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Regimes of Self-Presentation and Digital Street Credibility: How Urban Youth Negotiate Online and Offline Visibility

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Abstract

Drawing on a study of how young people in Switzerland appropriate urban public space, this article explores what we term "regimes of self-presentation" among youth in both online and offline spaces. We address issues of privacy and power that help shape such regimes by applying an expanded notion of street credibility that encompasses digital practices. Our concept of "digital street credibility" recognizes how, in today's world, any social or cultural practices engaged in by youth have two potential types of audiences. One is physically present, consisting of other users of urban public space. The second audience is media-based, consisting of people with access to live or prerecorded digital content captured on smartphones and shared on social networks. This situation has forced young people to develop new and specific social conventions governing self-presentation. The article highlights the complex and perilous nature of visibility management. Where privacy and power relations are concerned, a very thin line separates behavior that enhances an individual's social status from actions considered "embarrassing" or "cringe." Our results show how, in the streets as well as online, acceptable forms of visibility are determined on the basis of digital street credibility. These findings suggest a need to reconsider young people's understanding of privacy, as it relates to their leisure activities in urban and digital spaces.

1 Introduction

A decade ago, Boyd (2014) observed that, "Most teens aren't addicted to social media; if anything, they're addicted to each other" (p. 80). Indeed, young people have embraced social media precisely because of how it allows them to connect with

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each other remotely, including from the privacy of their bedrooms. Social networks support collective and even public interactions in a shared space where youth voices, codes, bodies, performances, and self-images are front and center. Through their distinctive use of social media, teenagers have introduced novel ways of showcasing peer relationships, ways that could be described as "publicly intimate."

Today, everyday interactions in urban public space always have the potential to acquire a digital dimension. Likewise, online activities can have a tangible impact on in-person interactions. The introduction and growing accessibility of smartphones have helped blur the boundary between physical and digital space, greatly increasing the potential number of participants in any given social or leisure activity. Young people have their smartphones with them whenever they gather in public. As a result, any in-person social activity can be recorded and shared, and the resulting content has the potential to impact in-person social interactions. But for youth, such a scenario in no way reduces the "importance of private space whether in the home, neighborhood or in 'nature' in which to relax and reflect and to make sense of the world" (Abbott-Chapman & Robertson, 2001, p. 50).

Drawing on a study of how urban youth in Switzerland appropriate public space, this article discusses how young people engage in and formalize practices of sociability and (in)visibility within a continuum that spans in-person and media-based interactions. We address the complexities of how youth develop and negotiate forms of self-presentation in the public (streets, parks, squares) and semi-public (train stations, shopping malls, sports fields, etc.) places they appropriate, as well as on the social networks (Instagram, Snapchat, TikTok, WhatsApp) they regularly use.

In the context of our research study, we defined public space in terms of the dynamic and interactive arrangement of people and goods (Löw, 2016). Like Massey (1994), Yi-Fu (2001), and others, we see a need to distinguish between space and place, with the latter term referring to specific physical or digital venues that hold meaning and value for young people. Today, the various social and cultural practices engaged in by youth have two potential audiences: one that is physically present, consisting of other users of urban public space, and a media-based audience, consisting of people with access to live or prerecorded digital content captured on smartphones and shared on social networks. Faced with these two potential audiences, young people have developed specific self-presentation strategies (Goffman, 1959) for use in both online and offline contexts. This article shows how some young people rely on social conventions (Becker, 1963), often associated with idea of street credibility, to navigate dynamics of power and recognition within peer groups. In fact, because they involve everyday negotiations as part of routine social interactions between peers, such dynamics are subject to a set of conventions as well as to arrangement strategies. We believe the latter are best understood in terms of "regimes of self-presentation." In addition to the social conventions referenced above, this approach builds on the concepts of "regimes of truth" (Foucault, 1990) and "self-presentation" (Goffman, 1959).

More specifically, the article documents regimes of self-presentation among urban youth by analyzing the conventions that govern situations with the potential to interact with both in-person and online audiences. We address issues of privacy and power

that help shape such regimes by applying the concept of "digital street credibility," which expands the notion of street credibility to encompass digital practices.

The first section of the article presents our study methodology. In the second section, we describe our conceptual framework, which combines Foucault's post-structuralist approach with the interactionist theories of Goffman and Becker. This provides the basis for developing the concept of digital street credibility, which allows for a more comprehensive understanding of youth sociability across both online and offline spaces. The empirical analysis is divided into two parts. First, we look at how regimes of self-presentation among youth are closely tied to efforts for simultaneously managing in-person and online audiences, which can be more or less private. Next, we analyze the power relations associated with regimes of self-presentation, showing how recognition and reputation (good or bad). In both cases, success is determined by how skillfully a young person can navigate the relevant social conventions. The article closes with a discussion of what these empirical findings mean for our theoretical approach, which was designed to shed light on contemporary youth socialization practices in both physical urban public spaces and online digital spaces (what we refer to in the rest of the article as simply "urban and digital spaces").

2 Methods: Documenting the Cultural Practices of Youth in the Streets and Online

Our analysis draws on data collected between 2021 and 2024 as part of a research study covering four urban areas in Switzerland. These areas include the country's two biggest cities: German-speaking Zurich, with a population of 1.5 million, and French-speaking Geneva, with a population of 512,000. We also conducted fieldwork in Fribourg, a bilingual (French/German) city with a population of 110,800, and in Mendrisiotto, an Italian-speaking region with a population of roughly 15,000. By exploring peer interactions involving young people between the ages of 13 and 25 in online and offline public spaces, this qualitative ethnographic study was designed to provide a better understanding of the role played by certain forms of youth culture in the process of socialization. The study's theoretical framework drew on the sociology of youth and the study of socialization processes (Van de Velde, 2008; Galland, 2011), urban studies and the study of spatial practices (Lévy & Lussault, 2000; Authier, 2012; Parazelli, 2021), as well as the sociology of media audiences and the study of digital practices (Liebes & Katz, 1990; Livingstone, 2013; Stoilova et al., 2019). The research team took a participatory approach to fieldwork by closely collaborating with youth service organizations active in each of the urban areas covered, as well as with participating young people. This made it possible to maintain an ongoing dialogue between different forms of knowledge—academic, professional, experiential—that we consider complementary.

