THE PRIVACY PARENTHESIS:
GUTENBERG, *HOMO CLAUSUS* AND THE NETWORKED SELF

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O. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Given that 'privacy' is not so much a single entity, as a cluster of related conceptual, attitudinal, behavioral and material elements, it is technically more appropriate to speak of a 'privacy complex', and even, varying with the perspective from which it is approached, to distinguish between core and adjunct features. But on further reflection 'complex' would also be appropriate in another way, for it is arguable that as understood in the MiT8 Call for Papers the notion of privacy is not valid globally (there are places where such privacy is not an issue) or historically (there have been times when such privacy was not an issue and those times can return). Privacy, in other words, is something that some societies at some times have a 'complex' about. It is not normative, or even perhaps normal; from global and historical perspectives it may indeed be abnormal and even aberrant. So it would actually be better to speak of a **'**privacy syndrome', a set of disparate symptoms which can nonetheless be assigned to a common underlying cause. Identifying that underlying cause, at two levels, will be undertaken in what follows, in the process offering some information on the past which may provide insights on the future.

At the first level, the privacy complex emerged locally (in the west) and temporarily (for the last few centuries) under the auspices of a wider system of perception and conception (ways of seeing and thinking), here mostly abbreviated as 'mindset'. The more this mindset dominates

in individuals, or collectively in the society they constitute, the more it will be taken for granted that privacy is a natural and proper aspect of personal and social life, and consequently a matter for concern or even obsessive anxiety when it appears to be threatened.

But variation between places and times involves more than the varying strength of this privacy-inducing mindset, including even its negative expression that privacy is an evil to be avoided.[1] This paper asserts that it is possible to discern a quite different mindset, based on an *alternative* system of conception and perception, whose strength at a given time and place is inversely proportional to the first. From *its* perspective, privacy is ultimately not merely less significant, or even a bad thing, but a concept difficult to fathom: in some times and places privacy is literally *inconceivable*. But conversely, this other mindset provides the cognitive habitat for an alternative syndrome about personal and social life, which in its turn is virtually inconceivable from the perspective of our privacy-inducing mindset.
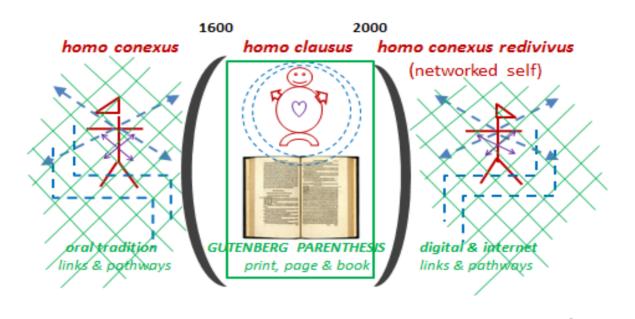
It will further be asserted that specifically for western societies, the temporal alternations between these two systems have over recent centuries followed a historical trajectory producing what can usefully and legitimately be seen as a 'Privacy Parenthesis' – a period of dominance for the privacy-inducing mindset whose early-modern opening interrupted a period more characterized by the alternative, but which is currently in the process of re-asserting itself. The opening and closing of the Privacy Parenthesis, finally, are related to, and quite probably determined by, significant shifts in the ambient media technology, whose historical development displays an analogous and synchronous parenthetical trajectory. The Privacy Parenthesis, in other words, is an auxiliary component of the 'Gutenberg Parenthesis' introduced in presentations to earlier conferences in the MiT series,[2] and which is accordingly hereby identified as the second, deepest, source of the privacy syndrome.[3]

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[1] A feature of early-modern commentary on the growth of privacy; see for example Georges Duby, "Solitude: Eleventh to Thirteenth Century", in Philippe Ariès & Georges Duby, eds., *A History of Private Life*, 5 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Bellknap Press, Harvard University Press, 1987-91), vol. II, *Revelations of the Medieval World*, ed. Georges Duby (1988), pp. 509-533, at p. 510.

[2] Lars Ole Sauerberg, "The Encyclopedia and the Gutenberg Parenthesis", Media in Transition 6 (2009), full text at http://web.mit.edu/comm-forum/mit6/papers/sauerberg.pdf; Tom Pettitt, "Before the Gutenberg Parenthesis: Elizabethan American Compatibilities", Media in Transition 5 (2007), full text at http://web.mit.edu/comm-forum/mit5/papers/pettitt_plenary_gutenberg.pdf; "Opening the Gutenberg Parenthesis: Media in Transition in Shakespeare's England", Media in Transition 5 (2007), full text at http://web.mit.edu/comm-forum/mit5/papers/Pettitt.Gutenberg%20Parenthesis.Paper.pdf; "Containment and Articulation: Media Technology, Cultural Production and the Perception of the Material World", Media in Transition 6 (2009), full text at http://web.mit.edu/comm-forum/mit6/papers/Pettitt.pdf.

[3] The notion of a "Privacy Parenthesis" tracking the "Gutenberg Parenthesis has been presented, on the basis of earlier presentations in this series, by Nilesh Zacharias, "What Comes After the Privacy Parenthesis?" *Digitally Numb* (blog, 2 August 2010), http://digitallynumb.com/post/893387716. The Gutenberg Parenthesis idea has

(THE PRIVACY PARENTHESIS)

homo conexus — 1600 — homo clausus — 2000 — homo conexus redivivus (networked self)

oral tradition links & pathways — GUTENBERG PARENTHESIS print, page & book — digital & internet links & pathways

I. ALTERNATIVE MINDSETS

I.1. *Homo Clausus* and the Privacy Syndrome

The characteristics of the mindset conducive to the privacy syndrome are readily discernible behind the terminology deployed in its discussion, both scholarly (as indeed at MiT8) and idiomatic, and with regard to its conceptual, perceptual, attitudinal, and material aspects.

The very concept of privacy indeed implies a demarcation from something else, typically the concept of the public, and the two have of course gone through a parallel, symbiotic development over recent centuries.[4] They are both perceived as 'spaces' (10 MiT8

also been invoked in relation to changing attitudes to privacy by Jeff Jarvis, *Public Parts: How Sharing in the Digital Age Improves the Way We Work and Live* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2011), pp. 91-92, with focus on its implications for coping with modern developments, and Jill Walker Rettberg , "Blogs, Literacies and the Collapse of Private and Public", *Leonardo Electronic Almanac*, 16.2 – 3 (Jan. 2008), 1-10, covering the same historical scope as the present study.

