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Factory without walls? Work and non-work in the Facebook-policies of Finnish companies

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Abstract

Company guidelines often regulate communication on Facebook, at least during work hours. Guidelines for social media use are maintained because Facebook can be used for both professional and private purposes, and the boundary between work and non-work remains unclear. Building on the claim of the social factory, we theorize on the dynamics and impacts of company social media regulation extending to non-work. We explore empirically how personal and work-related uses are described and kept separate in the Facebook policies of 30 Finnish companies. Our analysis is based on qualitative methods using open and axial coding. Two different groups of company guidelines emerged in the analyses: one group of invasive guidelines reinforced by harsh sanctions and another, smaller group, which had less invasive guidelines and laxer sanctions.

1 INTRODUCTION

Assumptions related to private and organizational communication have been called into question as Facebook (the social networking site and platform) has grown in popularity [36]. Research has found benefits in Facebook-mediated communication: increased networking between peers, improved information sharing, and easier communication [19]. However, the persistent and public nature of communication on the platform challenges companies to regulate Facebook use [15]. New policies are one way of addressing technological changes in organizations and their environment (for a more thorough discussion, see for example [5]). The dual use intention (private vs. organizational) creates ambiguity when a single user profile can satisfy both objectives [4]. Many managers and employees seem unsure of where the boundary between their private and professional lives lies in social media.

The social factory is a claim that has two parts: 1) that the production of value is currently extended far beyond the traditional places of production (manufacture, factory), into other parts of society and 2) that there is a simultaneous intensification of control over work (for a more thorough discussion, see [24; 29]).

In what follows we discuss, building on the social factory claim, how company policies regulate communication in Facebook. We limit ourselves to the national context of Finland. Our data consists of regulation texts provided by companies.

The research aim is: “*How are personal and work-related uses separated in company-internal Facebook policies?*” We investigate company guidelines based on:

- 1a) *whether, and how, guidelines enact a boundary between work and non-work,*
- 1b) *how guidelines regulate the non-work part, and*
- 2) *the intensity of the sanctions in the guidelines.*

Our contribution is to show (in line with the social factory claim) 1) how what is considered work extends far beyond the traditional workplace activities in many Facebook regulations. We also provide 2) evidence of two kinds of regulation: one set where the extension and sanctions are more moderate and other group where extension is accompanied with harsher sanctions. These findings call for those who are involved

in the creation of these regulation documents and platforms to consider which group they want their company to belong to.

Facebook is clearly, in the Finnish context, the social medium with the most users. This is why we choose to focus on it. We limit our investigation to what is explicitly stated in the policies, not their origin or creation. This means deliberately excluding other documentation (eg. company general code of conduct) and other possible regulations. Also, any impact the guidelines may or may not have on actual communication falls outside the scope of the study. The emphasis is on public postings rather than messages or chat. Facebook games and other applications are omitted.

We first discuss the related literature on Facebook communication and policy in organizations. Then we describe the methodology; our data is the internal written policies of 30 Finnish firms. We describe the recurring issues that we found regulation on. In the findings, we elaborate on the two main groups of company regulations: restrictive and supportive.

2 BACKGROUND: FACEBOOK

The Facebook platform is, as readers know, the leading Social Networking Site (SNS), where users can share their profiles [17]. Registering to the platform is free of charge, but users predispose themselves to a certain amount of commercial messaging, which means targeted advertising according to information extracted from their profile [20]. Facebook lists its terms of service, but users tend to avoid reading them [15]. On their profile users share personal information on family, colleagues, hobbies, and personal preferences. This information is by default shared, but users can - and often do - restrict access for different users or groups [8]. The style of communication is informal [20].

Facebook users follow different use patterns: some use the virtual friendship for loose connections while others have a higher threshold of accepting a friend, but share all their activities within the restricted receiver group [4]. Relationships in Facebook mirror in general the patterns of communication in everyday life [15, 35]. The level of intimacy ranges between a close social tie to a distant relationship. However, the clear majority of Facebook users prefer to know a person in real life when connecting on Facebook [31].

In addition to personal entertainment, Facebook is a medium to access various public spheres. (Public) Facebook user profiles, pages, groups and comments can become very visible [3]. Examples of public spheres include politics, commercial businesses, and healthcare. Discussion topics are related to cultural, administrative, geographic, and economic information [28]. People with similar ideologies, values and attitudes find, post, comment and discuss [40].