To track the social and cultural practices of young people across a continuum of online and offline spaces, we developed an innovative methodology that facilitated the understanding of codes, values, norms, and disputes observed among youth (Leander & McKim, 2003; Millette et al., 2020). The study involved five stages of research, with each successive stage building on data collected during the previous

one (removed reference). We began by exploring the urban landscape and carrying out participant observation in public places that hold significance for youth. This provided us with opportunities to connect with young people and to arrange urban walking interviews (Kusenbach, 2003; Thibaud, 2022) in locations that were important to them. Next, we asked research participants to take us on smartphone-based digital walking interviews, during which they discussed their use of social media in relation to their appropriation of public places. The fourth stage involved online observation on Instagram, TikTok, Snapchat, and other social media platforms suggested by the young people we had met. Finally, we hosted focus groups for youth (removed reference), during which groups of friends were asked to share their impressions of Instagram and TikTok videos collected through online ethnography.

In each of the four urban regions covered by the study, the five stages of our methodology were completed over the course of about six months. In all, more than 70 young people of different ages and genders actively participated. These individuals, whom we refer to using pseudonyms to protect their anonymity, all lived in working-class neighborhoods dominated by large blocks of low-rent housing. Almost all came from families of modest means and most had immigrant backgrounds. This article is based on the analysis of a portion of the collected data, especially information gathered during the digital walking interviews and focus groups.

We used a cross-classification table to analyze, in concrete terms, how various practices of self-presentation unfold across urban and digital spaces. The table renders the different regimes of self-presentation based on intersecting dynamics associated with in-person and media-based audiences. Did the instance of self-presentation occur in front of an in-person audience? What did it consist of? Was it digitally recorded? Was this digital content posted on social media? Was it shared with a limited or a wide audience?

	Captured but not shared	Selectively shared	Widely shared
In-person audience			
No in-person audience			

The horizontal rows account for the presence and composition of an in-person audience, whereas the vertical columns account for the circumstances under which digital images were captured using smartphones and shared online. In fact, the social media applications used by the young people in our sample offer features that allow for varying degrees of visibility, based on the intended audience. Taking a photo or recording a video does not necessarily mean the content will be shared. Moreover, it might be shared with one or two close friends, or made accessible to the widest possible audience of strangers.

3 Conceptual Framework: Regimes of Self-Presentation and Digital Street Credibility

3.1 Youth Practices of Self-Presentation and Implications for Socialization

The importance of a peer audience for youth socialization processes was well established long before the advent of social media and smartphones. Young people have always aspired to be liked, sought out, or even admired by their peers. All the better if this were to occur in a highly visible way. By 1937, Waller had already observed how, when they received a call from a suitor, young women living in a student residence made it so that their housemates would have to shout at length for them to come to the phone. That way, their friends were sure to notice they were in demand.

Through the ensuing decades, a rich literature has shown that modes of self-presentation (Goffman, 1959) among youth are primarily oriented toward a peer audience responsible for validating the social, cultural, subcultural, spatial, physical, or symbolic capital being performed (Fine, 1987; Kinney, 1993; Eder et al., 1995; Boyd, 2014; de Backer, 2019; Balleys et al., 2020). These different forms of capital are negotiated through multiple practices that young people experiment with and experience together. Examples include fashion choices (König, 2008), romantic relationships (Clair, 2023), friendships (Metzler & Scheithauer, 2017), musical tastes (Bennett, 2000; Brett & Kelly, 2008; Straw, 1991), conflicts and fights (Lepoutre, 1997; Sauvadet, 2005), graffiti (Tadorian, 2001), going out (Chatterton & Hollands, 2003), and the "stylization of space" (Ferrero & Genova, 2019). Dating someone popular, wearing the "right" clothing brands, going to concerts by popular artists, and knowing how to fight (in the case of young men) all constitute symbolic resources in the stratified world of youth (Pasquier, 2005). Such resources can be used to secure social recognition from peers in the form of acceptance, esteem, admiration, envy, etc. This process serves as the cornerstone of identity building among young people who, unlike their parents, have yet to secure respect as full-fledged members of society (removed reference). For recognition to occur, the practices concerned must be observable and follow a set of conventions.

Indeed, youth cultures are structured and stratified according to social norms that draw a line (Becker, 1998) between "good" and "bad" behavior (Fine, 1987, 2012; Eder et al., 1995; Pasquier, 2005; Clair, 2023). In *Behavior in Public Places: Notes on the Social Organization of Gatherings*, Goffman (1963) provided an in-depth analysis of the "distinction between acts that are approved and acts that are felt improper" (p. 4) in public space. But whereas Goffman's work focused on the kind of regulation "that governs a person's handling of himself and others during, and by virtue of, his immediate physical presence among them" (p. 8), our analysis extends to digital interactions and media-based instances of self-presentation. Specifically, we look at what is considered proper or improper within youth cultures by analyzing the social dynamics at play when young people gather in urban and digital spaces. In terms of "drawing the line" between "proper" and "inappropriate" ways of acting (Becker, 1998, 205), we relied on references to "cringe" or "embarrassing" behavior in our research data. The corresponding terms in the three languages used by research participants are *gênant* (French), *peinlich* (German), and *imbarrazante*

(Italian). These adjectives are all typically used to indicate a break with conventions (Goffman, 1959).

4 Regimes of Self-Presentation Across Urban and Digital Space

By creating a new space for self-presentation, the rise of social networks has made it more difficult to manage audiences. Initially, the literature sought to illustrate how youth (sub-)cultures were appropriating digital platforms and their features with a view to experimenting with new forms of visibility (Boyd, 2014; Litt & Hargittai, 2014; Livingstone, 2008; Marwick & Boyd, 2014; Schwarz, 2010). For example, studies showed how young people were leveraging social media application settings in ways that facilitated access to social and symbolic capital (Boyd, 2014; Litt & Hargittai, 2016; Balleys & Coll, 2017). And by moving between more public digital spaces (e.g., a Facebook home page) and more private ones (e.g., an MSN chatroom), they were developing new self-presentation and privacy management skills:

> They are also attracted to privacy as a resource to expand their own autonomy and their own social capital. In other words, they have to learn to be "publicly intimate": they must learn how to valorise their privacy in order to gain social prestige, while maintaining its substance, without which it would lose its credibility and its ability to work as a resource (removed reference).

By posting photos of themselves with a date, with a group of friends, on an outing, or doing their best backflip, young people are able to boost their popularity and showcase their social prestige, albeit not without engaging in some degree of self-commodification (Foessel, 2008; Illouz, 2007, 2012; Voirol, 2011). After all, sharing images of private events (e.g., a birthday party) on social media involves packaging their private life for assessment by an audience. Furthermore, for such a performance to achieve its objective, it needs to appear credible, authentic, and compliant in the eyes of the audience concerned. But credibility and social recognition are far from guaranteed. In fact, social media posts often attract criticism or even insults, especially in cases where prevailing social norms are not followed. For example, a young woman who shares intimate photos with her boyfriend faces stigmatization even when the boyfriend betrays her trust by disseminating the photos without her consent (Ringrose et al., 2013; Colombo et al., 2024). This persistent sexual double standard provides an example of how certain norms penetrate both in-person and digital interactions, a phenomenon we address at more length in the results and analysis section.

