between the imaginary and the physical reality is not one of opposition but one of continuity. Facebook is the outcome of the “do it yourself” biography borne by the process of individualisation. This designing of ‘autobiography’ suits the individual’s intensive efforts to recognise as well as to introduce herself to the other. Therefore, Facebook is taken as an example in this study to investigate the proposals of the theoreticians of reflexive modernisation and especially as the locality of the process of individualisation.



**“...AND MAN IS AT LAST COMPELLED TO FACE WITH SOBER SENSES HIS REAL CONDITIONS OF LIFE, AND HIS RELATIONS WITH HIS KIND”**

This last clause of Marx and Engles, quoted here as a heading, has become by today, in comparison to the days when it had been penned, far more significant as a result of the approach between the processes of globalisation and individualisation and the increasing frequency of the oscillations in between. Through individualisation, a basic process defining reflexive modernity, the individual, bereft of the characterisation imparted by traditions, and in midst of the uncertainties in relation to production, has become a prosumer facing the responsibility of composing and writing his own biography.

In order to cast light on this stage of the transformation process, Beck has identified the problem axis of reflexive modernity under the headings of “side effects are the motor of history”, “globalisation of the side effects”, “the bumerang effect”, and “the individuals as the bearers of the problem” (1997: 175-181). Through a general glance, at this stage of modernity, the side effects of modern science have taken the place of the defining and transforming functions of social classes. In this study, which keeps proximity to reflexive modernisation theories, but takes a counter position on the issues of production methods and the situation of the classes, the basic argument surfaces at this point. Expressing the argument with the terminology of the reflexive modernisation theories, *if*, as has been claimed, history is the motor of the side effects produced, the side effect of individualisation, which is one of the basal dynamics of the reflexive modernisation, is no other than narcissism. One of the basic sources displaying the practices of narcissism is the Facebook. The interaction recognisable between narcissism and Facebook also points to the passage between the imaginary and the physical reality.

Sennett claims that narcissism, further than being the self admiration of the individual, is a character defect describable as “self orientation”. The main question of the narcissist is: “What does this event or the individual signify for me?”. The most important problems facing the individual are the presence of the needs at one end and “getting buried in the self” on the other, which constitutes the impediment to meeting the needs. For the narcissist, satisfaction is a condition which recedes as it approaches because the individual is destined to oscillate between these tips. It is not possible to get satisfaction by the individual subject to these circumstances (Sennett, 2002b: 8). The points made by Sennet on the narcissistic individual agree with the claim of the passing into one another and interaction of poles as continually stressed in this study. The spirit of the century, while blurring the borders enabling recognition and discrimination, has at the same time made circulation the axis of modernisation.

Narcissus kneels over a pool of water, enraptured by his own beauty reflected on the surface. People call to him to be careful, but he pays no heed to anything or anyone else. One day he bends over to caress this image, falls, and drowns. The sense of the myth is something other than the evils of self-love. It is the danger of projection, of a

reaction to the world as though reality could be comprehended through images of self. The myth of Narcissus has a double meaning: his self-absorption prevents knowledge about what he is and what he is not; this absorption also destroys the person who is so engaged. Narcissus, in seeing himself mirrored on the water's surface, forgets that the water is other and outside himself and thus becomes blind to its dangers (Sennett, 2002b: 324).

According to Sennett, narcissism, which has appeared as a prominent human character through the process of individualisation, is the outcome of the disappearance of opportunities to create meaningful relationships in the society, the public sphere (2002b: 22). From now on, to test the reality the individual will look at what there is for her in the reality rather than whether she fits the reality (Sennett, 2002b: 230). From a clinical profile, the narcissist has a passive, and not an active personality, and experience for her is to chase herself. What he looks for is her reflection in everything. Also, the relationships and the borders to assist the completion of her experiences are blurred (Sennett, 2002b: 325).