3 FACEBOOK IN ORGANIZATIONS

There are several ways companies can leverage Facebook to benefit both internal and external communication. It is noteworthy that the line between internal and external communication might easily be blurred on the platform.

Knowing what is technically possible is not the only restriction to leveraging Facebook: certain activities such as the reading of status updates of employees or using social media as a hidden marketing tool might be considered ethically questionable practices [22].

Facebook is leveraged as an internal tool to help enhance openness between hierarchical levels of organization, contributing to problem solving in expert teams, referring to online material, messaging customers, or improving the visible signs of employee commitment towards the company. Virtual team management in Facebook is an emergent topic in research (for example [26]).

3.1 Facebook communication

When companies were granted the possibility to create Facebook accounts, 100,000 organizations joined within the same day [1]. Users can use these pages to get updates on the company. Company pages save costs on marketing and signal reliability to customers, who can contact the company in a more informal way [13]. Timely social media communication can reduce rumors by allowing employees to counter claims that are not true [13].

If a company sets up a Facebook page, a set of routines is established for the presentation of the company. For example, a company cannot leave customer inquiries unreplied without risking a loss in credibility and increased customer turnover [13]. Many organizations are actively monitoring their exposure on Facebook. This information is then used to create positive external attention, maintain healthy customer relations and to correct mistakes [14]. Employees are often encouraged to join discussions (for example on their profession) on Facebook, but discussions are usually mandatory only for dedicated social media communication staff. Companies might even forbid employees who do not work in the communications department from replying to customer inquiries.

As Facebook is connected to the diverse social ties of an employee's private life, personal Facebook posts might not be within the expectations of the management. Users are aware that their profiles might for example affect recruitment, but it is common to post pictures and videos that are likely to lead to less-than-favorable recruitment outcomes [27].

3.2 Facebook policies in organizations

Organizations are interested in how their employees use Facebook. The connection between the organization and the general public can be ruined just by a single, frustrated message. Employees believe they can cause severe harm to the company by posting unwanted messages [12]. The difficulty is that messaging is always context-bound and it is difficult to formulate clear and generally applicable rules for communication. To protect company reputation, organizations have created policies to control the public messaging of their employees [25]. Company guidelines for Facebook use generally describe what information is confidential and how much can be published about the internal processes of the company. This policy should normally be in line with other company priorities, such as communication strategy [22]. The regulations we focused on were created to guide: restrict or encourage communication of all employees using their personal accounts. The majority of the companies we tackled have additional separate guidelines for communications staff accessing the company account.

Here's an example of a part of the Facebook strategy of a Finnish public broadcasting organization: *“We want our employees to follow our values (trustworthiness, independence, and informativeness) also on Facebook. Our policies exist to clarify the purposes and practices for Facebook activities, and to prevent damaging the company’s reputation. We will also offer guidelines for developing the management, goals, and metrics for our Facebook use in order to maximize effectiveness [40].*

Creating these policies is not enough: organizations also have an incentive to assess their employees’ compliance with their social media regulation [14].

3.3 Work-life balance and the social factory argument

Work-life balance refers to an optimal state wherein an employee feels that because of mutual balance private life (family) activities do not suffer from workload [16]. Research on work-life balance proposes that a clear distinction would help reach high task-effectiveness and work satisfaction [18]. Many companies however are still unsure of how to manage the poor fit between organizational and personal (i.e. family) interests. To complicate the issue, the impact of work-life balance programs is often contested [18]. As managers struggle with questions of work-life balance, so, too, do academics interested in social networking. Earlier research on the benefits and disadvantages of social networking has not focused on work hours or the tasks of the individual [2, 21].

An unclear distinction between private and organizational communication may lead to unwanted effects such as loss of productivity, obstacles for career advancement, disinterest towards organizational goals, and stress when switching between roles [19]. This dual role (work and non-work) of Facebook communication is directly linked to work-life balance.

Facebook friends often include different but overlapping social groups which might cause tensions [6, 39]. For example a picture of a user drinking beer would be accepted among friends, but perhaps not among colleagues or family. Traditionally these spheres have been partitioned, but in Facebook communication is integrated across several social spheres leading to problems in how to present opinions and information to different audiences [39]. This perception of correct communication is context-driven. The dilemma is that the communicator is assumed to change between different roles just as in real-life situations, but the platform supports the idea of a single profile page [15].

