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Abstract

The term 'home' can mean many things. Indeed, the contested nature of the term has caused some scholars simply to dismiss it as useless (Rapoport, 1995). However, homes have an undeniable importance to our sense of self. They link us to current or past geographic locations that indicate national or cultural identities, allow us to display our taste and interests through consumer activity, and are places where we engage in leisure activities. Increasingly, we share the images we take in and of our homes widely with others, transcending the boundaries of the family photograph album. Through this study of images shared publically on Instagram, we investigate the ways that people "visibilize" their sense of home in order to share it with others. We can see through this data the interplays between public and private, domestic and commercial, that digital photography and applications like Instagram have brought to light.

Introduction

Asking someone how they understand 'home' can result in a wide range of responses. Those who have moved away from their country of origin might refer to a 'home country', or a city, town, or building inhabited prior to migration. There might be expressions of nostalgia for childhood times with family and friends, or descriptions of sensations: memorable scents, textures, tastes, emotions, feelings of warmth, happiness, safety, or, in some cases, the reverse. There might be reference to particular others with whom a physical or emotional space is shared, in the form of partners, children, parents, grandparents, kin, or siblings, as well as the non-human in the form of pets and other companions. Home could be defined by the tangible objects found in a place, whether furniture, clothing, or toys, or the capacity to be at leisure, to live for oneself, through hobbies, relaxation, and isolation and protection from external influences. All of these elements could connect to a dwelling, or not, depending on the person.

Indeed, these myriad possible conceptualisations of home reflect the complexity of defining something that is experienced differently for each of us, even when we recognise the sensations, connection, and emplacement described by others. Indeed, Rapoport (1995) suggests that, at least in his field of Environment-Behaviour Studies, the term 'home' is so vague as to be useless, and to be problematic in terms of the fact it is a "*positive evaluation* of something, such as a house, dwelling, or neighbourhood", which could be further extended to encompass cities or countries (28, original emphasis). Rapoport's critique of 'home' is extensive (and concerned principally with clarity of definition for key terms for study), but it is in complexity of the concept that the value of 'home' for this paper lies. What seems core to all popular understandings of 'home' (as a dwelling, a house, a space for living) is that it is "a place where we *feel comfortable*, defined by *family* and *friendships*" (Rapoport, 1995:. 27, original emphasis). As a domestic space, home can be where leisure time is spent, pursuing hobbies, and maintaining personal relationships. Of course, as much as homes might be understood as positive, they can also be understood as spaces of oppression and violence (symbolic or physical), or understood as a sites of resistance against broader cultural and hegemonic oppression, particularly for women. The home is a gendered space, after all (Blunt and Dowling, 2006: 15), where the bulk of the unpaid and unrecognised labour traditionally assigned to women is performed.

Along with the affective connections associated with homes is their designation as a part of the private sphere, somehow expected to be separate and distinct from the public spheres of work, politics, and education, despite routinely being a space where all three intersect. It is this understanding and expectation of the home as private that this paper builds on. If this space of comfort, of domesticity, of the everyday, is understood to be private, what happens when it is photographed and shared publically on an international platform such as Instagram?

Conceptualising home and digital photography

In considering what constitutes a home, and how that might be represented visually, we need to consider a range of theoretical approaches and traditions. Four key concepts that are useful to understand the empirical work described in the second half of this paper are 1. home as material object; 2. home as form of consumption; 3. home as belonging; and 4. home as identity. These concepts are drawn from three theoretically informed

approaches to the study of home spaces, being Housing Studies, focused on the provision of housing as dwellings, Marxism, which looks at homes as spaces for social and ideological reproduction, and Humanism, which sees homes as meaningful, significant spaces (Blunt and Dowling, 2006).

The meaning(s) of home

Amos Rapoport's critique of the term 'home', introduced above, rests on the observation that the terms 'house' or 'dwelling' can be used interchangeably in almost all discussions of homes as physical spaces, with the benefit of avoiding the necessarily positive coding of the space through the emotive connections of homeliness. By utilising dwelling or house, Rapoport (1995) contends, it is possible to refocus attention on the physical object, and thus also acknowledge that many of the ideas which for some (particularly those from Anglo-American-European backgrounds) are tied to 'home-as-dwelling' are for others tied to broader conceptualisations of environment, kin, communities, and context. Culturally neutral terminology would allow us to compare better the way that people understand their buildings, environments, and relationships. However, this desire to separate out and label different parts of what is popularly considered home is hindered by the fact that the term is in common usage to describe a variety of emotive and physical spaces. As can be seen in the analysis below, home can be visualised through people, animals, and landscapes as well as dwellings, and these usages have proved consistent over the two decades that have passed since Rapoport outlined his concerns.