[4] As surveyed in Jürgen Habermas's classic *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (German original 1962; MIT Press, Cambridge, MA, 1991), which for more recent developments, and from a media perspective, might be usefully supplemented by Zizi A. Papacharissi, *A Private Sphere: Democracy in a Digital Age* (Oxford: Wiley, 2010). There is a succinct survey in the section on

summaries) having a common 'boundary' (9 summaries), one that in periods of change, like the present, can be shifted or moved. It is conventional to speak of public and private 'spheres' (9 summaries) – although geometrically two spheres cannot have much of a boundary (unless one is inside the other). Individual speakers at the conference referred more specifically to 'zones of privacy', and to privacy as a 'bounded environment' or an 'exclusionary space', whose penetration can be perceived as an 'invasion'.[5]

Demarcations and boundaries are also characteristic of the privacy syndrome's more material elements, not least the spatial enclosures reifying the abstract private sphere by delimiting an actual private space, which is to be protected both from uncontrolled ingress or monitoring by outsiders, both of which could lead to the undesired diffusion of information on private matters (giving communications media at least an adjunct status in the privacy syndrome). These physical boundaries are typically configured as concentric enclosures ensuring in the first instance the *domestic* privacy of the nuclear family, and in the second the *personal* privacy of the individual within the household environment, the latter from this new perspective rescheduled from 'inside' to 'outside'.

Physical boundaries rarely constitute effective barriers in their own right, however, and the privacy of those within a given space is secured mainly by virtue of a social consensus that accords respect to even a token demarcation (like a low fence) or a virtual one (say a 'Private Property' notice, or even unwritten conventions that treat doors as 'closed' at certain times). Such conventions accord the right to privacy (in expectation of reciprocity) to social groupings at various levels, at their core to the individual – whose autonomy includes the right to determine who should be 'made privy' to his intimate thoughts, expressions and actions. Material and virtual boundaries are analogously operative in tandem in the communication of such private information in the sealed letter, access to which requires, in addition to interception, both physical opening, and the breach of major social taboos, a boundary-transgressing 'violation' at several levels.

'Historicizing the Public/Private Duality' in the paper, "Digitally Disembodied: Social Surveillance and the Rise of Crowdsourced Morality" contributed by Wayne Erik Rysavy to MiT8, accessible at: http://web.mit.edu/comm-forum/mit8/papers/RYSAVY.pdf.

[5] In addition to a sweep of MiT8 papers, what follows is based on surveys of privacy, most of them deploying similar metaphors of enclosure and demarcation, for example Jeff Jarvis, *Public Parts*, pp. 93-102; Cecile M. Jagodzinski, *Privacy and Print: Reading and Writing in Seventeenth-Century England* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999), pp. 13-17; Lawrence Friedman, *Guarding Life's Dark Secrets: Legal and Social Controls over Reputation, Propriety, and Privacy* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007).

This part-social (seen from the outside) part-mental (seen from the inside) perimeter securing the privacy of the individual has a material concomitant in the sartorial envelope which protected the naked body not merely from the elements but from the view of the outside world – or conversely protecting the outside world from viewing the body, for the strength of the reactions, ranging from distaste, through embarrassment, to arousal) at the public exposure of the naked body are significant adjuncts to individual privacy. And significantly, such reactions are particularly acute at the exposure of specific parts of the body attributed a specially private status, some of them indeed designated 'private parts'. They are uniformly so qualified as being precisely the points at which the innermost, corporeal carapace of the individual is breached by orifices through which matter moves from inside to outside (and occasionally vice-versa). Furthermore a tell-tale symptom of the privacy syndrome is the requirement that unavoidable transgressions of either of these personal boundaries – nudity; evacuations of all kinds; sexual activity – should take place *in private*: socially under the domestic auspices of the nuclear family; materially in designated rooms, including those the British call called "privies".

Against this background it is no surprise that the auspices of, and indeed a prerequisite for, the privacy syndrome – its immediate unifying cause -- comprise a demarcation- and enclosure-oriented mindset, which can in turn usefully be summarized and symbolized in the figure of *homo clausus*, contained man, the man of enclosures. He is transferred directly to present purposes from Norbert Elias's Introduction to the 1968 edition of his classic study of the growth of 'civilization' (as we understand it), at whose core, Elias asserts, is a "concept of the individual as *encapsulated* 'inside' himself, *severed* from everything existing outside him".[6] Although Elias nowhere speaks of privacy (or Gutenberg), his *homo clausus* clearly represents a mindset compatible, and to a degree overlapping, with core symptoms of the privacy syndrome:

> self-perceptions as an actually existing *cage* which *separates and excludes* the 'self' … from the world 'outside' the individual … the notion of the individual 'ego' in its *locked case*, the 'self' divided by an invisible *wall* from what happens outside.[7]

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[6] Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process* (original German edition 1939), trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford: Blackwell, 2 vols., 1978 & 1982; one vol. edn. with through-pagination 1994 repr. 1997), p. 211 (emphasis supplied) and cf. p. 201-6.
[7] Elias, *Civilizing Process*, p. 210, emphasis supplied.

As deployed here, *homo clausus* is defined as operating with a system of seeing and thinking that encompasses both Elias's 'civilization' and the privacy syndrome, and a good deal more. Decisive for the diagnosis is that confronted with an image in the form of a line, the default mode for *homo clausus* is to interpret it as demarcating the one side from the other. A matrix of overlapping lines will correspondingly be perceived as defining and forming the boundaries between enclosures. This quality recurs in his conceptions and perceptions at a variety of levels.

His notions of how the world is screwed together are accordingly based on demarcated *categories*, often arranged in binary opposites such as animate or inanimate; alive or dead; human or animal; male or female; black or white … private or public. He can correspondingly be expected to see time as composed of complete units, memory as the storage and retrieval of information, education as the unloading of knowledge and understanding out of one mind and into another.

Homo clausus will similarly perceive himself and the world around him in terms of containment and enclosure; inside versus outside. The body comprises organs and fluids ('innards') contained within a carapace, whose integrity (allowing for controlled ingress and egress through dedicated orifices) is decisive for health and well-being. Clothing and various types of protective gear constitute an outer envelope reinforcing the corporeal and providing further enclosing affordances.

Looking outward, he will perceive this doubly demarcated body as operating within a material environment analogously made up of superimposed enclosures -- rooms, houses, properties, settlements, regions, nations – identified in terms of their boundaries, likewise with only exceptional gaps allowing movement between inside and outside. This enclosed landscape's social correlative comprises the contained units -- family; community; association; state – in relation to which he is either an insider or an outsider. Looking inwards, his selfhood will be perceived, by himself and others of his ilk, as the innermost enclosure of this system (and a mental analogue to the material enclosure of body and clothing), an indwelling autonomy, a unique individuality which would exist even in the absence of social relationships or material connections.

Without this demarcation- and enclosure-based mindset of *homo clausus* little or nothing of the privacy syndrome could be operative, and the stronger the mindset is, within the individuals making up a society, the more privacy will be an unquestioned aspect of the way it is felt things should be.

I.2.*Homo Conexus and the Honour Syndrome*

It comes as a jolt to be reminded that conceiving of and perceiving both oneself and the world, materially and cognitively, in this way, is neither inevitable nor universal.[8] There is an alternative system of seeing and thinking based on an alternative principle which is not so much the opposite of containment as incompatible with it. And that principle is connection: demarcation breaks connection; connection breaches containment. On the model of *homo clausus*, the alternative mindset is usefully represented and symbolized by the connected man / the man of connections, *homo conexus*. Like much else in this study, he too is hi-jacked from an existing discourse, in this case related to contemporary media and society,[9] but the image is taken to have a much wider import and validity.