Facebook breaks the containment of work because users can communicate with their virtual friends in the workplace with ease. This also means that if someone acts unethically, negative word will spread immediately, something that has been called protection due to an “ongoing presence” [10].

The elements that enable work-life balance are organizational flexibility and the reduction of conflicts between work and private life [11]. The porous boundary between work and private lives is of key importance when discussing work and non-work. If the distinction is not clear between private life and work, employees will tend to experience higher stress levels due to employer surveillance [11]. Examples of surveillance issues might be ones related to opinions or choices, such as “her political opinions are too radical” or “his sexual behavior is too open”).

One theorization that has been used to explain what is going is the social factory. It states that production in societies is extending from the traditional workplace [24, 29] to the entire society and that this change is accompanied by increased control over work. Historically, in pre-market societies, there was no clear division between productive task-oriented work and non-productive work [34]. This boundary was an innovation of the manufacturing organizations of the industrial era to separate work and free and family time. There is ongoing discussion of what is now happening due to increasing virtualization.

Due to space constrains, we do not look deep into the theory behind the social factory in this paper. We simply note that the social factory argument, in its different forms, normally incorporates a theory of value and a theory of immaterial production. In this article we have chosen not to propose these, or discuss any variant of the several available theories at length. This is because, in this article, we are not interested in whether the social factory argument holds true for different industries or production as a whole. Instead, focusing on the level of the individual organization - and its Facebook policy - we want to understand how micromechanisms manifest in organizational Facebook regulation.

We were expecting to see some diffusion: the most supportive proponents seem to accept all organizational uses of Facebook, advising managers to encourage their staff to use the platform

(for example, [7]). A different orientation highlights the need for control and surveillance to make marketing and customer encounters as productive as possible [14].

A key issue for us is to provide an account of whether and, if so, in what way do the regulation texts (of Facebook policies) extend work from the physical workspace. We are especially interested in the boundary between work and non-work, and whether the regulation is extending to non-work. Second, we will look at the sanctions mentioned in these policies.

Next we move into the empirical part of the article. We extrapolate from earlier discussion the kinds of regulation we expect to find in the policies (boundary extension and sanctions) and then divide the policies into groups.

4 METHODOLOGY

We analyze how the private and organizational uses of Facebook are regulated in the policy documents of 30 anonymous Finnish companies. Our findings show how the companies maintain and regulate the separation of work and non-work, i.e. “How are personal and work-related uses separated in company-internal Facebook policies?”

4.1 Data collection

Data collection began by requesting “social media guides” from 45 large companies in Finland, 30 of which were used in the research (Table 1). We omitted those policies that were obviously still a work in progress or that only had a very small part about Facebook. This resulted in 30 policies to analyze. A company was considered large when it had over 250 paid employees or an annual turnover of over EUR 50 million or a total balance of over EUR 45 million [34].

Table 1 Companies per industry

Industry	Industry			
Food production		4	Services	8
Wood and steel production		8	Transport	2
Other production		8		

An average regulation document was a quite precise set of rules and examples several pages long. The data - consisting of Facebook policies - was collected by e-mail requests. The companies were chosen by size, beginning with the largest companies operating in Finland, as we speculated that smaller companies might not yet have written policies in place.

Most of the regulations were in Finnish and some in English. We translated everything into English in the analysis and when reporting findings. Some of the companies regulated Facebook in a separate chapter of their general communication policy. In these cases, we included only the chapters concerning Facebook in the analysis.

4.2 Data analysis

Coding was based on summarizing key words to find repeating phenomena in the data [33]. The keywords were grouped into meaningful categories [32]. The categories were constructed after collecting the documents, when going through the data. Categories emerged when distinct and repeating phenomena were discovered. During the analysis the main categories were split up into smaller subcategories.

The coding and scoring was conducted by one researcher. Codes were labels for the contents, with the intent of compiling data. There are specific codes for different purposes: descriptive codes (open codes), interpretive codes (axial or selective codes), pattern codes, theoretical codes, etc [23]. During our codification work, we asked three questions a) what a piece of data represents; b) what category it belongs to; and c) is it an instance of something [30]?

The codification process began with open coding, that is, exploring the data in order to discover phenomena. The definitive indicator was the frequency of the phenomenon: if the theme occurred often, it was used as a category. The open coding phase proceeded as follows. The categories were added to the computer (Excel) file one by one. First a category was added without any topic. Categories were formed by referring to 1-4 sentences in the original regulation document. The names of the companies as well as all branch-specific and strategic information were omitted to maintain confidentiality. When similar regulations were found in several documents, this was respectively marked in the file. One row included one salient point of regulation. If the same sentence regulated several issues an additional row or rows were added. Thus the file ended up including similar regulation sentences in adjacent rows.