However, it is fair to say that dwelling is the most consistent and common usage of the term home. Do a Google image search for 'home' and the results are almost uniformly photographs of large, modern, suburban houses on their own plot of land. So homes can be, and often are, understood in terms of a physical building. Visualisations of these buildings could be of the whole, or of parts; real estate photography and lifestyle magazine spreads may do some of the pedagogical work for laypeople to draw from in producing these types of images. The consistent framing and styling of particular rooms, as well as the use of wide angle lenses and depth of field in these commercial photographic genres draws attention to specific types of living spaces and the expected collection of objects within them. Streamlined room design, an artful clutter of books, flowers, knickknacks, throw rugs, and cushions, a blurred capture of someone moving around a kitchen at the rear of a shot of an open plan living space – these are familiar images that are used to denote homeliness when selling property or illustrating a feature home article.

Within these houses and dwellings, our consumption practices come to rest as places where we keep and display our things. Increasingly, they also are places where we shop online, with goods being delivered to our home address. Homes are where we store the vast majority of our personal goods, but are also spaces where we build identities through our things. More than that, consumption for the home itself contributes to a sense of homeliness, with Reimer and Leslie (2004) arguing that furniture becomes more important in the production of a home than the building that contains it. It is through the purchasing, displaying, and using of household goods that we build a sense of identity, either individual or collective, and home consumption practices "have the potential to mold [sic] relationships between individuals in the house" (Reimer and Leslie, 2004: 189). The choice and display of household goods – whether functional, decorative, or

both – "also involves the construction of class, national, and diasporic identities" (Blunt and Dowling, 2006: 27), demonstrating our tastes, priorities, and interests to ourselves and to our visitors. These displays of taste connect us not only to any specific others within this domestic setting, but also with larger groups who recognise and share these preferences. The selective sharing of that identity through the partial display of a photograph extends the reach of those identities, contributing to an international visual discourse of what makes a home. (We note that this discourse is highly privileged based on access to the technologies and literacies of online sharing of digital photography.) These "consumption practices and tastes are animated by complex interactions, exchanges, and negotiations amongst a range of actors and institutions, including consumers" (Leslie and Hunt, 2012: 421), and the popularisation of particular consumer goods or aesthetics can be seen through these interactions, as illustrated by the role of Instagram's so-called 'Kmart Mums' discussed below.

The building of identity through objects described above illustrates the role of consumption, and the ability to 'visibilize' this through publically accessible photographs makes the consumption conspicuous. We use visibilize as opposed to make visible to emphasise that this is an active, if not always entirely intentional, practice. Drawing on Veblen's early sociological work, Southerton (2011) defines conspicuous consumption as "the use of commodities and possessions to display and demonstrate financial and social standing", and we argue here that, through photographs of home spaces and leisure activities, the images analysed below function to visibilize what Bourdieu (2010) might understand as the photographers' social, cultural, economic, and symbolic capital.

The function of the home as a space of leisure is important to consider in its own right, as is its coding as a private space. These functions depend on a number of variables, including gender, race, and class, but the historical split between the private dwelling and the public workplace is "a social construct and state of mind which led to the public treatment of social space as split between feminine private sphere and masculine public sphere" (Chambers, 2003: 98). Miller (2001: 3) takes this further, noting that "the working-class house has been rigorously privatized, and apart from kin, entry into the private home has been highly restricted". This may indeed be true for physical entry into a property, but through photographs such as those below, we can now gain access to spaces and moments previously coded as private. Sarvas and Frohlich (2011: 155) comment on our interest in these types of images, noting:

> There is also a contemporary public interest in images and photographs traditionally considered to be private… Perhaps it is exactly this voyeurism into strangers' private lives and moments that is also shifting the boundaries of public and private images.

The many uses that people have for Instagram, and other online photo-sharing and social networking spaces, continues to challenge our notions and definitions of public and private. Practices of sharing images of home, whether dwellings, people, pets, or other spaces, disrupts what Lasén and Gómez-Cruz (2009: 212) describe as "the modern bourgeois passion for privacy and their desire to defend themselves from their scrutinizing world". Through analysis of the dataset described below, we investigate the ways that people share images of their conceptualisation of home on Instagram, piercing the contested and arbitrary boundaries of public and private spaces.