As defined here *homo conexus* , confronted with the image in the form of a line, instinctively perceives it not as demarcating the areas on either side, but as joining the points at each end.[10] Correspondingly a matrix of overlapping lines will be perceived not as defining and enclosing spaces but as forming an articulated structure, or a network of links between nodes. *Homo conexus* will accordingly conceive of the world as constructed not in terms of demarcated categories, but of gradations (that is, etymologically, of connected steps) or links in a chain. The binary opposites envisaged by *homo clausus* will for *homo conexus* represent merely the theoretical extremes of a spectrum within which actual phenomena can be variously distributed: between animate and inanimate, between alive and dead; human and animal; male and female, black and white … between solitude and being in a crowd. He can be expected to

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[8] This moment came for the present writer on reading Guillemette Bolens, *La Logique du Corps Articulaire* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires, 2000), from which many of these insights developed.

[9] The term was first deployed by James Fallows in a "journalistic experiment in living a Web 2.0-only life" in 2006 and reported in "Homo Conexus. A veteran technology commentator attempts to live entirely on Web 2.0 for two weeks", *MIT Technology Review* (July 1, 2006). It has subsequently been deployed in the more general sense of the consumer who is characterized by his ability to 'network', in a study of contemporary marketing conditions, in Danish, by Morten Bay, *Homo Conexus. Netværksmennesket* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal Business, 2009); there is a brief English summary of Bay's views at http://storbykonference.ungaalborg.dk/index.php/konferencen/abstracts. For a critical view of the obsession with being connected, deploying this term, see Skip Bowman, "Homo Conexus – Too much participation and not enough action", *Global Mindset*, 4 September 2009, http://gmindset.wordpress.com/2009/09/04/homo-conexus-too-much-participation-and-not-enough-action/.

see time as a series of connected moments, memory as repeating a journey from point to point, education as following in a master's footsteps.

When observing and interacting with the material environment he will perceive it not in terms of enclosures in relation to which he is inside or outside but in terms of avenues and junctions (corridors and door; paths and bridges; roads and intersections; sea-routes and ports) to move through.[11] What for *homo clausus* are boundaries *homo conexus* reclassifies as potential obstacles to progress; what *homo conexus* sees as natural junctions facilitating movement between avenues (gateways) are perceived by homo clausus as necessary exceptions to boundaries (gates).

In an exact analogy, *homo conexus* perceives the body as constructed of limbs linked by joints,[12] and rather than penetration from without or eruption from within, his physical anxieties will be focused on occurrences – severing of limbs, jamming of joints – incapacitating action and movement. If *homo clausus* is Humpty Dumpty, *homo conexus* is matchstick man, each with his appropriate corporeal neurosis. Observing an artifact or a building *homo conexus* will be more alert to the structures holding it together than the surfaces constituting its shape. With regard to artifacts supplementing the body his interest is likely to be directed less to their enveloping function than to their limb-enhancing affordances (typically tools and weapons). In a crowd, while *homo clausus* will seek to establish elbow room, *homo conexus* will elbow his way through it.

Analogously, society is perceived and engaged with by *homo conexus* as organized and functioning in terms of networks linking individuals to each other, rather than groupings to which the individual does or does not belong, any one individual having (often multiple) connections within several networks: genealogical lineage; power- and property networks; craft and professional links; informal affiliations of interest and influence. These links and their built-in interdependencies, rights and obligations, simultaneously create for the individual a selfhood resting on affinity rather than autonomy, on connection rather than demarcation: constituting a networked rather than a contained self.

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[10] This fundamental distinction is inadequately acknowledged in the otherwise canonical study by Tim Ingold, *Lines: A Brief History* (London: Routledge, 2007).

[11] For more elaborate presentations (prefacing studies of particular texts), see my "Books and Bodies, Bound and Unbound", *Orbis Litterarum*, 64.2 (2009): 104-126; "Body and Environment in the Contemporary Legend: Articulation vs. Containment", *Contemporary Legend*, N.S. 8 (2009 for 2005): 47-66.

[12] Bolens, *La Logique du Corps Articulaire*.

There is metaphorically and perhaps even literally little 'room' for privacy in a world conceived and perceived by and through such a connective mindset. Apprised that he should be concerned about it, *homo conexus* could only wonder where in his world it might be located and if he found it where about his person he should keep it. His anxieties are based on factors conceived in terms other than transgression: not the invasion of privacy or the violation of his autonomy, but the blocking of the channels and the rupture of the links which make up his material and social worlds, not least the severing of connections in the networks of two-way access in which he is a node, damaging an affinity which, in both quantity (how many links?) and quality (with whom?) defines his selfhood.[13]

If *homo clausus* is obsessive about a privacy based on containment and autonomy that *homo conexus* finds it difficult to conceive of, then conversely the latter displays an equivalent but connection- and affinity-based obsession that *homo clausus* has difficulty getting his mind around: a complex of associated attitudes and behavioral patterns for which a viable designation, again on the privacy model, might be the honor syndrome. 'Honor' is not something indwelling which would perdure in personal isolation; it is conferred by others by virtue of reciprocal connection, affinity, and requires constant affirmation. Being alone on the proverbial desert island would be the absolute achievement of privacy, but the absolute annihilation of honor.

The word was originally a technical term applied, appropriately enough, to the conglomeration of estates held by a given medieval nobleman, in return for reciprocal loyalty and services, from the higher lord of whom he was the feudal vassal (who himself had them directly or indirectly from the king). Individual manors or subordinate units were in turn held from him by others on the same basis, and so on down through the system to the individual serf. And in current or at least recent usage 'honor' still tends to be associated with social systems based on a hierarchical network as much or more than group solidarity: the extended family; tribes; mafia organizations; regiments; elite schools.

I.3. Variation over Time and Space

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[13] Our understanding of *homo conexus*, his world and his mindset, can accordingly be expected to benefit from the major advances currently under way in network theory and network studies, as popularized for example in Albert-László Barabási, *Linked. How Everything is Connected to Everything Else and What it Means for*

What follows will sketch the changing balance over time in the relative dominance of the privacy and honor syndromes (reflecting that of their respective mindsets or cognitive habitats) within a particular society (western 'civilization'), but it is also evident that at a given time the balance between them varies between different cultures (and even between different sub-cultures within a society). There are demarcative (sub-)cultures, prone to the privacy syndrome, in which *homo clausus* dominates, and connective (sub-)cultures, prone to the honor syndrome, in which *homo conexus* dominates.