In private and public spaces alike, smartphones are not only ubiquitous but integrated into all aspects of everyday life. From a technical perspective, spatial and temporal constraints no longer stand in the way of instant communication with anyone, from anywhere, and at any time. The resulting "context collapse" (Marwick & Boyd, 2010) allows for a state of "constant connection" (Su, 2016) with friends and family. Teenagers sometimes feel like they need to be reachable at all times, to always be available to their peers (Mascheroni & Vincent, 2016; Garmendia et al., 2017). They therefore tend to be somewhat ambivalent toward connected media (Agai, 2022).

They struggle with data overload and sometimes try to take a step back, yet often find it impossible to cut themselves off entirely from the digital networks used to coordinate virtually all aspects of social and emotional life (Bucher, 2020).

Several studies have looked at the connections between how life unfolds across urban and digital spaces. For example, Myria Georgiou's (2013) notion of the "mediated city" underscores the extent to which the contemporary urban experience cannot be separated from media-based communication (p. 41). Likewise, Lane (2016) coined the term "digital street" to highlight how, for young people, "street life is characterized by its flow online and offline" (p. 45). Sounds and images from any social, recreational, interpersonal, or cultural activity occurring in public space may be digitally recorded and this content may be disseminated on social media (Kofoed & Larsen, 2016; Nova, 2020). And yet, this new reality has not led young people to adopt a careless or haphazard approach to social media use, nor have they lost all concern for their privacy (Hargittai, 2016; Balleys & Coll, 2017).

Essentially, young people use digital media any time they want to get together (Hepp et al., 2018, p. 59). Snapchat's geolocation tools are routinely used to keep tabs on the whereabouts of friends within the city, either to go meet up with them or see if they are on their way (Bruna, 2022). But although digital mediatization has thoroughly penetrated urban interactions, this does not mean the two phenomena are subject to the same rules or logic. What is "done" and "said" in the streets does not necessarily correspond to what is "done" and "said" on social media (Lane, 2016; Talmud & Mesch, 2020). In short, while they may be interconnected, urban and digital spaces each have certain distinct characteristics. The physical distance associated with mediatization allows young people to enter into close relationships with familiar people, such as classmates, without necessarily talking to them in person (removed reference). For instance, teenagers sometimes collectively manage conflicts involving peers via social media, using so-called digital courts (Bortolotti, 2023). When two young people fall out, their friends will create a group on Snapchat that includes the individuals concerned, witnesses, and a mediator. In this way, disputes that could not be resolved in person are often settled in an online forum, remotely, and according to strict rules.

Such practices need to be understood in terms of what Hepp (2019) has called "the deep mediatization of the social world." This concept refers to how today's world is in an advanced state of mediatization where social practices, regardless of the actors involved, have progressively become

> entangled with digital media and their infrastructures […]. Practices perhaps not considered media-related in the past are becoming media practices. In the office and the laboratory, at school and at university, with family or among friends, our current practices are characterized by the fact that we also conduct them with and through media. (p. 11)

Grasping the complex interplay between in-person and media-based social practices requires a transversal approach to analyzing the presence of an audience. For example, when a group of young people visit a public park to attend a rap concert, they will all be mindful of the strong likelihood of being photographed and/or filmed by their

peers. They will also recognize that the resulting digital content may end up being widely disseminated or selectively shared online.

The notion of regimes of self-presentation serves to highlight how social conventions are negotiated both online and in person, across and within urban and digital places routinely appropriated by youth. As Stock (2012) has pointed out, the concept of "regime" is used in conjunction with a range of theoretical approaches. In general, it refers to an "ordering," a "way of doing," a "way of being," or a "way of engaging with the world" (Thévenot, 2006). The concept accounts for the distinct and variable relationships that people develop with different aspects of their lives, including time and temporality (Hartog, 2003), space and spatiality (Stock, 2012), and movement and mobility (removed reference). Foucault (1990) also set about exploring the "order of things," albeit from a post-structuralist perspective. He used the expression "regimes of truth" (Guerrier, 2020) to describe how societies produce, justify, and perpetuate distinctions between right and wrong, good and bad, appropriate and inappropriate, acceptable and unacceptable. According to Foucault, the order of things as a concept and the social arrangements it implies are always historically, socially, culturally, and geographically situated (Abu-Lughod et al., 1991). In other words, ways of doing, being, and engaging with the world do not simply involve mobilizing knowledge, morals, ideologies, and power. They also require legitimation and therefore recognition. And since such orderings are never self-evident, they also have the potential for controversy. Moreover, Foucault argued that the idea of a "regime of truth" encompassed "all those processes and institutions through which individuals are called and required to carry out, under specific conditions, well-defined and impactful acts of truth […]" (Foucault, 2012, pp. 91–92, as cited in Guerrier, 2020, p. 4).

5 Establishing (Digital) Street Credibility to Earn Peer Recognition

During adolescence, concerns related to self-presentation generally revolve around making a positive impression, avoiding embarrassment, and above all bolstering self-esteem (removed reference). The young people we met in the course of our research, who accessed urban public space on a daily and collective basis, were especially sensitive to issues of public self-presentation. And where the cultural and social practices developed by youth are concerned, such issues resonate with the popular expression "street cred." Although it has received little theoretical attention in the literature, the concept of street credibility is nevertheless present in classic studies of street cultures (Anderson, 1992, 1999; Lepoutre, 1997). It has also been used in more recent work on African American neighborhoods and Black youth subcultures such as rap and hip hop (Evans & Baym, 2022; Stroeken, 2024).