Methodology

In order to gather images that Instagram users identified as representing ideas of home, the researchers searched for specific hashtags. We observed a variety of popular tags with which Instagram users posted images of home, including #home, #sweethome, #homesweethome, #homealone, #homedecor, #homestaging, #homeidea, and #homeworkout. We determined that three tags were both more prominent and more diverse in terms of the type of content that they were associated with, and these became the focus of data collection; these were #home, #homesweethome, and #homealone. For the final seven days of January 2017, ten images from each hashtag were collected using screen shots at specified times of day, ranging from 10am to 10pm (Australian Central Daylight Time), resulting in a data set of 210 images. The images were coded as to whether they were video or stills, whether they contained people or animals, the location of the image, the use of filters, camera angles, aspect ratio, style, geographic location (if noted), and the caption was recorded. User handle was included in the coding schema in order to determine repeat users of the hashtags within the data.

Table 1: data collection dates and times

Date	25/01/17	26/01/17	27/01/17	28/01/17	29/01/17	30/02/17	31/01/17
Collection time	8pm	12pm	10am	2pm	6pm	10pm	10am

In both the collection and analysis of data, the researchers were guided by Leaver and Highfield, whose work on methods for studying Instagram is highly influential (Highfield and Leaver 2015, 2016; Leaver and Highfield 2018). Highfield and Leaver (2015) state "To minimise the risk to user privacy, or the experience of privacy, where practical, the results from analysing hash-tag based Instagram datasets should be reported at the aggregate level"[i]. Both the user handle and the screen shots of the images were deleted from the dataset at the conclusion of the data analysis, and the discussion below works to ensure the further anonymization of users by paraphrasing captions and excluding identifiable information, in line with the ethics approval for the project (The University of Adelaide Human Research Ethics Committee Approval H-2016-269).

Images of Home

While the data set among the three hashtags of #home, #homesweethome and #homealone is a broad and varied collection of images, when examined as a whole a number of recurring themes, styles, and patterns emerge. Here, the images are organised by style and quality, understood as either a 'snapshot', 'designed' or 'professional' image. Secondly, various themes including pictures of pets, selfies, family, decor, lifestyle, experiences, and flat lays (a stylised bird's eye view of items) can be found within the pictures themselves. It is important to consider both the style and the image content, as "without considering aesthetics, analysis of the content alone is misleading" (Manovich, 2016: 10). With these distinctions in mind, the data can be understood holistically as falling into three categories; as an aesthetic, geographic, or social relation to 'home'.

'Style' of Images

The images collected for this research are distinguishable by three relatively distinct photographic styles. Adapting Manovich's (2016) stylistic categories of casual, designed, and professional, we have designated these as snapshot[ii], designed, and professional. Most common was the 'snapshot' style of imagery featuring characteristics that align with candid, family, and less stylised photography taken in the spur of the moment by untrained photographers on consumer grade cameras. Snapshot-style images often feature pets, family members, and children within the home. It is unsurprising that a majority of images in the dataset are snapshot style, given that the bulk of Instagram users are not trained professionals, and are taking and uploading images using smartphones (Barbour et al., 2017); indeed the vast majority of the more than one billion active users of Instagram (Statista, 2019) are everyday users rather than professional or even hobby photographers, so it makes sense that this dataset would heavily represent this cohort. As noted by Manovich (2016: 2) "the majority of Instagram publically shared images show moments in the 'ordinary' lives of hundreds of millions of people using the network globally". Indeed, it is these types of images – apparently in-the-moment representations of home – that this project initially sought to analyse.

Figure 2: Style distribution of images across three hashtags

Style	#Home	#HomeSweetHome	#HomeAlone	Total
Snapshot	42	42	52	136
Designed	38	35	22	95
Professional	8	4	1	13