Each row also had a value that measured how many issues were regulated in the text corpus as well as a short text (key sentence), and long text (the full regulation). When there were enough rows (4 to 20) that resembled each other, a subtopic was created for these rows. These subtopics form the relevant content of the result tables in the next chapter.

The open coding process led to over 300 groups of (repeating) themes. After that, the most relevant groupings were chosen for axial coding, which combines some of these and creates suitable “topics” or “sub-headers” for the findings. In the axial coding phase, the primary categories were reorganized to find a new way to group the findings. Some of the categories formed new logical connections (axes), which turn the opened phenomena into useful categories [30].

4.3 Categories

First we categorized the invasiveness (x-axis of Figure 2) of the regulation. The research question provided the main grouping - that is - the boundary of work and non-work. After 10 policy documents were analyzed three relevant categories (professional, gray

zone, private) emerged. These three categories are shown in Table 1 (regulated areas) with example statements.

Table 2 the regulated areas

Professional (-)	Gray Zone	Private (+)
Representatives are chosen by the company	Copyright issues	Colleagues and supervisors should be able to read all the updates
Admit and correct your mistakes	Obeys the law; You are personally responsible	Respect different opinions
Always introduce yourself and your position	Make it clear when you are writing in your private role	Employees represent the company in all circumstances

In the second phase we focused on the sanctions in the guidelines (y-axis in Figure 2). Figure 1 below lists criteria used to determine the strength of sanctions in a guideline (0-10, 0:low, 10:high), with example statements. Each regulation was given a value (0-10) based on how strong the control enacted in the policy document was. If a regulation contained mostly mere suggestions and general advice (such as “spelling mistakes are allowed”), it received a low score. If a regulation contained strict control mechanisms (such as “termination of the work contract”) the guideline received high score (in y-axis).

	Issues	Example regulation
0	Unloading negative feelings	“Employees are encouraged to share their moods”
1	Dare to show your opinion	“Give your opinions, keep your beliefs in mind and engage in discussions”
2	You can say where you work	“Whenever writing about employment, make sure that the discussion is not defamatory to anyone”
3	Trust as a basis	“In principle, the company trust that employers act reasonably”
4	Information security	“Communication predisposes to information security threats”
5	Loyalty clause	“Employee communication is restricted by their loyalty obligation, both in private and in professional” roles
6	Content concerns	“Sender is responsible for suitability”
7	Work prioritized	“Commitment to work must not be compromised”
8	Company image concerns	“Employees represent the company in all circumstances”
9	Threat of sanctions	“Violation of these policies can lead to an official warning”
10	Termination of work contract	“Violation of these policies can lead to termination of the work contract”

Figure 1 Strength of sanctions checklist

In the third phase, a matrix was built where the regulations were grouped based on based on control measures of the texts (y-axis) and their invasiveness (x-axis). Regulations on x-axis were given a value (0-10) to scope in terms of private, gray zone and professional.

Thus each regulation was given a value (0-10) based on how invasive it was: i.e. what areas it regulated. If a regulation only contained guidelines (such as “always introduce yourself”), it was given low score. If the regulation contained guidelines that encompassed issues normally under the private sphere (“colleagues and supervisors should be able to read all the updates”) the guideline received high score. If a regulations document tackled only professional communication, the score in y-axis would amount to 0. Whenever a document regulates private, gray zone, and professional communications with a great number of rules, the y-axis is amounted to 10. These two stages resulted in a matrix Figure 2.

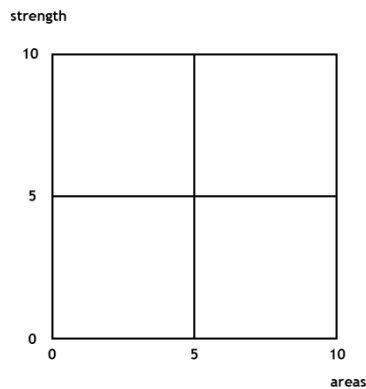


Figure 2 Matrix of strength of regulation and regulation areas

5 FINDINGS

As expected, some policies enacted strict control (e.g. remember grammar; personal sanctions) and in contrast some were supportive (e.g. dare to show your opinion). In general, the documents cover perceived threats of misuse and leave other things open for employee consideration. Table 3 below describes how the different policies mapped to the x- and y-axes based on strength of regulation and regulated areas.