According to the commonsense definitions provided by some dictionaries, the term refers to efforts for securing social recognition through a measure of compliance with the values, social standards, and cultural norms associated with certain urban contexts. The ability to benefit from this form of (sub)cultural recognition, rooted in so-called street culture, goes hand in hand with a certain level of proficiency in the largely informal social codes that govern behavior in the streets. Although the

realities faced by the young people who participated in our study are far removed from the American contexts discussed in the works cited above, the notion of street credibility strikes us as useful for describing the set of symbolic resources that, alongside with other types of resources, allow youth to secure credibility, legitimacy, and recognition in the eyes of their peers. Acquired through compliance with the norms, values, and "codes of street" (Anderson, 1999 ; Duneier et al., 1999; Lepoutre, 1997) specific to a given lived reality, such resources also stem from the implementation of knowledge, skills, performances, and strategies related to self-representation. This can involve (sub)cultural practices associated with street culture (music, dance, style, fighting, posturing, and other forms of cultural expression valued in working-class neighborhoods). Raulin (2001) has defined "street culture" in terms of "expressions that embody a set of values and behaviors shared by a certain segment of youth, that occur in public space, and that variously take friendly, aggressive, or artistic forms" (p. 177). From this perspective, street credibility can be understood as the perceived legitimacy, respect, and authenticity that a person or group holds within a specific and highly limited social group, such as a circle of friends or acquaintances, a community of practice, or a subcultural scene.[1]

Building on Raulin's definition, this article emphasizes how street credibility and the underlying "moral conventions" (Becker, 1963) orchestrate modes of self-representation among young people in offline and online "spaces of socialization" (Grafmeyer & Authier, 2008; Cayouette-Remblière et al., 2020) that youth regularly inhabit. In particular, we seek to show how the conventions associated with street credibility vary depending on the context of self-representation in which they are applied.

And given how the article looks at regimes of self-presentation across both urban and digital spaces, we will focus on the notion of digital street credibility. This concept allows for studying how street credibility extends into digital contexts and for undertaking a more complex analysis of the social and cultural practices engaged in by youth, an analysis that recognizes how conventions governing self-representation in physical spaces are connected to those governing youth interactions in digital spaces.

More specifically, as it relates to youth, digital street credibility refers to the codified ways in which young people perform, share content, and interact with peers in the digital spaces they inhabit. By complying with the rules of street culture, they aim to gain visibility, uphold their reputation, and improve their status within a circle of acquaintances and beyond. In this regard, digital street credibility is not inherently different from street credibility as it plays out in in-person contexts of self-representation. We are simply extending the underlying idea to digital spaces, where young people seek to cultivate an authentic, respected, and influential persona while learn-

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[1] The Cambridge Dictionary defines street credibility as "a quality that makes you likely to be accepted by ordinary young people who live in towns and cities because you have the same fashions, styles, interests, culture, or opinions" (https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/street-cred). The *Urban Dictionary* characterizes it in terms of "Commanding a level of respect in an urban environment due to experience in or knowledge of issues affecting those environments" (https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?%20term=street%2520cred). Both these definitions underscore the importance of norms specific to urban life and emphasize the acceptance and respect enjoyed by those who enjoy this form of recognition.

ing and experimenting with the codes specific to their preferred social networks. We will now present the results of our analysis, which illustrate how youth acquire digital street credibility through peer interactions. Such efforts are based on visibility and privacy management strategies associated with different regimes of self-presentation that bridge in-person and digital audiences.

6 Results and Analysis: Part 1. Regimes of Self-Presentation and Incremental Privacy

Audience management in urban and digital spaces is closely aligned with the management of social interactions among peers. Below, we discuss how social conventions governing self-presentation before either an in-person or digital audience determine access to different peer groups, levels of familiarity, reputations, and, by extension, digital street credibility.

6.1 In-Person Audiences: Digital Street Credibility and the Test of Authenticity

At the focus groups, we showed participants several videos of people appropriating urban public space in a deliberately visible manner, that is to say in the presence of an in-person audience. Examples include three young women performing a dance routine in the street, a feminist protest organized by an association of high school students, and a street fight between two boys being cheered on by a large group of young people. Although such public displays can have various goals, they tend to provoke similar reactions in young people. For instance, our research participants described dancing in the street as "too self-centered," "pathetic," and "embarrassing." Consider the following focus discussion involving three friends from Mendrisio: Omar (age 16, male), Manuel (age 14, male), and Alessandro (age 15, male).

> Researcher: Do you ever film yourselves dancing in public?
> Manuel: [Frowns.] Never. [Continues shaking his head.] Only at home or somewhere deserted.
> Researcher: So the real issue is doing it in public?
> Omar: Yes, in public.
> Manuel: Yes, I find it embarrassing. I'd be really embarrassed to dance in front of a bunch of people like that.

The video of the street fight drew similar reactions. Again, the need to show restraint in urban public space was at issue. For example, one group of six young men from Geneva between the ages of 14 and 19 unanimously condemned the idea of fighting in front of an in-person audience. Youssef (age 19) thought the video was "embarrassing" and Marco (age 15) explained that, "if you get in a fight, you don't do it in the middle of the street." Chaï (age 17) went on to formulate the following rule: "I think that if you've got a score to settle, you sort it out in private and leave it at that. See? They're hitting each other in front of 10,000 people. People are filming it and

everything… no thanks." The young people we met were clearly not bothered by the fight itself. Rather, they objected to it happening in front of an audience.

This public dimension seemed to raise an issue of credibility. Gabriel (age 16, male, Geneva) thought the boys in the video were "trying to look tough." Chaï explained that in this sort of situation, "it's often people who want to create a buzz, who want to show off a bit." The presence of an in-person audience therefore raises doubts regarding authenticity and moral legitimacy. Were the boys in the video fighting in public to defend their honor or for another noble purpose? Or was it just a matter of "showing off" in the hope of attracting attention and gaining social recognition?

The fact that the public spectacle had been digitally recorded and shared online only made our research participants more suspicious. When it comes to street fights, the presence of an in-person audience cheering on and filming the action actually seems to undermine the credibility of the combatants. For instance, at a focus group she attended with two of her friends, Mathilde (age 15, female, Geneva) was less concerned with the display of violence itself than the role played by the audience: "If they want to beat each other up, that's one thing. But why are people filming it?" The social conventions governing self-presentation in urban public space are therefore all the more strict given the strong potential for the situation to be digitally broadcast to a possibly much larger audience. Accordingly we can conclude that efforts by young people to appropriate urban public space are viewed through a dramatic lens. In other words, individuals who engage in acts likely to be digitally recorded and shared online are treated with suspicion insofar as they could simply be trying to improve their reputation.

Below, we show how regimes of self-presentation allow for managing issues surrounding not only credibility but also social interactions among peers and inclusion in different peer groups.

6.2 Dual Access Points to Peer Interaction

Access to peer interactions and inclusion in peer groups plays out across both urban and digital spaces. In both contexts, young people seek opportunities for self-presentation in the company of peers whose groups they hope to join. Zara (age 19, female, Geneva) provided a lengthy and detailed explanation of the process for joining the group of students who gathered on "the terrace," a prized location at her high school: "They're all smokers, so they all hang out on the terrace. And since I also smoke, I'm there on the terrace and it's kind of like THE group." Still, she needed to earn permission to formally join the group of smokers on the terrace. Zara explained how people who show up uninvited are put in their place ("What are you doing on the terrace?") and how group boundaries are carefully monitored: "We know who belongs on the terrace and who doesn't." Her own efforts to gain inclusion lasted nearly two years. She started by cultivating friendships with individual members. However, this was not, in itself, enough to gain access to the larger group. The real turning point came when she was added to its Snapchat group. Whereas before she only received messages from the individuals she knew, her access to this shared digital space provided a stepping stone to acceptance by the in-person group. By the time we met her, she was speaking as a full-fledge member: "This is our spot, this is where we belong."