However, despite Instagram's initial promotion of enabling users to instantly upload snapshot photographs (Instagram 2014 as cited in Zappavigna, 2016: 273), a significant number of 'designed' and 'professional' images were included within the data set. Images that were coded as 'designed' featured a more stylised, artistic, posed, filtered and/or edited style as exemplified by one image which artfully captured the shadow of a vase with flowers. In Manovich's words, those who share designed photographs "associate themselves with more 'contemporary', 'hip', 'cool' and 'urban' lifestyle choices and corresponding aesthetics" (2016: 14). Similarly, 'professional' images were defined by their use of a high quality digital camera (as opposed to the camera on the smartphone) and the incorporation of aesthetic elements that would mark it as a "good photo" by standards established through the 20th Century (Manovich, 2016). The use of a high quality camera was identified either through the caption and hashtags that accompanied the image (for example one image of a close up of a tree featured #nikon), and through subjective analysis of the obvious quality of the image. As smart phone cameras continue to improve, we anticipate that this distinction will be only possible where captions and hashtags clearly mark a photograph as being taken on a DSLR or similar professional grade camera. However, while most images could be isolated to a single category of either a snapshot, designed, or professional photograph, we coded 34 of the 210 images to more than one style. This slipperiness of categorisation highlights the complexity that platforms like Instagram pose to traditional understandings of

photographic images, continuing what Zappavigna (2016) describes as a process of boundaries and distinctions become continuously bended, blurred and altered altogether.

Furthermore, the prevalence of each style of photograph varied between the three hashtags investigated. While #home and #homesweethome featured a similar ratio of types of images, with a large number of both 'snapshot' and 'designed' images, #homealone contained a far higher proportion of 'snapshot' than 'designed' photographs and remains the most visually distinct of the three hashtags.

Image Themes

Within each 'style' of image a number of recurrent themes about the content of the photographs also emerged through the data set. Indeed, while each upload varied greatly, as a whole most of the images can be categorised within seven separate themes including pictures of pets, selfies, family, decor, lifestyle, experiences, and flat lays.

Table 3: Theme distribution of images across three hashtags

Themes	#Home	#HomeSweetHome	#HomeAlone	Total %
Children/Family	0	7	1	4%
Flat lays	2	3	4	4%
Inspirational lifestyle	2	2	12	8%
Men's selfies	7	6	12	12%
Pets	9	11	9	14%
Inspirational decor	15	15	2	15%
Women's selfies	11	9	14	16%
Experiences/Events	17	11	7	17%
Other	7	6	9	10%

Images of pets featured predominantly within the 'homesweethome' hashtag and were often presented in a candid 'snapshot' style. Interestingly, five posts which featured animals also contained an image caption which personified the pet itself with the uploader pretending to 'voice' the thoughts of the animals. For example, one user who uploaded an image of a kitten captioned the photograph anthropomorphically, with the kitten cutely promising to have behaved itself while she was out of the house. This mirrors Barbour's earlier findings related to images of pets who were photographed watching television (Barbour et al., 2017), as well as the popular belief that cats dominate the internet (Eppink, in Kingson, 2015). There is also a connection between the traditionalist 'home sweet home' idiom, with its history in needlework samplers and other forms of feminized domesticity, and pets as companion-possessions that are usually soft, fluffy, and pleasant to be around; both represent comfortable domestic life. This is become further embedded in the saying 'a house is not a home without a pet' (variously adapted to 'without a cat', 'without a dog', 'without a frenchie' etc). The public display of companion animals also speaks to the owners personal identity formation, with

Sanders (1990) arguing that "pets reinforce the possessor's positive self-regard and extend key aspects of his or her self into the public arena". Although Saunders was speaking here of pets physically entering the public arena (as when a dog is walked in a park by its owner), the same argument can be made of pets entering the digital arena through Instagram photographs posted either to the pet owners accounts or to dedicated pet accounts.

Selfies, another key trope of the internet and one deeply connected to Instagram (Abidin, 2016a), were also prevalent, together constituting over a quarter of the images collected. Although we did not focus on engagement (likes and comments) in this study, Tiidenberg (2018: 6) notes that selfies "generate more attention" than most other types of social media posts. The number of selfies of women outnumbered those of men, although the ratio of occurrences within the three hashtags remained consistent. The selfies collected in this dataset ranged in style from 'snapshots' to more stylised, posed and edited 'designed' photographs. Indeed, many selfies were also a hybrid of the two styles, simultaneously appearing to be more candid while also obviously purposefully crafted in order to feature certain items, angles, and poses. Furthermore, while the types of selfies remained similar between #home and #homesweethome, again the #homealone tag was distinct for the ways in which a number of selfie uploads were also accompanied with various 'negative' hashtags such as #bored, #nowheretogo and #noonecares. Those tagging selfies with #homealone were not relishing their alone time, but instead decrying their lack of company in their physical environment. In posting a selfie and tagging it #homealone, these Instagram users may well be reaching out to support networks, or seeking a connection with geographically separate others. This use of Instagram to seek community and social interaction from others online has been explored by Lee et al. (2015), while Pittman and Reich (2016) found that the use of image-based social networking sites such as Instagram are more effective than text-based sites such as Twitter and Facebook in ameliorating loneliness, which would indicate that through engaging in these spaces, these users are more likely to feel like an active member of a community.