Christopher Lasch, in his celebrated work on narcissism, has determinations on the time perception of the narcissist. For the narcissist, who has broken the ties with the past, the future is also of no interest, and in fact the presence of "now" is problematic. This determination ties the claims of Lasch to the discussion in the previous section of this study "on the dissipation of the effects of tradition on the individual during modernity". This also points to the disappearance of the rituals and meaningful repetitions which tie the past, the present and the future. In a manner to support Sennett's argument that sociality has been ended with narcissistic character, Lasch claims that the weakening of the individual's relationship with the past is not simply due to the evaporation of ideologies, but is also due to inner deprivations. The past is only nostalgia brought to the market place in the 'universe' of the narcissist (1991, 27-30). "Since "the society" has no future, it makes sense to live only for the moment, to our eyes on our own "private performance," to become connoisseurs of our own decadence, to cultivate a "transcendental self-attention." (Lasch, 1991: 6)

Lasch at the same time emphasises the need of the individual for approval and appreciation. The others are the guarantee of self respect. The traces she has created for herself, her reflection on the masses is a mirror for her (1991: 59). At this point, just like Sennett, Lasch looks for the way out for narcissism in the soul of the epoch one lives in, and points to the media as one of the sources feeding this situation. In a cultural environment of especially expectations of fame and recognition, fed by the media, he argues that the narcissistic individual has found very favourable conditions (1991: 21). Giddens, who has made references to both Sennett and Lasch when commenting on narcissism, sees advertisement as one of the feeding sources. The consumption-oriented capitalism has a central role in the promotion of narcissism. With the consumption of suitable goods and services narcissist searches for the perfect, the beauty and popularity, and lives surrounded by mirrors (Giddens, 2010: 218).

Among the claims of Lasch there are also criticisms directed to Sennett. The most noteworthy, within the context of this study, is his determination on privacy. Lasch

criticises Sennett for having understood the result as the cause, and the cause as the result. Because Sennett has skipped the transformation undergone by the 'individual' in his claim on the occupation of the public space by privacy. For Lasch, what underlies the privacy culture is not claims of individualism, as thought by Sennett. On the contrary, it is the collapse of the claims to individualism (1991: 30). On the other hand, Giddens criticises Lasch with a guilt of inadequate humanity, and argues that by giving a passive position to the individual Lasch has created a view that severs the relationship between the individual and social activities. (2010: 222). For him, people at the same time characteristically react to what they perceive as pressurising social conditions. Hence modern social life impoverishes individual action, it facilitates the gaining of new opportunities; while being estranged on the one hand (Giddens, 2010: 222).

In the light of these discussions, when looking at Facebook as the irresistible channel of capital flow and individual living, many applications do overlap with the *prosumer*, the individual whose autobiographical representation has become an obligation. The point of exit in this study is the button on the Facebook profile page labelled "*See Yourself With the Other's Eye*". Thus, the prosumer who owns the profile can, by ticking a button, carry to her screen her own profile as seen by others, thereby becoming able to see by another's eye the self she has edited herself. This points to the fact that the relationship of self, other-self and the Other have "telescoped" into one another. This button, which makes possible the reflexive look both through its use and the contents, is reminiscent of the self-orientation of the narcissist. Having dissolved the Other in herself, the prosumer, as if to support Baudrillard's syndrome argument, is *both* the one who peeks at and exhibits herself. The profile in the Facebook functions as a specially developed mirror in its own right. Bonnett (2007: 101-102) recognizes the claim of "a mirror doesn't show the copy of a model exactly", and exemplify through the appearance in the mirror that right hand becomes the left. The subject is also both here and somewhere else, and at the same time everywhere, being perceived from an uncertain distance in a complex depth. ... the mirror, just like a prism, can damage the visual field because it can hide as much as it discloses (Bonnet, 2007: 101-102).

Facebook apart from being the mirror, is the image of the personally edited image of the prosumer both watched by herself and the others. In this connection, it classifies and turns to images the other prosumers (e.g., family, friends, etc.), within the framework of the question "what does this individual or event signify for me?" From then onwards, people and events are momentary items making up and shaping his profile. Also, what the people and events express are exhibited in the profile upon "liking", by "sharing" or through comments.

Individualism arises from the mirror, and someone else is a mirror. Looking at another necessitates understanding, interpreting and analysing him/her because the other exposes himself/herself in the mirror of a cultural (physical, linguistic, artistic etc) whole. The face is the appearance of another. Another becomes manifest by the face (Kocabiyik, 2010: 22).

Prosumer's profile is also represented by his photograph, which is usually his "portrait. It is quite a common practice for the prosumer to photograph herself to be used for the profile. Photographing herself to represent his Facebook profile suggests a multistratified thought process. But it must be pointed out that this reflexivity is limited by shape, or it is the reduction of reflexivity to representational shape. Here, therefore, the evacuation of the contents of the reflexivity concept and its blurring needs also to be added. In the stratifications of the reflexive process which loses meaning while getting distanced from content, another blurred entity is –in support of Lasch's argument- the person representing the social situation of the individual.