Zara's inclusion in what she called "the terrace group" had now been confirmed in the eyes of a dual peer audience, both in-person and digital. Her fellow students could observe her physical presence on the terrace, and some of them could also watch the videos of her group interactions that she shared in private stories on Snapchat. We will now expand further on the importance on this distinction between in-person and media-based audiences.

6.3 Fooling Around with Friends: The Significance of Digital Recordings

Young people constantly use smartphones to record their peer interactions. This habit helps them create shared memories, which are carefully stored away so they can provide a laugh at some point in the future. Focus group participants regularly described filming themselves while dancing. And friends often laughed together as they reminisced about doing so. However, they only ever admitted engaging in the activity "at home" or "somewhere deserted." Dancing was not something they did in public. For example, Omar urged his friend Manuel to show an example of a dance video, apparently referring to one they and Allesandro were all familiar with. The focus group discussion had reminded them that this content existed and prompted them to look it up on their phones. When the researcher asked to see the video in question, Manuel initially refused because watching it would be "embarrassing." But when Alessandro started to look for it on his phone, Manuel pulled out his own phone and exclaimed, "Wait, I'll find it. It'll be easier for me to find, since we recorded it on my phone!" Apparently, both boys had copies of the same video on their separate devices. Manuel had filmed it on his phone and then shared it with Alessandro, his dance partner. The video shows them side-by-side in a bedroom, performing a short routine to what Manuel described as "a TikTok beat." Clearly, the act of recording situations where friends are "fooling around" serves to strengthen peer relationships. In this case, it was a matter of friends ironically appropriating the TikTok dance phenomenon for their own private amusement. Most often, footage of dancing recorded under these circumstances was kept within a small circle of friends. Many of the young people we met also described saving videos in a draft folder on TikTok. Elif (age 14, female, Fribourg) explained it this way: "But we never post them. But sometimes we might dance but the content stays in the draft folder." In this way, social networks often play a memory-keeping role. Of course, this means they are used to store potentially "embarrassing" images, as Manuel pointed out. Recording habits are therefore key to understanding issues of credibility and power, as we discuss below.

6.4 Setting up Your Audience Means Setting up your Credibility

For the reasons set out above, the young people in our sample generally shunned the regime of self-presentation involving an in-person audience. However, they also described playing with the boundaries that defined the audiences allowed to watch their antics. Although all our research participants denied ever dancing "in the streets," several admitted to doing so in private spaces or locations shielded from public view, such as in "kinda strange hallways" (Yohan, age 19, male, Geneva). For the most part, the young people we met sought out more low-key areas of the city

where they could interact with close friends away from prying eyes. For example, Mungua (age 23, female, Geneva) described how her circle of friends would meet in parking lots during the evening. There, they could enjoy some privacy (and, in the winter, some protection from the cold) as they engaged in their favorite activity: singing karaoke.

Even if these performances did not occur in front of an in-person audience, the possibility that digital recordings might be shared online meant that they could eventually be viewed by a wider audience. Indeed, beyond allowing friends to save private memories, such practices can also nurture a form of digital street credibility. What goes on in parking lots and "kinda strange hallways" reflects feelings of kinship and bonds of friendship, as well as a certain capacity for risk-taking. After all, although such performances take place out of the public eye, outsiders could stumble across them at any time. The young people we met provided detailed explanations of how they managed digital audiences in this context. To mitigate the risk of having their credibility undermined by excessive digital exposure, which would attract moral judgments like "that's embarrassing," they would carefully choose what to share with a close circle of friends (e.g., via a private story on Snapchat) and what to share with a larger and much less carefully curated audience (e.g., via an Instagram story).

Berna (16, female, Zurich) drew this distinction by noting Instagram's importance for projecting a social image: "You post nice pictures of yourself and special moments. I don't know, I find that on Insta, it's kind of like you show a different side of yourself, I find." This suggests that young people typically present "two sides" or two distinct facets of themselves: a more polished image on Instagram, intended for public or at least general consumption; and a much more spontaneous image, ostensibly less socially refined, on Snapchat. Images in the latter category are reserved for close friends: "Because yes, I also sometimes send my girlfriends really bad photos of myself, ones that I'd never post on Insta."

Likewise, Yohan described paying close attention to what he posted online. He also drew a clear distinction between content posted on Instagram, intended for a wide audience, and content posted in a private story on Snapchat, meant to stay within a small circle of friends. For example, he took two distinct approaches to posting vacation-related images, depending on whether the content was for general consumption—"landscapes, palm trees, stuff like that"—or reserved for an audience of "close friends." The latter group consisted of "around 30" people who would receive a steady stream of images through a private story, so many they would "know everything [Yohan] did on vacation." Furthermore, this digital content was potentially compromising for the friends who were with him: "For example, at the Airbnb, I might film them lip-syncing at four in the morning. They wouldn't want just anyone to see that." This type of video, where a group of peers engage in antics that deviate from the social conventions governing self-presentation, can only be shared with a limited audience online. Using a private story to share content in which friends push the normative boundaries of self-presentation makes it possible to bring such moments to the attention of a chosen few while avoiding the embarrassment that would come from having it viewed by strangers or even acquaintances. It also provides a way of highlighting the importance of sharing special moments with friends,

by showing those at home how those who made the trip were having a laugh and "fooling around." In this way, digital street credibility depends on being able to carefully navigate the boundary between regimes of self-presentation applicable to wide audiences and those applicable to selectively shared content.

At the same time, young people must skillfully assess who should be included in their inner circle, the members of which need to be interested in witnessing their friends' antics while refraining from passing judgment or betraying their friends' trust. This kind of audience management relates to the increments of privacy that define peer relationships and, by extension, power relations between peers, a point we will illustrate in the next subsection.

6.5 Audience Selection and Increments of Privacy

Including others and being included in private stories on Snapchat is a vital aspect of managing relationships, since it determines access to personal content. In this context, privacy functions as a double-edged sword. Under the right circumstances, providing access can enhance digital street credibility. But exposing personal content to the wrong audience can undermine a young person's reputation and cause embarrassment. For instance, Yohan explained how he had no desire to witness the antics of someone he did not consider a close friend. In fact, he found it "very, very embarrassing" when people shared personal content in his Snapchat feed: "I send it to Salah and we have a laugh." In other words, when he came across content that violated norms of self-presentation, he shared it privately with his friend so they could make fun of it together.