Similar to images of pets and selfies, photographs uploaded that featured children and family members largely align with a 'snapshot' style; again, this is not a surprising result given that this style is traditionally associated with domestic and family photography. Although only contributing to 4% of the data set, photographs featuring children and family only contained images of fathers with the children, highlighting the ways in which it is often mothers undertaking the labour of family photography (Rose, 2010). These images also contribute to the growing idea of the "Insta-Moms" and women who not only frequently post photographs of their children, but in various ways attempt to capitalise off and commodify the uploads (Choi and Lewallen, 2018: 145). However, photographs of family still call back to the analogue family snapshot, which functioned as "a means for autobiographical remembering" (van Dijck, 2008: 58), with scarce printed photographs stored carefully in family albums. Although photographs are no longer scarce, important events in family life continue to be documented along with the everyday and banal, and both are shared publically through social media platforms. However, we would argue that Instagram family photograph is generally similar to traditional family albums in one central way: their presentation of an overwhelmingly positive view of the family's life: "Albums typically represent a romanticized, sanitized

and relentlessly upbeat view of family life, where the sun always shines and children are impeccably well-behaved" (Le Moignan et al., 2017: 4936).

Contrary to the 'snapshot' style of photography that dominated the images of selfies, pets and family, 27% of uploads within the data set presented a kind of 'inspirational' decor, lifestyle, and flatlay imagery that were far more 'designed'. 'Inspirational' decor posts often contained highly stylised images of rooms with matching items, colour themes, and accessories such as fresh flowers and lit candles. Similarly, the various 'flatlay' posts were also heavily 'designed' and posed, featuring fairly evenly in all of the hashtags and also often highlighting certain products and decor. These images constructed a conceptualization of home as a cosy, restful, aesthetically pleasing domestic space. Additionally, some 'inspirational' decor and flat lay posts also served as a form of unpaid advertisement, not only promoting products through the photograph, but also through the accompanying caption. For example, one user uploaded an image of new curtains, with the accompanying caption mentioning and linking to the store that sells them. The poster then went on to review the curtains themselves, lauding them as 'adorable'. This centering of commercial activity within the home operates as both conspicuous consumption and the integration of the public into the domestic sphere, reflecting the fact that homes are where we store and consume a considerable proportion of our consumer goods. While this particular post may not have been a paid advertisement by the curtain company, the poster has drawn on the discourses of recommendation and advertising through the image and caption combination.

Interestingly, while images within the 'inspirational' decor category overwhelmingly featured within the 'home' and 'homesweethome' hashtags, 'inspirational' lifestyle posts dominated the #homealone tag. The 'inspirational' lifestyle category was defined by posts that featured users capturing and describing their fitness and food related activities, often promoting a type of "fitspiration" (Boepple and Thompson, 2015) and a particular type of healthy or 'clean' eating that has become a popular phenomena within Instagram and social media as a whole (Irvine, 2016; Lupton, 2017). For example, one user uploaded a video of herself doing push-ups within her home accompanied with a caption highlighting her early attempts at fitness, and the importance of persistence. This provides an interesting contrast to those posting #homealone tagged selfies; whereas the selfies often represented loneliness, the inspirational lifestyle images represented a positive interpretation of being alone focused self-care and self-improvement.

The final predominant theme identified in the dataset contained images of various experiences and events. This theme contributed to 17% of the images collected in this dataset. More common in #home and #homesweethome than in #homealone, images coded to this theme featured views from plane rides, images of leisure and relaxation activities, and were more likely to be designed in style than candid snapshots. However, those experiences that included #homealone were everyday experiences, snapshot-style posts sharing users' mundane activities. For example, one user uploaded a semi-styled image of television viewed through a large glass of red wine, noting in the caption that they were home alone watching an old movie. Overall 'experiences' and 'events' images transform activities, leisure and occasions into a "consumable object" (Sontag, 1977: 171). Thus, the 'experience' becomes an event *in itself* through the act of photographing while also reifying a "fetishisation of the personal" (Hjorth, 2007: 235) by allowing access into user's personal lives. Collectively, the images in this theme across the three

hashtags studied here represent a broader understanding of home than a straightforward dwelling, explored in more depth in the following section.