"Those who prefer to escape and get free would lose the chance to look themselves on the face. We can liken them to the *kitschmensch* of Milan Kundera. They would like to gaze at an untruthful mirror representing all as beautiful and see themselves in happiness. For them the mirror has not yet turned to a reflexive device to stimulate inward looking, and is solely a device intermediating the purposes of eradicating worries of external appearance. They do not look at the mirror, the mirror looks at them. The *Kitschmensch* says 'I am seen therefore I am' (Kocabişik, 2010: 75).

The closed-circuit 'universe' of Narkissos, demonstrable as the loss of the individual drowned in his image or, better, buried in his image, is broken by the flow on the Home Page. This flow can best be understood by demonstrating the identities turned to biographies, and subjected to continual change to keep a piece of themselves (photograph, video, comments etc) in the flow to demonstrate the continuity of their existence. However, that flow is so fragmented, and the fragments can show such irrelevance that to find an attribute for what has been created in the profile may not be possible. Sennett's referral to the narcissist's "chasing herself" is what the prosumer does in the Facebook, but what she chases is not exactly herself. The current on the Home Page composed of a piece of everyone is what is left from the public space. Next to the loss of sociality emphasised by Sennett, this is the continuously displayed death advertisement of the individual recognised by sociality, as talked about by Lasch.

Outside the classical appearance of the profile, Facebook offers its user the "timeline", which gives the prosumer and those browsing through his profile the chance to go back over the time spent on the Facebook, and to view it like a straight tape, or a film without a continuity or synopsis. This application is a revealing representation of an individual who has taken the responsibility to write about a life resembling a scenario (nuclear wars, terrorist attacks, epidemics, economical crises, etc). This application is also associated with the loss of the future and the narcissist's time perception. With the loss of the ties of the past, the present and the future, the "timeline" in compatibility with today, codes the personal past or the present of the prosumer on templates separated from its ties. The profile is so fragmented in the timeline that the new tablets are like a collage with an axis slipped further than "pop".

Fiction, fragmentation, collage, and eclecticism, all suffused with a sense of ephemerality and chaos, are, perhaps, the themes that dominate in today's practices of architecture and urban design. And there is, evidently, much in common here with

practices and thinking in many other realms such as art, literature, social theory, psychology, and philosophy. (Harvey, 1992: 98).

In this phase of modernity with loss of the thoughts of historical continuity, the public space and sociality of the individual, Facebook cannot be understood solely by the autobiography of the individual or self reflection of the individual. Facebook is the whole of an altogether marketing strategy. A considerably large commercial cycle turns in this channel with institutional advertisements, marketing of large masses of prosumers to brands. In this channel forming the axis of the circulation of goods prosumers have put on market their biographies, reminiscences, experiences, likes and preferences. Prosumer's marketing of personal issues through the reification cycle of capitalism can be estimated as his efforts towards the approval and acceptance of his narcissistic course. In this new style of slavery, production of goods, the carriers of the system, continues even outside the workshop over mobile tools everywhere and at all times. This process can be regarded as the continuous reproduction of the fetish character of the reification. Now, the individual while producing his biography in his profile, has also become his own designer, advertiser and the loyal consumer.

Through Web 2.0 narcissists have the opportunities to introduce themselves and consolidate their narcissism as the prosumers. At this point narcissism can be defined as being more cultural than ever it was. Even the names and the slogans of these Web 2.0 sites –for instance “broadcast yourself”- reveal the desire of the narcissist prosumer to be seen and “liked”. Another example for being “seen and liked” is the Time Magazine. Time chose “You” as the man of the year while introducing the Web 2.0 in december 2006 and there was a full length mirror on the cover of the magazine (Twenge & Campbell, 2010: 159-160).

To be able to discuss the relationships of the individual and his group over reification the display window and the performance concepts of Goffman can be introduced to the argument. This is another way of understanding the placement of the prosumer marketing herself. She is the designer of her display window who then looks at this display with others. The window is a mirror in this respect, although the display in the window are goods. When considering the relatively slow profile but the fast flow on the Home Page, the term ‘performance’, used by Goffman to depict the ‘activities of individuals effective on others’, can be used to depict the total activities of prosumers including continual editing of themselves, reproducing and marketing and at the same time consuming (2009: 33).