With regard to the present moment it can be appreciated from this perspective that globalization is facilitating encounters between *homo clausus* and *homo conexus* both at home (through immigration) and abroad (through western excursions of various kinds into the third world). Those encounters can involve confrontations based not merely on disagreements with regard to mutually understood matters of contention (should the frontier be here or here; should the trail go this way or that way) but on reciprocally inconceivable ways of perceiving the world. Identifying the two – incompatible – mindsets may go some way to predicting, understanding and handling such conflicts, for ultimately they are both 'civilizations'. *Homo clausus* may respond with horror and incomprehension to the 'honor killing' with which *homo conexus* responds to a perceived threat to his affinity; but he will strongly sympathize with, or even pass laws to exonerate, the denizen of a home, property or gated community who perpetrates what qualifies as a 'privacy killing', its victim being a trespasser perceived as invading his autonomous private space (you may 'stand your ground').

For a given culture/sub-culture, the balance between mindsets varies over time: there are demarcative, privacy-oriented periods in which *homo clausus* dominates and connective, honor-oriented periods in which *homo conexus* dominates – and the conflicts between the two mindsets will be particularly acute at moments of transition between their respective dominance (when *homo conexus* and *homo clausus* will for a while live cheek by jowl).

From the widest perspective it is quite likely that the ways of thinking and seeing of *homo conexus* are the original and natural mode for *homo sapiens*,[14] those of *homo clausus*, like

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Business, Science, and Everyday Life (Cambridge, Mass.: Perseus Publishing, 2002; repr. New York: Plume, 2003).

[14] Commented on from various perspectives by Elias, *The Growth of Civilization*, p. 213; Tim Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 4; John Miles Foley, *Oral Tradition and the Internet: Pathways of the Mind* (Urbana etc.: University of Illinois Press, 2012, p. 181.

lactose tolerance, a local mutation. What follows, however, has a far from global compass, and it will be assumed that both mindsets have been operative in western societies throughout their recorded history, and indeed that the conceptions and perceptions of any individual have encompassed simultaneously both demarcative and connective aspects, the balance between them varying from one period to another.

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II. 1600: PRIVACY AND PRINT

II.1. From Connection to Containment

Specifically for the main-stream culture of western societies (that is European culture and its overseas diaspora) a major shift occurred in the late-medieval and early-modern periods (the watershed/ lock-in point around 1600), with the increasing dominance of *homo clausus* at the expense of *homo conexus*.

Manifested as demarcative conception and perception ousting connective, it is registered in most of the fields surveyed above: in conception by categorization dominating gradation (racism in the modern sense being among the more striking symptoms); in perception (and related attitudes and behaviors) by demarcation and enclosure dominating connection and networks with regard to the human body (natural and artefactual envelopes),[15] the material environment, social relationships, and notions of selfhood.[16] This modulation will also have

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[15] Elias, *Civilizing Process*, pp. 114; 134; 146-8; Valerie Steele, *The Corset: A Cultural History* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2001), ch. 1; David Kunzle, *Fashion and Fetishism: Corsets, Tight-lacing and Other Forms of Body-Sculpture* (Stroud: Sutton, 2004); Kim M. Phillips, "Bodily Walls, Windows, And Doors: The Politics Of Gesture In Late Fifteenth-Century English Books For Women", in *Medieval Women: Text and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain: Essays for Felicity Riddy*, ed. J. Wogan-Browne *et al*. (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2000), pp. 185-198.

[16] Major contributions to the extensive literature on these various enclosures in English society, not east as registered in Renaissance literature, include Peter Stallybrass, "Patriarchal Territories: The Body Enclosed", in *Rewriting the Renaissance: Discourses of Difference in Early Modern Europe*, ed. M.W. Ferguson (Chicago: Chicago Univ. Press, 1986), pp. 123-142; David Hillman, *Shakespeare's Entrails: Belief, Scepticism and the Interior of the Body* (New York: Palgrave/St. Martin's Press, 2007). Hillman's book is the culmination of a project whose earlier stages are reflected in his "Visceral Knowledge: Shakespeare, Skepticism, and the Interior of the Early Modern Body", in Hillman, David, & Mazzio, Carla, eds.*The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 81-105; "The Inside Story", in *Historicism, Psychoanalysis, and Early Modern Culture*, ed. Carla Mazzio & Douglas Trevor (New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 299-324. These in turn are part of the 'corporeal turn' (also encompassing, as here, other enclosures) in Early Modern literature studies, as also represented for example by Richard Burt & John Michael, eds., *Enclosure Acts: Sexuality, Property and Culture in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1994);

encompassed the shift from honor to privacy as the major focus of anxiety for the individual, and this is indeed the period at which privacy emerges as a major issue,[17] most materially documented in the deliberate withdrawal of well-to-do families from parts of their residence which they shared with servants and visitors into more secluded chambers.[18] The fading of the honor syndrome is reflected not merely in spectacular fields like dueling, but also in the declining incidence of arranged marriages and in due course of family veto over the choice of marriage-partner. The legal procedure of denying an accusation by acquiring the affirmative 'voice' of one's affinity (that one was of 'good fame') similarly fell into disuse.

II.2. The Media Environment: The Gutenberg Revolution

Of the many probable causes of this both drastic and fundamental shift in the dominant mindset of western cultures, this paper asserts the pre-eminence of change in media technology, that is to say the delivery systems by which cultural production, information and ideas (what specialists call 'stuff') are communicated between producer and end-user, transmitted over time and diffused across space. It is taken to include, alongside mechanical, electronic and digital systems, both the low technology of scribal copying and the technological zero option of the human memory, voice and hearing (customarily if misleadingly referred to as 'oral tradition').

The assertion qualifies as a form of 'technological determinism', with the specific reservation that the technology doing the determining is specifically that deployed in communication, transmission and diffusion rather than the ambient technology of the given society in general. The perspective applied here is furthermore a 'media ecology',[19] which metaphorically equates the complex of media technologies operative at a given time in a given place with an

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David Hillman & Carla Mazzio, eds., *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 1997).

[17] On the latter see notably Philippe Ariès & Georges Duby, gen. eds., *A History of Private Life*, 5 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987-91). Of interest more specifically here are Vol. II, *Revelations of the Medieval World*, ed. Georges Duby (1988) and Vol. III, *Passions of the Renaissance*, ed. Roger Chartier (1989).

[18] Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London: Temple Smith, 1978), "The withdrawal of the upper classes", p. 271; David Starkey, "The Age of the Household: Politics, Society and the Arts c. 1350 – c. 1550", in *The Later Middle Ages*, ed. Stephen Medcalf, The Context of English Literature (London: Methuen 1981), pp. 225-290, at p. 244; and for a striking local instance (in which the number of doors from street to chamber increased over a century from two to five), see Jane Grenville, "Houses and Households in Late Medieval England: An Archaeological Perspective", in *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain. Essays for Felicity Riddy* , ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne *et al*. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 310 – 328, at pp. 317-321.

[19] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Media_ecology. See also the website of the Media Ecology Association, http://media-ecology.org/

environment, advantaging the survival of organisms with the qualities 'fittest' for it. Those organisms are in this instance[20] identified as ways of seeing and thinking (conceptions and perceptions, with their associated attitudes and attendant patterns of behavior) as represented by the mindsets just surveyed.[21] But the metaphor also encompasses the reciprocal, feedback process in which the success of a given organism will affect the ecological system as a whole: i.e. once dominant, a mindset fit for a given environment will impress its characteristics on that environment.