Conversely, not including someone in the group of close friends with access to a private feed can also be misinterpreted. Consider the example of geolocation data on Snapchat, which young people tend to share only with close friends. Gina (age 14, female, Fribourg) mentioned being "angry with a guy" who was reluctant to share his location with her. Doing so would imply a certain level of trust, since she would be able to follow his movements through urban public space. Mani (age 15, female, Geneva) described how she used the Live Location feature on Snap Map to share her whereabouts with a select group of friends: "If I'm at [a city park], I'll send a Snap and if someone's not far away, they'll send me a message and say, 'Hey, who are you with and what are you up to? Do you want to meet up?" Clearly, social media habits support the appropriation of urban public space by youth. In urban and digital spaces alike, young people negotiate access to peers and the extent to which they are willing to share personal content. Peer pressure, social conventions, and expectations of reciprocity mean that related decisions are not always well-informed. This is how Zara described her situation: "Half the people I've added to my private story it was because they added me to their private story first, so I told myself that I really should add them to my private story."

In this first part of the results and analysis section, we have shown how street culture and street credibility play a central role in the lives of urban working-class young people like those who participated in our study, especially where identity building and peer social interactions are concerned. We have also highlighted the close relationship between forms of everyday sociability practiced in either urban or digital

spaces. Because these different spaces of sociability are so interconnected, it can be difficult for young people to navigate issues of self-presentation. They must take a comprehensive approach to managing both in-person and online audiences as they seek to secure not only street credibility but also digital street credibility. In this context, an especially high value is placed on authenticity. Young people require a deep understanding of the conventions governing authentic self-presentation so they can carefully adjust how they manage different audiences, different types of content, and the different levels of familiarity that define peer relationships. The regime of self-presentation associated with a given social practice determines what is considered acceptable and unacceptable behavior, through an ongoing process of peer assessment that can make or break young people's reputations based on their level of social recognition. In other words, their reputations reflect their level of adherence to the social conventions governing street credibility, based on their ability to carefully and incrementally manage how much of their personal lives they share with others according to different regimes of self-presentation. We will now shift our attention to how these regimes of self-presentation are closely connected to issues of power within peer relationships.

7 Results and Analysis: Part 2. Regimes of Self-Presentation and Incremental Power in Peer Relationships

This second part of the results and analysis section explores two scenarios corresponding to distinct regimes of self-presentation. The first occurs in urban public space in the presence of an in-person audience but without a digital audience. The second takes place in urban public space without an in-person audience, but draws widespread attention when shared online. In both cases, issues of power are key to understanding the associated regimes of self-presentation and social conventions.

7.1 Captured But Not Shared: The Power of "Keeping Receipts"

At the focus group he attended, Yohan mentioned that he kept videos of "all the fights" that happened in his neighborhood. However, these recordings stayed on his smartphone: "I film them, but they're my personal videos. Oh, it's great that I have them and they don't! It's too much!" The researcher went on to ask, "So, you film them but don't share them with anyone?" Yohan replied, "No. But I can still play them on here. [Gestures toward his phone.] That's how I show them." The recorded fights all took place in front of an audience of peers, who physically surrounded and verbally cheered on the combatants. But Yohan never shared this digital content online. He explained how he had held on to certain videos "for two years," without ever posting them. Occasionally, he would play them for others on his smartphone. This prevented those watching from sharing the content themselves, which would undermine Yohan's power. Indeed, he enjoyed having control over the images, whose value as symbolic resources was tied to their exclusivity. By contrast, a widely shared image that everyone had on their devices would lose all its value (removed reference). Only content kept privately on an individual's phone can gain symbolic value

by virtue of its exclusivity. In *The Secret and the Secret Society*, Simmel (1950) addressed the value-creating power of secrets and associated exclusionary dynamics:

> In the first place, the strongly emphasized exclusion of all outsiders makes for a correspondingly strong feeling of possession. For many individuals, property does not fully gain its significance with mere ownership, but only with the consciousness that others must do without it. (p. 332)

The accumulation of capital in the form of fight videos appears to be a largely male concern. The girls in our sample generally condemned fighting and dismissed it as "pointless." They refrained from filming fights and, when fight videos were shared with them on social media, they did not save them to their devices. Here is how Elif and Esila (also age 14, female, Fribourg) described their stance on the matter.

> Researcher: And when there's a fight or that sort of thing, do you ever film it and then share the video? Have you ever done that, or received a fight video?
> Elif: Yes, I've gotten some.
> Esila: But personally, we don't film ourselves. [Elif nods in agreement.]
> Elif: I find it stupid, it's pointless.
> Interviewer: But you watch the ones you receive?
> Elif: Yes, just to see who's involved.
> Esila: After, we don't save them.
> Elif: Just because it's a bit funny.
> […]
> Elif: [Talking about a video she had received.] In my case, the person who filmed it was the one who showed it to me. That's how it happens sometimes. If the person is in my class, I'll ask them to send it to me. Other times, it might be a mother I know fighting with another mother. I'll ask someone to send me the video.

In this instance, although the two teenagers might watch such digital content online, they refrained from saving it on their phones. Owning a copy did not interest them because it would not provide them with any additional power or social prestige. We also found that it was more socially acceptable for boys to have violent images saved on their phones. During an interview conducted in Geneva with three of her girlfriends, Mungua interrupted Yolci (age 24, female, Geneva) to remind her that she had saved and later shared a video of a girl being pushed around in a stairway. Mungua criticized Yolci for doing so—she repeatedly described the act as "mean"—and asked her friend to explain herself. By contrast, Yohan's friends made no such demands during their all-male focus group. It is also important to note that researchers have found girls to be more concerned with issues of consent when capturing and sharing digital images of other people (Jehel & Meunier, 2022).

On the other hand, as Elif and Esila mentioned, girls tend to be curious about "who's involved" in a particular fight, and request access to content related to people they know. The fight was between peers and the video was shared with a limited audience, without being saved on a phone. In other words, the situation was the reverse of

what Yohan described. He saved videos on his phone, without sharing them online. Clearly, the contours of a media-based audience are in constant flux (Marwick & Boyd, 2010) and the capacity to share digital content constitutes a symbolic resource. Yohan justified keeping a collection of fight videos in two ways. First, he simply "want[ed] to watch" the videos in question. Second, he wanted to "keep receipts" of who was involved and who came out on top: "Some people distort what really happened. But the video doesn't lie." Karim (age 19, male, Geneva) added: "You can bring it out whenever." By holding on to such content, even without sharing it, Yohan made himself the custodian of not only the fight videos themselves but also the reputations of neighborhood boys.