## CONCLUSION

Studies on reflexivity, which is one of the main dynamics of modernity since put forward, have increased from the end of the twentieth century onwards. In this particular study, reflexive modernisation theories have been considered around the axis of ambiguity. At the current stage of modernisation, ambiguity has disem-bedded concepts as well as institutions and placed them in continuous flow. As a result, individuals having deserted the traditions depicting their lives and their locality in the gradually fading pages of the past, have attempted to edit themselves in a new order based on education, competition and mobility. Ambiguity of the individualisation process is this very life leaning on the ‘do it yourself’ type of lifestyle.

This study has been circumscribed around the argument that narcissism is a side effect of individualisation which is one of the basic processes of reflexive modernisation, and that one of the most prominent devices making narcissists visible is Facebook. It is the words of Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto: “All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind”(Marx&Engels, 2008: 25) that have given the study its format. In this study ordered by these clauses, the “prosumer” concept with the three aspects of its relationships with infrastructural issues, namely, capital, worker and consumer, have been discussed. Subsequently, the breaking of the defining frames of traditions and the burdening of the individual by the responsibility of composing his own biography as a consequence of the proximation and acceleration of the processes of globalisation and individualisation and the resulting uncertainty has been analysed. In the last part, narcissism as a social consequence and Facebook as its visible face have been merged with the topics discussed in the previous divisions and the fetishistic edition of his profile and the editing of his ‘do-it-yourself’ biography have been looked into.

These three divisions diverting from the traditional view of modernity based on opposites and polarities, has attempted on a critical stance to create a different visual angle. Though the criticism mentioned has been derived from institutions related to modernity, the argument of this study has been constructed originally. This study, using this original argument, has attempted to discuss the processes which have produced the likes of Facebook and social network services of its kind, rather than discussing their functions and effects on our current society.

Most opposites employed to surpass the ambiguities of modernity have been brought to discussion along the study, and it has been argued that the separation between these opposites have gradually become indistinct. The basic support of this argument has been the reflexive nature of modernity. Of the opposites discussed has been the tension between the imaginary and the physical reality. This opposition which has been attempted to be explained and to go beyond using the *cybrid* concept have gone into one another in the Facebook example as Facebook is an important example to cybrid. Another opposition has been positioned between the producer and the consumer. The fact that these two identifications have become inseparable or indiscriminable from one another has been demonstrated in the example of Facebook

through the 'prosumer' concept. Even though appearing as opposites in terms of the scope of what they point to, globalisation and individualisation are processes which give birth to each other. Facebook, although having a global usage space, is a device that stays afloat only through the visual designs related to the individualisation of the individual prosumers. With this character, Facebook makes indistinct the opposites it harbours between time and locality through both being in an imaginary reality and the acceleration of the turnover of capital. In this environment anything disembedded to become global is continually replaced in the flow. The narcissist recognised as the side product of individualisation, joins the togetherness of opposites by not being ever satisfied on account of keeping together his needs and his introversion. The narcissist produces, manages and consumes her profile in Facebook. The earlier tolerance of spying on others only has now taken her into its scope. Hence, eyeing and exhibiting, herself and the other, the victim or the terrorist have become one.

Facebook is a product of a culture wherein seeing rests on illusions (e.g., central perspective-illusion of depth). Seeing in this product the self, other-self and the Other is not free of illusions. However, illusion cannot originate from a lack that accompanies it. To the contrary the imaginary and the physical reality have overlapped. Many claim that Facebook is more open to interactions compared to other social networking systems. Foreexample, the web site called My Space is more concentrated on its own presentations while Facebook allows for a space to interact with other users (McClard&Anderson, 2008: 10-12). The imaginary and the physical reality have telescoped into one another, but at the same time the individual furthers his estrangement level in daily life in an occurrence like this that takes reference from vision liable to illusion, because he trusts his existence to his coldblooded eye on the screen. An interaction relying on exhibiting and peeking cannot form the basis of a socialising way dependent on action and distant from illusion (wrong consciousness). In this respect Facebook is the stage of the tragedy of the individual's ability to think of self, other-self and Other, and even the society. In addition to this, the audience is also the player and is always on stage. For Niedzviecki "Peeping Culture" is contagious. After one contact besides "following" the others, we want everything about us to be seen... Peeping is gradually gaining the significance of a mechanism converting the social sense. Minds going through this mechanism can no longer be satisfied by sitting aside; quickly coming to that stage of "we also want to do this". (2010: 27-28).

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