Relations to 'home'

As well as discovering various themes and 'styles' within the data set, three distinct approaches to home can be understood, which we have coded as aesthetic, geographic, and social. Indeed, various combinations of image 'styles' and themes *inform* the ways in which photographs relate to the idea of 'home' and though each category appeared in each of the hashtags investigated, #homealone once again remained the most distinct of the three.

The first and most obvious relation to 'home' discovered is that of the aesthetic. Featured mainly in the #home and #homesweethome hashtags and predominantly highlighting themes of 'inspirational' decor and flat lays, users within this category isolated aspects or areas of their domestic home and photographed it for aesthetic value. This usually worked to highlight a particular product or approach to styling a space, which they had selected and arranged themselves. Interestingly, while ideas of "conspicuous consumption" (Abidin, 2016a: 7) are interwoven into these types of aesthetic imagery, the data set often revealed a far more nuanced and almost subversive approach to this idea. While the more constructed, composed, and professional images did tend to feature high end, on trend and luxury items, other semi-styled, designed and snapshot posts tended to as equally proud display everyday items. For example, one image features a slightly out of focus, but meticulously organised pantry which is proudly displaying a range of canisters which, revealed in their choice of hashtags, is shown to be from Kmart Australia. Still a form of conspicuous consumption, posts such as these which feature non-luxury items serve to challenge and broaden traditional notions of Bourdieu's conceptualisation of the phenomenon. Furthermore, these aesthetic posts also serve an important purpose on Instagram specifically, serving as a reliable, 'everyday' and more achievable form of decor and lifestyle inspiration for friends, family and followers. Indeed, Kmart has acknowledged the role of a number of Instagram users in Australia as a part of their own promotional work, regramming their images to publically applaud their styling (@kmartaus 2018), and supporting active Kmart-loving accounts with gifts cards and special previews (Sullivan, 2017). By focusing on affordable products from an international brand, these Instagrammers are able to participate in a type of interior design culture that was previously only available to those working for glossy magazines.

In addition to surfacing a relationship to home based around consumer goods and their aesthetics, the data set also revealed a more geographical relation to the idea of 'home'. Uploaded in both designed and snapshot style, and exemplifying the theme of 'experiences/events', images within this category were not taken inside a domestic home, but instead were capturing the landscapes around and to do with the actual location of their place of residence. Found within each of the three hashtags, some users also chose to feature a flag emoji in either their captions or hashtags to situate further their posts within a geographical context. This worked to anchor the images to a particular place, and with the aid of other emoji (such as a love heart), an emotional relationship to that place. Similarly, these images connect to a wider, more abstract, emotional, and ideological construction of the idea of 'home'. While appearing simple in a geographical

sense, they also tie into larger ideas about nationalism, patriotism, and community. Likewise, pictures featuring beautiful sunsets, snowy landscapes, and airplane views of large cities can be viewed as a sort of 'conspicuous consumption', this time of space and the capacity to choose one's place within it, rather than the consumption of physical objects. This ties in to Veblen's original conceptualisation of conspicuous consumption, where the so-called 'leisure class' "publicly demonstrated their status through the use of consumer goods in *leisure practices*, […] they engaged in 'conspicuous leisure' (Southerton, 2011, emphasis added). One image in particular exemplifies this: featuring a close up of a large wine glass, a distant rosy sunset over the ocean is viewed through the glass. The actual home (as dwelling) is not included in the picture; rather, the geographical location of the home is highlighted and romanticised, in part through the use of the hashtag #coastalliving. By capturing and sharing picturesque views of and around their homes as conspicuous leisure, these users are engaging in a sort of display of luxurious geography rather than luxurious material goods, and consumption of place rather than the consumption of objects.