At the same time, regimes of self-presentation in urban public space and their digital mediatization are by no means gender-neutral, if only because norms of behavior in public places are themselves gendered (Tolonen, 2017; Lieber, 2008; Cardelli, 2021). We expand on this idea below, by looking at how sharing an instance of street harassment on social media is considered legitimate because it serves to publicly expose and condemn a form of often hidden, unwitnessed violence endured by young women.

7.2 The Turkey Method: Relying on a Digital Audience to Condemn Street Harassment

We have already described how research participants distinguished between regimes of visibility applicable to different contexts. In particular, when young people failed to skillfully manage their media-based audiences, criticism and mockery tended to be swift and widespread. Properly assessing how much to reveal about their private lives is therefore a key issue for those who engage in social interactions with peers: What should they share with whom? Meanwhile, the boundary between private and public is closely aligned with the notion of "embarrassment."

Describing situations as "embarrassing"—which the young people in our sample did in three different languages—provides a way of punishing behavior seen as transgressing rules of self-presentation. What Goffman (1959) called "disruptive events" typically prompt a strong reaction from both the individuals concerned and witnesses:

> They may feel ashamed while the others present may feel hostile, and all the participants may come to feel ill at ease, nonplussed, out of countenance, embarrassed, experiencing the kind of anomy that is generated when the minute social system of face-to-face interaction breaks down. (p. 12)

But there are also cases where someone who transgresses the rules governing self-presentation or follows an unconventional regime of visibility becomes the focus of a collective legitimation effort. Here is one example of how digital content's ability to bear witness and allow for public condemnation can justify some instances of "embarrassing" behavior.

At the focus groups, we showed participants a video titled "The Turkey Method," which had been widely shared on social networks in France and French-speaking Switzerland during 2021. The video had been posted on Instagram and TikTok by

a 20-year-old French woman named Sarah, who made a live recording of her reaction to a man who harassed her in the street. The video shows her walking along the sidewalk, facing the camera: "I just started filming myself because, once again, there's a guy following me." In the background, a man is indeed following her. He runs up and repeatedly asks for her "Snap." Despite repeated refusals—"I don't have Snap"—the man becomes insistent and moves closer. At this point, she starts loudly imitating a turkey. The man yells, "You're out of your mind!" and leaves. The video ends with Sarah smiling. Although the incident took place in the street, there was no in-person audience to witness it. Still, the video reached a very wide audience after it was posted on social media. Most young people in the cities of Geneva and Fribourg would have had it show up in their feeds.[2]

It can be interesting to analyze the circumstances under which such content is consumed, with a view to gaining a better understanding of how behavior that deviates from the norm can be deemed legitimate when performed and then shared via social media with the dual aims of self-defense against an assault and publicly condemning inappropriate behavior. There is no doubt that imitating a turkey on the street transgresses established norms governing behavior in public. Anyone who records and publicly shares such a transgression runs the risk of being condemned by young people who, as we have seen, are highly sensitive to conventions surrounding self-presentation. However, the case of Sarah's video shows how youth can sometimes interpret "embarrassing" content as acceptable because they deem it "useful."

Even if most French-speaking youth in our sample were already familiar with the video, they still laughed as they watched the girl gobble like a turkey and shake her body from head to toe. When the researcher asked one group of young women to sum up the video, Elif had trouble responding because she was laughing so hard. Finally, she was able to give the following explanation.

Elif: There's a guy who uhhh… [Laughs.] Who follows a girl down the street to ask for her number. But she's not interested, and so to get rid of him she does something embarrassing… [Laughs again.] She makes turkey noises to scare him away. [Aya and Gina break into hysterical laughter while putting their hands over their mouths.]

Elif and Aya (both age 14, female, Fribourg) recognized the video, having shared it themselves on social media. Aya reacted to its content with ambivalence. On the one hand, she found it "funny" and it made her laugh when she watched it again. On the other hand, she found it "serious": "Things are serious when you have to resort to something like that." Picking up on Elif's comments, Aya initially described the scene as "embarrasing." She then started speaking collectively, as if she had been directly involved in the situation: "It's humiliating for us, but it's still funny when you see it." An emphasis on the seriousness of the situation helped justify pushing the boundaries of acceptable public behavior, notwithstanding the constraints generally placed on girls.

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[2] https://www.tiktok.com/@sarahlacrieuse/video/7037205374415506694?lang=fr&q=sarah%20la%20crieuse%20technique%20du%20dindon&t=1707227277495.

Aya: You see, she had already said no once and, like, he kept it up. At that point, to get rid of him, we have to make them think we're crazy… Otherwise, if we didn't do that, well, like, he would have kept at it and, well, there you go.

Male research participants agreed that although the video depicted an "embarrassing" scene, the woman's actions were justified by the need to deal with a serious situation. For instance, when Santiago (age 18, male, Geneva) reacted by saying, "That's embarrassing," Chaï immediately responded with, "No, that's exactly what she should do!" Chaï would flesh out his argument by insisting on the need for girls to challenge norms of behavior in public places: "It's the only way to get rid of [harassers]." He also explained that, "Things were serious by that point. Having to scream, act like a turkey." Youssef jumped in by saying, "No, the serious part was the guy following her." This statement exposed a disagreement between the boys, one that also emerged in other focus groups. None of the boys sought to justify the man's behavior, as filmed live by Sarah. Nothing was said to suggest they considered street harassment as anything less than reprehensible. But at the same time, male research participants struggled to reach a consensus on whether it was acceptable to film such an incident and share the video on social media. Yohan pointed out that Sarah could have "acted like a turkey without filming herself." He disliked how the acts of recording herself practicing the "turkey method" and of disseminating the video gave the incident theatrical dimension. He also raised doubts about Sarah's intentions, suggesting that she was mainly interested in getting more social media followers and that she did not suffer any real trauma. Baqir and Karim (both age 19, male, Geneva) strongly disagreed and immediately challenged Yohan's arguments.

Baqir: She wanted to share that!
Karim: What she wanted was to get the message out to other girls. If it happens to you, do this!

Baqir and Karim found the idea of sharing the assault on social media to be completely legitimate, since doing so could be "useful" to other girls. But whereas Youssef and Yohan believed that Sarah had the right to defend herself against the threat of sexual assault while walking in public, they both felt that she should have taken appropriate action while refraining from sharing the incident with either an in-person or online audience. And yet, it was precisely this insistence on remaining in the shadows, where there would be no witnesses, that bothered Baqir and Karim, along with all the female research participants. For example, Mani argued that the video showed "what women deal with on a day-to-day basis." It therefore helped draw attention to a social issue that, according to Mathilde, "too many people prefer to ignore" because "it's taboo."