Specifically, it is here asserted that the shift from connective to demarcative seeing and thinking in the late-medieval and early-modern European mindset, the dominance, that is, of *homo clausus* and his privacy syndrome, is the result of the major shift in the period's media environment resulting from the cumulative effect of a shifting complex of media technologies. Some of these had been in place for a considerable time (writing; the codex), others were relatively recent (reader-friendly scripts; paper), while the contribution of the latest, print, was both quantitative, in multiplying many times (up-scaling) the impact of the others, and qualitative, in introducing changes of its own. The combined qualitative and quantitative affordances of print warrant designating this cumulative shift the Gutenberg revolution, although it did not culminate (as measured in numbers of products and the cultural systems it affected) until ca 1600.

In the thesis presented here (compared say to the cognitive perspectives deployed by McLuhan) there is nothing arcane about the causative processes involved, which are taken to reside quite simply in the way the print revolution also involved a fundamental shift from connection/articulation/networks to demarcation/containment/enclosure in the dominant characteristics of the media environment itself, triggering analogous changes in other fields, not least ways of seeing and thinking.[22]

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[20] The author has elsewhere identified the organisms as cultural products (say forms of narrative) competing for survival in an environment constituted by media technology and ways of thinking: the three manifestly participate in a triangular set of relationships which can be approached from diverse perspectives.

[21] This is a (for reasons of space) simplified rendition of the extended introduction to an ecological perspective put forward by Ronald J. Deibert in his *Parchment, Printing, and Hypermedia: Communication in World Order Transformation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), ch. 1, "Medium Theory, Ecological Holism, and the Study of World Order Transformation". An evolutionary vocabulary is also recommended by Willard McCarty, "The Future of Digital Humanities Is a Matter of Words", in *The Blackwell Companion to New Media Dynamics*, ed. Jean Burgess, John Hartley and Axel Bruns (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), pp. 33-52, at p. 43, but emphatically one which "substitutes interaction for impact and assertive self-identity for passive victimhood".

[22] For some remarks along these lines see W. J. Ong, *Interfaces of the Word* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977), p. 330; J. D. Bolter, *Writing Space: Computers, Hypertext, and the Remediation of Print* (2nd edn. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2001), p. 193.

Under pre-literate auspices (which obtained in many sub-cultures and cultural systems after others had become literate) mediation of verbal material essentially comprises the connections between the performers who pass it on from one to another (implicit in both 'tradition' and 'transmission'), while diffusion involves the movement of those performers from one location to another, and their serial performances over time. Performance itself amounts to multiple instances of choosing a pathway, be it improvised or premeditated, conscious or unconscious, between the choices afforded by a network of opportunities, or, from a different perspective, connecting episode to episode, motif to motif, (verbal) formula to formula.

These positive, connective features are matched by the absence of demarcation and enclosure. Individual performances are not constrained by a fixed text, and can vary in length and content according to circumstances, in so doing omitting or adding material (in the latter case sometimes from other works) in a manner which defies the boundaries between cultural products. The effect of the lack of enclosure in the mediating technology is reinforced by the lack of closure in the material mediated: fragments (not of course perceived as such), sequels and prequels being part of the natural order.[23]

Scribal transmission preserved some of these uncontained, connective features, but in other ways prepared the ground for the massive containment characteristic of print mediation, in which a fixed, that is, impregnable, inviolable text, emerging out of an appropriately named 'press', is contained within a text block surrounded by a margin of blank paper itself limited by the edges of a uniform paper sheet. As often as not the latter is folded and stitched into a gathering, several of which are glued together to form a codex, in turn bound within covers, sometimes supplemented by a slip-case or dust-jacket. This multiply enclosed 'volume' is conventionally kept in a book-case, from which it has to be removed and opened to facilitate access to its 'contents' in an 'immersive' reading during which the reader risks being 'lost in a book'. And here too the quality, now enclosure, of the medium was echoed by that, now closure, of the work mediated, and by a corresponding increase in the originality of individual works, severing the connections between works.

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[23] See for example Foley, *Pathways of the Mind*, "oAgora: Oral Networks to Surf" (pp. 165-179); "Online with OT" (pp. 179-182).

The likelihood of a relationship between this enclosure of the medium (and the stuff it mediated) and the containment characteristic of the mindset of *homo clausus* is reinforced by the ease with which aspects of the latter, not least the body as envelope, can be expressed metaphorically in terms of the former (he was an open book; he was hard to read), and vice-versa (the body of the text; a corpus of works).[24] Books are also sometimes equated with the bodies of the author of their contents.[25]

Meanwhile the 'ecological' impact of an enclosed media technology on privacy-conducive containment in ways of seeing and thinking is accompanied by reciprocal impact of the latter on the former, establishing a circulation of influences in which it is difficult to pin down the originating factor.

This is acutely the case with the silent, 'deep' reading which became increasingly the norm in the early modern period, and which is seen as a major factor in the emergence of privacy at the time.[26] As an intimate encounter between two normally enclosed bodies, *homo clausus* and his body-like book, it indeed took on sexual overtones making privacy, by the standards surveyed above, entirely appropriate.[27] Both the practice, and its individualism- and privacy-inducing accompaniments had emerged, for specific groups, before print,[28] but the latter, in another complex relationship, with increasingly literacy, will have reinforced the trend thanks to its scalabity affordance. And at some point the mutually sustaining ecological processes will have become operative, culminating in the paradox that while silent reading most naturally occurs in solitude, that is in the context of spatial privacy, it also establishes a virtual privacy in imposing a psychological barrier recognized by outsiders that renders the practice

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[24] For an examination of how the body has become "textualized", see Maria Angel, "Physiology and Fabrication: The Art of Making Visible", in *Images of the Corpse: From the Renaissance to Cyberspace*, ed. Elizabeth Waver (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), pp. 16-38. For a comprehensive list of studies equating books and bodies see Whitney Trettien, "the body as book, and the book as body", *diapsalmata* (blog; 12 Oct 2008), http://blog.whitneyannetrettien.com/#!/2008/10/body-as-book-and-book-as-body.html.

[25] Douglas Bruster, "The Structural Transformation of Print in Late Elizabethan England", in *Print, Manuscript and Performance*, ed. Arthur F. Marotti and Michael D. Bristol (Columbus: Ohio State University, 2000), pp. 49-89, at p. 68.

[26] Roger Chartier, "The Practical Impact of Writing", in *The Book History Reader*, ed. David Finkelstein & Alistair McCleery (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 118-142; Cecile M. Jagodzinski, *Privacy and Print: Reading and Writing in Seventeenth-Century England* (Charlottesville & London: University Press of Virginia, 1999); Rettberg , "Blogs, Literacies and the Collapse of Private and Public", pp. 1, 6.

[27] Karin Littau, *Theories of Reading: Books, Bodies and Bibliomania* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006), p. 2.