Finally, the images collected in this dataset revealed a social relation towards the notion of home. Images of pets, children, and family, along with users' selfies, all contributed to this category, visualising the ways in which many users construct an idea of home through the social relationships that inhabit their personal and domestic space. Found within each of the three hashtags and presented most frequently in a snapshot style, posts within this category present the abstract notion that individuals feel 'at home' not only within the physical space of their house, but more importantly, when certain people or pets are there as well. For example, one image tagged #homesweethome featured two cats staring out of a lounge room window. The caption, where the owner affectionately greeted the two pets, implied not only ownership of the animals, but that the user's home is 'sweet' due to their presence. However, contrary to images featuring friends, family and pets, a range of images collected from #homealone featured selfies of users being just that, alone at home. While a minority of these users posting to #homealone were content and even enjoying their solitude, as previously mentioned others appeared to feel far more negatively about their situation, visiblising their emotional state through facial expressions, and use of accompanying hashtags, and emoji. Indeed, these more 'negative' #homealone posts reflect both the various social functions of Instagram, where individuals can use the platform for emotional and community support (Moreno et al., 2016; Pitman and Reich, 2016), as well as the idea that many enjoy the experience of 'home' most when surrounded by family and friends. Within this social relation to home lies an idea of relating to and expressing oneself through 'home'. Indeed, many posts collecting during the data period featured the "subjectivity of the photographer" by capturing and including parts of the user's body within the frame of the image (Zappavigna, 2016: 277). Images such as a hand patting a dog, outstretched legs in front of a television or in a bath all infer "the presence of the photographer beyond the edges of the frame" (Zappavigna, 2016: 277). These images, as with the 'feet up' theme identified in Barbour's study of the #watchingtv tag on Instagram, "are a performance of leisure that simultaneously includes and excludes the viewer" and "seeks to render invisible the mediatization of the moment while the sentiment ultimately recalls the presence of that mediated frame" (Barbour et al., 2017: 6).

Visibilizing Home

At the outset of this paper, home was defined as "a place where we *feel comfortable*, defined by *family* and *friendships*" (Rapoport, 1995: 27). Through the analysis of posts tagged with #home, #homealone, and #homesweethome, we can see how images on Instagram visualise and visibilize those connections to feelings, places, and relationships. Representations of spaces, objects, people, pets, landscapes, and the photographer themselves allow insight into the domestic sphere, as social media use gives unprecedented opportunities to peek into private lives. More than this, however, we can see through this data the interplays between public and private, domestic and commercial, that digital photography and applications like Instagram have brought to light. Homes are, as they arguably have always been, the meeting place of public and private spheres, where the evidence of our economic capital is located, where we demonstrate our tastes, pursue our hobbies, and build many of the relationships that define our identities. As well as these representations of home, however, we are seeing the ways people capitalise on the capacity to share these images of the outside world, as users offer up elements of their domestic space as guidance for creating stylish, comfortable, or homely dwellings, advertising their own expertise in interior design or the products of stores and designers they prefer.

As demonstrated in this dataset by the dominance of snapshot style images over the designed or professional aesthetic styles, however, the bulk of users are ordinary people posting in-the-moment images of everyday life. As social media has collapsed the different audiences for the various roles each of us plays within our lives, a more holistic and complex representation of ourselves emerges. While still not by any means unified or uniform – we have developed numerous strategies for managing context collapse, after all (Barbour, 2015) – the socio-cultural boundaries between what might have been considered private, personal, or public are becoming increasingly porous, and it should therefore come as no surprise that images of home, however that term is understood, are a visible part of our public personas.

The findings reported here help to extend our understanding of both the photography of private spaces posted to Instagram, and the ways that our understandings of home might be expanding in response to the ways we use technology to visualise and share those spaces. Further research on the ways that *work* within home spaces is visiblized through Instagram and similar spaces would be of significant value, both in terms of how people adapt dwellings to accommodate paid employment, and to explore the discourses of housework and unpaid domestic labour, particularly in regards to issues of gender and class. The relationship between Influencer "visibility labour" (Abidin, 2016b) and the public sharing of home spaces would also provide valuable insights into the mediatization and monetization of what may previously have been considered a private leisure activity. Finally, given the continued rise in Finsta (fake Instagram) accounts which are often private and therefore inaccessible for the type of data collection used here, a survey, interview, or participant observation based study of any different depictions of home on the two types of account would be valuable. As Finsta accounts are most known for their inclusion of "unflattering aspects of self" (Kang and Weik 2019), these accounts may well provide a very different insight into how people visibilize their homes through these semi-public photographic practices.

Funding

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i For this same reason, we have not reproduced any images from the dataset in this publication.

ii We prefer the term 'snapshot' to 'casual', as it more fully encapsulates the speed and informality of the image production process.