To sum up this line of reasoning, it can be acceptable to violate the rules governing self-presentation when acting in support of the collective good and without purely self-interested motives. As Mani explained it this way: "Basically, I don't really like videos that people make to get noticed and that sort of thing, but this one has a real purpose." Clearly, "trying to get noticed" is generally not considered acceptable behavior in urban public spaces or in digital spaces. However, this rule can be broken in cases where sharing an experience could be useful to others.

The two situations discussed in this second part of the results and analysis section point to two separate conclusions. First, digitally capturing what happens in urban public space without sharing the recordings online provides an opportunity to experiment with power. Second, taking an otherwise unwitnessed incident that occurred in urban public space and sharing it with digital audience constitutes another way of exercising power. Both cases involved attempts to expose the truth and gain credibility. However, these two approaches to laying bare the truth reflect distinct legitimation processes. Young people find these processes controversial, and the resulting debates reveal how they negotiate the social conventions specific to each regime, thereby determining whether specific ways of doing, being, and engaging with the world are legitimate—much like the "regimes of truth" described by Foucault. But even if these two examples illustrate distinct approaches to audience management, they both clearly show the extent to which the ability to understand and implement social conventions specific to a given regime of self-presentation allows young people to secure a degree of peer recognition and associated power.

8 Conclusion: Gaining Digital Street Credibility by Fine-Tune Audiences

The regimes of self-presentation described in this article are fundamental to social interactions among youth and their shared understandings of the boundary between public and private. Contrary to the common perception that young people today have lost any sense of privacy and are willing to bare it all on social media, our findings shed light on the finely structured conventions that govern self-presentation across in-person and digital spaces. Nevertheless, visibility management remains a complex challenge fraught with peril. Where privacy and power relations are concerned, a very thin line separates behavior that enhances an individual's social status from actions considered "embarrassing" or "cringe." Acceptable forms of visibility are defined in terms of authenticity: genuine friendship, true moments of joy, actual fights, real harassment. This "burden of truth" weighs heavily on those seeking to build digital street credibility, which is collectively negotiated through the everyday task of audience management. Young people are constantly reassessing the intent behind regimes of self-presentation, the choice of which is generally based on the search for credibility. And whatever choice is made, peers will be quick to judge it. This helps explain why youth are so mindful of the relationship between authenticity and credibility: the latter requires the former. Is an individual acting in a certain way to gain popularity, to be accepted by a peer group, defend a set of values? The more visible young people make themselves, the more skilled they have to be at navigating the social conventions that govern self-presentation. They must recognize and respect the boundaries of both intimacy and power in peer relationships.

The instability of digital audiences causes issues associated with regimes of self-presentation to be viewed through a dramatic lens. Here, "dramatization" refers to how, in a context where any action may be digitally recorded, the initial audience can shift from one regime of self-presentation to another at any moment, with or without the consent of the people concerned. The meanings assigned to interactions

between peers—dancing in a bedroom, fighting in the streets, singing karaoke in a parking lot—ultimately depend on the extent to which privacy is respected and the manner in which power relations between peers play out. As a result, sensitive issues surrounding certain aspects of socialization in the streets tend to be exacerbated by the presence of smartphones. This result represents an important contribution to the recent literature on urban youth cultures. Indeed, studies have shown that street fights recordings help shape the reputations of adolescents by documenting conflicts (Elsaesser et al., 2021). This dimension of dramatization has also been explored in recent work on the day-to-day efforts of hip-hop artists in Chicago to maintain their street credibility (Evans & Baym, 2022). Despite being based on research conducted in a very different social context, our results confirm the importance of authenticity and truth as building blocks of adolescent reputations and, by extension, their key role in peer socialization processes. Furthermore, our findings contribute to a better understanding of the subtle connections between how in-person and digital audiences are managed. Taking into account the fine, but important boundary between private and public.

Our two-pronged approach that considered the conventions governing self-presentation before both these types of audiences has made it possible to take a step back and recognize that the power in peer relationships lies in a rather unexpected place. Indeed, wide dissemination is viewed as less socially acceptable and respectable than selective sharing or even jealously guarding content on a personal smartphone. At the same time, our results highlight a series of questions that are key to analyzing social interactions among youth: Who is close to whom? Who knows what about whom? Who is having run with whom? Who controls what content concerning whom? Who dares draw (unwanted) attention to whom? These various symbolic resources can only be acquired by continuously navigating both in-person and digital spaces. Accordingly, what we call digital street credibility is negotiated based on the interconnectedness between different regimes of self-presentation.

Our analytical framework could be extended to look more specifically at how social practices in physical urban spaces are reshaped by digital mediatization. For example, this would involve exploring how a person's behavior in the streets may depend in part on how associated content is shared online. People have become keenly aware of the likelihood that smartphones with digitally capture what happens in an in-person context, and the potential for the resulting images will be shared with a media-based audience. It should therefore not be surprising that this state of affairs has begun to influence the practices of youth. One hypothesis to consider is that regimes of self-presentation in physical urban spaces can never be fully separated from the potential for recording and online sharing. This would make it a matter of identifying not only contexts in which the fear of being recorded inhibits regimes of self-presentation in public space, but also contexts in which the possibility of being recorded acts as an incentive to engage in certain activities (e.g., fighting) that are made more attractive or even compulsory when captured digitally.

A second line of research to pursue would involve looking at how regimes of self-presentation intersect with categories of gender, social class, age, and race. The data presented in this article suggest that the threshold between what is "acceptable" and what is "embarrassing" can vary from one young person to the next. For example,

what does "trying not to get noticed" in public mean in concrete terms? Does the behavior expected from young people vary according to gender, age, cultural background, and socio-economic status? After all, studies have shown that access to urban and digital spaces is affected not only by socio-economic differences but also by gendered expectations of behavior (Lieber, 2008; Cardelli, 2021) and race relationships (Tolonen, 2017; Dijkema, 2019). Additionally, in terms of social and economic resources, young people are not all equally equipped to engage in spatial practices (Rivière, 2019) and digital practices (Hargittai & Hinnant, 2008) that largely depend on family socialization processes, a person's gender, and their socio-economic and cultural background.

Authors' Contribution Claire Balleys has co-directed the project, managed the data collection and produced the main analysis for the purpose of this paper. Marc Tadorian has collected the data in Zurich and Fribourg and has contributed conceptually to this paper. Annamaria Colombo has co-directed the project, managed the data collection and contributed to the methodological part and structural aspects of this paper. All authors reviewed and agreed the submitted version of the manuscript. Other usual disclaimers apply.

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