[28] Paul Saenger, "Silent Reading: Its Impact on Late Medieval Script and Society", *Viator*, 13 (1982): 367-414; Andrew Taylor, "Into his secret chamber: reading and privacy in late medieval England", in *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England*, ed. James Raven, *et al*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 41-61.

quite feasible in public spaces among company[29] (who even respect the taboo against reading the text someone else is silently absorbing).

Another, and probably related paradox, also reflecting the reciprocal influences of medium and mindset with regard to privacy, is the emergence of the privacy syndrome concurrently with a medium designed for making information public. 'Publication', from a gossip column to an anthology of love sonnets, makes public originally private information, be it about the author or third parties, but its reception takes the form of hundreds or thousands of acts of reading of which most occur under deeply private auspices. Composition, similarly, by authors now establishing their own literary identities, becomes an increasingly solitary act, best pursued in the private auspices famously evoked by Virginia Woolf as "a room of one's own".[30] Readers will undoubtedly have been attracted to many publications by their promise of revealing private matters – the invasion of one or more of the boundaries protecting the privacy of another *homo clausus*[31] – and publishers will have been alert both to the market value of such private matter and to the potential awkwardness attendant on its publication.[32] Privacy and print it seems, entered into an ecological relationship of reciprocal reinforcement, including the inverse or even perverse aspect that the possibility of publication rendered privacy more vital. The interrelationship will also have included the way the material mediated by print, from news to novels, would have offered influential argumentations for, and not least normative *representations of*, the privacy-oriented mindset emerging or consolidating itself at the time.[33]

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III. POST-PRINT AND POST-PRIVACY

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[29] Patrice Flichy, *Une histoire de la communication modern. Espace public et vie privée* (Paris : La Découverte, 1991 ; repr. 1997), pp. 210-211.
[30] Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own* (1929; repr. London: Granada, 1980). The sentiment is echoed by the French writer Marguerite Duras, in her essay, "Écriture", http://fr.scribd.com/doc/99779003/ECRIRE-marguerite-duras.
[31] Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, p. 50; Paul Oppenheimer, *The Birth of the Modern Mind. Self, Consciousness, and the Invention of the Sonnet* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).
[32] For the delicate balance achieved in the early printing of love lyrics, see Wendy Wall, "Disclosures in Print: The 'Violent Enlargement' of the Renaissance Voyeuristic Text", *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 29. 1 (1989): 35-59.
[33] A major topic in Jagodzinski, *Privacy and Print: Reading and Writing in Seventeenth-Century England*.

III.1 The New Media Environment: Closing the Gutenberg Parenthesis

It is a commonplace of commentary on current media developments that with digital technology and the internet we are experiencing a revolution more radical than anything western culture has experienced since, precisely, the irruption of print and the printed book into the early-modern media profile. But there are also those who apply to this technological change the 'restoration *topos*' (originally formulated, prematurely it seems, in relation to the analog mass media of the second half of the twentieth century[34]). This asserts that not merely are the print and digital revolutions commensurate (and so usefully juxtaposed with a view to reciprocal explication), but that the latter is in some significant ways reversing the first. More positively, the current media revolution is to a substantial degree restoring, at a higher level of technology, many aspects of the media situation prior to the impact of print.[35]

And this applies more specifically to the decline of containment, signaled by terminology (and the realities behind it) such as 'streaming', 'torrent', 'feed', 'information highway', matched by the return of connection, as represented by 'network', 'internet', 'links' (hypermedia and hypertext), 'web', 'Linkedin'. Newly common and increasingly accepted ways of handling material such as mix, remix, sampling, fan fiction -- all high-tech restorations of pre-print ways of cultural production -- involve both transgressing the boundaries between works and establishing connections between existing works and the new works created by the processes. The internet provides connections between users, and the individual user makes use of connections between websites and between pages on a website. The technology enables and encourages both bilateral reciprocity between individual users,[36] and multilateral collaboration between users in collective endeavours: a sharing of resources, insights and information which simultaneously both deploys connection and breaches demarcation.[37]

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[34] Marshall McLuhan, *the Gutenberg galaxy* [sic] (Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1962; repr. 2008); Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy. The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Methuen, 1982; repr. 1988).

[35] The major statement is Foley, *Oral Tradition and the Internet*, together with the associated website, The Pathways Project: http://www.pathwaysproject.org/pathways/show/HomePage. For further contextualization see Tom Pettitt, "Media Dynamics and the Lessons of History: The 'Gutenberg Parenthesis' as Restoration *Topos*", in *The Blackwell Companion to New Media Dynamics*, ed. Jean Burgess, John Hartley and Axel Bruns (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), pp. 53-72.

[36] Etienne Pelaprat & Barry Brown, "Reciprocity: Understanding online social relations", *First Monday* 17.10 (October 2012).

[37] Jarvis, *Public Parts: How Sharing in the Digital Age Improves the Way we Work and Live*; Clay Shirky, *Cognitive Surplus: Creativity and Generosity in a Connected Age* (New York: Penguin Press, 2010).

In the Gutenberg era, as we have seen, reader, writer and printed book are separate, enclosed, free-standing units, while both before and after, man and media technology were and will be interconnected to the point of inseparability, both of them parts of a hybrid mediating system. As John Foley strikingly put it: "Books are offline, O[oral]T[radition] and I[nternet]T[echnology] are online".[38] In pre-Gutenburg, illiterate conditions, where there technically is no technology, man *is* the medium, the 'stuff' existing only, diffused and transmitted solely, through his ears, memory and voice, and, serially, those of others. The user is *homo conexus* in this way too, and forms part of the network through which material is diffused. With scribal transmission, the human memory is replaced by the written text, but the human element in transmission (the connecting function of the human) remains in the making by hand of individual new copies which facilitate preservation over time and diffusion over space.

This connection between man and medium is being restored post-Gutenberg at a higher level of technology, so now the ears and voice are supplemented (via fingers and thumbs) by networked digital devices. The latter may have usurped the human memory, but in this and the other functions the devices and their affordances are increasingly understood as extensions of *homo conexus* (unless it is the other way round), forming hybrids within which (or whom) it is not relevant to seek the exact point of demarcation between the connected mind, body and media technology. The user is being restored to his status and function as an integral part of the media technology, not least since, for both periods, that role and function are *active*, in reshaping the material transmitted, in contrast to the passive reception of the book-reader.

One of the most effective (and so provocative) ways of formulating this restoration trajectory in the deep history of media technology – connection interrupted by containment (ca 1600) but later restored (ca 2000) – is the image of a 'Gutenberg Parenthesis' coined by Professor Lars Ole Sauerberg and subsequently elaborated by him and his colleagues within what is now the *Institut for Kulturvidenskaber* (Cultural Sciences Institute) of the University of Southern Denmark.[39] The metaphor invokes what is sometimes distinguished as a 'rhetorical'

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[38] Foley, *Oral Tradition and the Internet*, p. 180.

[39] In addition to the MiT presentations listed earlier see the Position Paper of the Gutenberg Parenthesis Research Forum at http://www.sdu.dk/en/Om_SDU/Institutter_centre/Ikv/Forskning/Forskningsprojekter/Gutenberg_projekt/PositionPaper. There is a more recent and concise presentation in Martin Hynes, *et al*., "Cultural Literacy in Europe Today", *European Science Foundation Science Policy Briefing*, 48 (January 2013), p. 11. http://www.esf.org/uploads/media/spb48_Cultural_Literacy.pdf. For the variant emphasis in the present writer's independent explorations see "The Gutenberg Parenthesis: Oral Tradition and Digital Technologies",

parenthesis, that is an intrusive statement (as opposed to the symbols signaling its opening and closing) interjected into an ongoing statement. It indicates clearly that three phases in a historical development display a particular relationship, in which the beginning and ending of the central phase also involve, respectively, the interruption of what was there before, and its subsequent restoration, although naturally influenced by what occurred during the hiatus (it is not a simple reversion to something less advanced).

III.2. Connection Restored: The Return of Homo Conexus

Like most variants of the restoration *topos*, the Gutenberg Parenthesis seeks to explain phenomena beyond the nuts and bolts of media technology, and the inevitably related cultural production it mediates. In this it conforms to the view accepted more generally that the emergent "new literacies are affiliated with an emergent mindset that differs profoundly from the mindset that dominated the modern period".[40]

The Gutenberg Parenthesis is also amenable, in other words, to elaboration into the terms of media ecology, to the effect that the current decline of enclosure and the restoration of connection in media technology and cultural production will be echoed in the realm of conception and perception with what amounts to the demise of *homo clausus* and the rebirth of *homo conexus*.[41] Since this is not a reversion but a renaissance the latter should properly be distinguished from his predecessor as *homo conexus redivivus*, for which however a viable, vernacular equivalent is available in the notion of the 'networked self'.

It is entirely appropriate that the latter term (like *homo conexus* itself) was introduced to designate a particular relationship of the individual to media technology,[42] but if the ecological relationship holds, it is equally appropriate to a figure who also sees himself, and the landscape and society around him, and the relationships between all three, in terms of connection & networks. But that we are still in a transitional phase is suggested by the way the

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Comparative Media Studies Forum, MIT, 1 April 2010, full summary and link to video at
http://web.mit.edu/comm-forum/forums/gutenberg_parenthesis.html.

[40] Colin Lankshear and Michele Knobel, "Blogging as Participation: The Active Sociality of a New Literacy", Paper Presented to American Educational Research Association, 2006, accessible (as of 16 April 2013) at http://reocities.com/c.lankshear/bloggingparticipation.pdf, p. 1. This is among several mindset-changes corresponding to those identified here as marking the closing of the Gutenberg Parenthesis, for example from "space as enclosed" to "space as open, continuous and fluid". Also relevant here, with reference to social relationships, is Deibert, *Parchment, Printing, and Hypermedia*.

[41] For a presentation, without this terminology, see Tom Pettitt, "Bracketing the Gutenberg Parenthesis", *Explorations in Media Ecology*, 11.2 (2013 for 2012): 95-114.

editor's conclusion to the collection of studies introducing the concept of the 'networked self'
still deploys terms redolent of boundaries, enclosure and containment which should soon
sound anachronistic, be they related to the individual ('autonomous') or his spatial or social
environment ('social spheres', 'spaces', 'private sphere'; 'privée spaces'; 'spheres of
sociality'; 'social spaces'; 'community').[43] They will either acquire quite different meanings,
or be meaningless, when we have fully moved on to the post-parenthetical world (of both
media technology and personal relationships). In neither of manifestations is *homo conexus* a
separate self which is attached to a network: he is a node *in* a network.

And there are signs, under several of the headings surveyed earlier, of a corresponding
restoration of connection at the expense of demarcation and enclosure in the mindset, not least
of the digitally-indigenous. General scientific trends, and occasional newsworthy instances,
concur in a growing acceptance that there are gradations, not watertight categorical
boundaries, between animate and inanimate (man and machine), living and dead, human and
animal, male and female, black and white.[44] Indeed this shift lies behind, and can be deployed
to better understand, many ongoing controversies, not least the bewilderment of American
book-people with an in many ways hybrid president. Similarly reactions to the notion of
marriage between persons construed as belonging to the 'same' sexual category may be best
construed not as opposition but incomprehension. And yes, the reactionary would-be
scaremongers are quite right: the next frontier will be love and marriage between man and
beast[45] (unless the robots beat them to it).[46]

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[42] *A Networked Self: Identity, Community, and Culture on Social Network Sites*, ed Zizi Papacharissi (New York & London; Routedge, 2011.

[43] Zizi Papacharissi, "Conclusion: A Networked Self", in *A Networked Self*, ed. Papacharissi, pp. 304-318. dana boyd's notion of "networked privacy" is equally anachronistic (an oxymoron?) in this context: see her "Networked Privacy", *Surveillance & Society* , 10(3/4), (2013), 348-350.

[44] For developments in relation to some of these see for example Rosi Braidotti, *The Posthuman* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013); Niki Vermeulen, *et al*., eds., *Bio-Objects. Life in the 21st Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012).

[45] As demarcations modulate into connections, there are now established research-trends and indeed associations devoted to acknowledging the selfhood of higher mammals, see: Cary Wolfe, "Human, All Too Human: 'Animal Studies' and the Humanities", *PMLA* 124.2 (2007): 564-575; Jonathan Leake, "Scientists say dolphins should be treated as 'non-human persons'", *Sunday Times* (3 January 2010)
http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/science/article6973994.ece; Nonhumn Rights Project,
http://www.nonhumanrightsproject.org/contact-us/. And movements seeking to legitimize sexual attraction between human and animal are already emerging: Francis, Thomas. "Those Who Practice Bestiality Say They're Part of the Next Sexual Rights Movement", *Broward/Palm Beach News*. 18 August 2009,
http://www.browardpalmbeach.com/2009-08-20/news/those-who-practice-bestiality-say-they-re-part-of-the-next-gay-rights-movement/. As always; Wikipedia knows
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zoophilia#Arguments_for_zoophilia (check "Arguents for Zoophilia").

Perception of the material environment in terms of avenues and junctions, ousted during the Gutenberg Parenthesis by printed maps and charts, is being restored in the form of digital direction-finding applications, which simultaneously echo the computer game in which the screen of the gadget is not a window onto a different world, but a windscreen through which a driver navigates a landscape of pathways, obstacles and opportunities. At the level of world order the frontiered nation state is threatened as the dominant mode by transnational, networked organizations – political, financial, criminal (or permutations of these); charitable – restorations of medieval network patterns, [47] and the same may be happening at more local levels: "the Web has kicked down most of the fencing that lets us recognize a group as a group".[48]

In an age of rampant obesity it is hard to claim a return of the body perceived as limbs and joints, but recalling that post-parenthetical conditions restore the pre-parenthetical at a higher level of technology the new model may be discernible in man-machine hybrids, be the latter element (to the degree it can be distinguished) in the form of abiotic enhancements / extensions, or substitutes for biological features.[49]

The time may be coming, finally, when selfhood is once again perceived in terms of affinity rather than autonomy, the latter manifestly in decline in networks labeling themselves Anonymous, the former perhaps emerging in the as yet fairly innocent significance attributed to befriending in the social media. None of this, incidentally, should in any way be seen as welcoming such developments: life was not fun at the bottom of the feudal system, and we may be surfing to serfdom. The more persons define themselves by their links, the more they develop a 'networked self' in more than the simple media sense, although most of those links are media-based. It will be a matter, *ultimately*, not of a self *with* connections, but a self *made*

[46] David Levy, *Love and Sex with Robots: The Evolution of Human-Robot Relationships* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2008).

[47] Deibert, *Parchment, Printing, and Hypermedia*.

[48] David Weinberger, *Small Pieces Loosely Joined: A Unified Theory of the Web* (New York: Perseus Books, 2002), p. 113.

[49] Recent media coverage of relevant issues includes Hannah Devlin, "Prosthetics use in Olympics should be forbidden, says sports engineer", *The Times* (10 June 2010), http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/sport/more_sport/athletics/article7147152.ece (athletes with artificial limbs can out-run able-bodied competitors); "Japanese scientists create 'Robocop' suit", *The Telegraph* (9 April 2010), http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/japan/7570786/Japanese-scientists-create-Robocop-suit.html (a metal-and-plastic outfit which has eight electric motors that amplify the strength of the wearer's arms and legs in response to voice-commands).

of connections.[50] And what might be the last bastion of parenthetical, demarcative thinking is falling with the 'connectivist' perception[51] – be it a mere perception or scientific reality – that the individual brain itself functions as a network: so part of a wider, recursive, structure at several levels.

III.3. Closing the Privacy Parenthesis

The stage is set, or rather a suitable media environment has (re-)emerged, for the decline of the significance assigned to privacy in a western population in which the balance between *homo clausus* and *homo conexus* is shifting in favor of the latter with every cohort that gets an ipad or a smart-phone for its third birthday (next year: smart glasses). And as with print, the 'environmental' factors producing that transition will be reinforced by the more material affordances of the new media, not least the ease, thanks to a media convergence reversing a divergence established by print, in which interpersonal communication can modulate -- at the click of a mouse or the prod of a thumb -- into publication[52] – matched by corresponding opportunities for eavesdropping.[53]

Most of this can be reformulated into the thesis that we are currently experiencing the closing of the 'privacy parenthesis', chronologically coincident with, and causally related to, the closing of the 'Gutenberg Parenthesis'. The reality of a demarcated private sphere is being steadily eroded. The internet, Daniel Solove fears, is establishing a "global village" which will be a much fuller reproduction of the real (medieval) thing than the analog mass media which provoked Marshall McLuhan into coining the term, and it will be constituted by a media environment in which privacy will be virtually impossible.[54] It is symptomatic of the

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[50] These observations should be seen in relation to the field of identity studies, notably in new media contexts, to which there is an insightful introduction in Nathanael Edward Bassett's MiT8 contribution, "The Private and the Public: Identity and Politics in Virtual Space", full text accessible at: http://web.mit.edu/comm-forum/mit8/papers/Bassett_MiT8_V2.pdf. See also the contribution (with a more specific focus) to the same "Media Spheres" session, Luis Bohorquez, Frances Brazier, Caroline Nevejean, "Sense of Participation", full text at: http://web.mit.edu/comm-forum/mit8/papers/LBohorquez_Sense%20of%20Participation_MIT2013.pdf

[51] Stephen Downes, "Connectivism and Connective Knowledge", *Huffington Post*, Education. 01/05/11 http://www.huffingtonpost.com/stephen-downes/connectivism-and-connecti_b_804653.html.

[52] Susan B. Barnes, "A privacy paradox: Social networking in the United States", *First Monday*, 11.9 (4 September 2006).

[53] Discussion of the topic is usefully surveyed and analyzed in Chris Hoofnagle, "Beyond Google and evil: How policy makers, journalists and consumers should talk differently about Google and privacy", *First Monday*, 14.4 (17 March 2009). For a recent issue under this heading see for example Kevin O'Brien, "Silicon Valley Companies Lobbying Against Europe's Privacy Proposals", *New York* Times (January 25, 2013), http://www.nytimes.com/2013/01/26/technology/eu-privacy-proposal-lays-bare-differences-with-us.html?src=rechp&_r=0

[54] David Solove, *The Future of Reputation: Gossip, Rumor, and Privacy on the Internet* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2007), p. 33.

transition that a new genre, the "Privacy Impact Assessment" for new technologies is emerging to cater to these anxieties.[55] But for the hybrid, connected denizen of the emergent digital feudalism, these conditions will be as natural as the medieval peasant's awareness that spoken communication and town square proclamation differ in degree rather than kind.

One question, of course, remains, beyond the ken of the Call for Papers. With the closing of a parenthesis, that which is in it (in this case, privacy) ends, but what was there before it opened is restored. The decline of the privacy syndrome, the characteristic neurosis of *homo clausus*, should therefore lead not merely to less privacy, and less concern about privacy, but to the restoration of the characteristic neurosis of *homo conexus*, identified in earlier discussion as the honor syndrome. But the parenthesis has come and gone, a restoration is not a reversion, and post-parenthetical honor will reflect the sophistication of its new media environment (and probably incorporate those new media). The post-parenthetical honor syndrome will accordingly not involve duels at dawn or the killing of daughters who have offended the *mores* of the tribe, but it will nonetheless have something to do with the quantity and quality of connections, that is with affinity.

Looking around, it may be that the phenomenon of 'credibility' may be worth monitoring in this connection, be it in the sense of reliability as a source of information, or financial credit-worthiness, or a more social 'street-cred', all of which are largely an expression of the sum (quantity) and value (quality) of one's relationships, as expressed for example in who can vouch for you in the function concerned. (And credibility, as the Republican candidate discovered in 2012, is largely incompatible with privacy.)

But given that the selfhood concerned with its affinity-based honor syndrome is a bio-digital hybrid, the phenomenon of 'web credibility' may be particularly relevant, although research has determined that it is still generally measured in terms of the *appearance* of authority achieved by visual presentation of a website.[56] But of course the simple accessibility of websites is already largely determined by their affinity as ranked by the search engine algorithms: that is by the number of the links to them qualified by the ranking of the sources

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[55] Robert Gellman (specified as a "Privacy and Information Policy Consultant"), review of David Wright & Paul de Hert, eds., *Privacy Impact Assessment* (New York: Springer, 2012), in *First Monday*, 17.9 (3 September 2012).

[56] See the Stanford Web Credibility Project, homepage http://credibility.stanford.edu/ ; Wikipedia entre at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stanford_Web_Credibility_Project.

of those links as measured by their own affinity …. Without connections or the possibility of being connected to, your website will scarcely exist. Network affinity is already something people are willing to cheat for: Is it something, someday soon, someone may be ready to kill for?

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