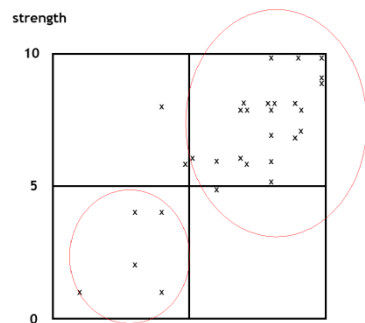
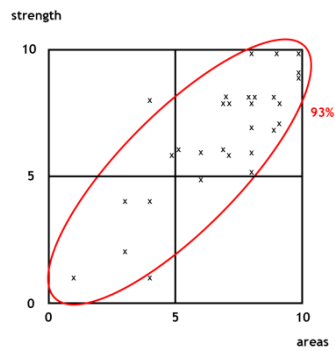
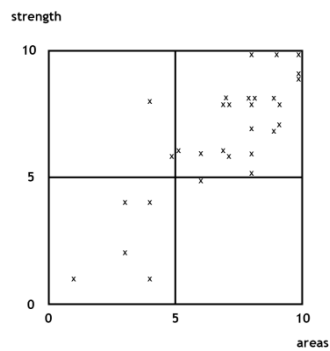


Figure 3 Mapped strength of control (y) and invasiveness (x)

5.1 Two set of policies

When policies are mapped into the coordinates (figure 3), two things become apparent immediately. The first is that almost all of the guidelines (28/30) are inside two boxes, low-low or high-high. In other words, two different groups of regulations seem to emerge: one that has a low amount of control and invasiveness and another where the guidelines mention strong sanctions and that also seems invasive in the personal sphere. The majority of the analyzed regulations are somewhat on the stricter and more invasive side.

5.2 Content of regulation

We observe that, as indicated by earlier research (for example [4]), the private and organizational uses were blurred in the documents and the boundary between the two unclear.

One of the most interesting aspects of regulations is that the majority of companies seem to want to separate the personal and professional Facebook use of their employees.

In what follows, we list in more detail the selected contents of the Facebook guidelines with examples. Table 2 lists the different regulations on professional use of Facebook.

Table 3 Professional Facebook use

Regulated issue	#/#	Adapted example sentence
Always introduce yourself and your position	15/30	If you represent the company by using a company account, please always identify yourself (name, position) when answering questions. This is common politeness.
Focus the work-related updates (only) on your specialization	7/30	The Internet is full of specialists and some of them intervene if they find false information about their specialty. Be sure about the facts you state.
Think about the reader: write interesting and factual information	4/30	The best way to satisfy the audience is to tell them about practical and informative topics. High-quality content is mandatory in order to get followers.
Admit and correct your mistakes	12/30	Admit your mistakes instantly and correct them as soon as possible. If you renew any information over the old message, leave a notification about this.
Incorrect information about the company	11/30	If you find any (harmful) information that requires a correction from the company side, please inform the communications department.
Representatives are selected by the company	13/30	A person cannot represent the company without a proper appointment to this role.
Representatives are educated for their task	5/30	Working for the company and answering for the company doesn't make an employee a representative. The communications department handles all public messaging.
Quick responses	5/30	Facebook is impatient and requires quick responses. The longer you wait, the more effort it takes to correct rumors.
Everybody is welcome to create public Facebook content	1/30	If you want to create content, administer and develop the public Facebook pages for the company, you can request the login-information from the communications department.
Supports the recruitment	1/30	Facebook is a recruitment tool to connect with certain groupings that could not be reached with other types of media.
Rules for stock market and the Securities Markets Act	3/30	Official reporting is regulated e.g. in Finnish Companies Act, regulations for public companies, and NASDAQ OMX Helsinki Ltd. policies and guides.
Personal sanctions	9/30	Violation of these policies can lead to sanctions, such as a warning, but also to the termination of employment.

The following group contains regulations listed in the gray area. These regulations enact and extend the boundaries between work and non-work.

Many companies seem willing to extend the scope of work to what has traditionally been considered personal communication. Guidelines also seem to assume that management and employees would quite well know how to maintain the distinction between work and non-work. “*Use common sense*” is at the same time a very good advice and a very bad one. It is not very good advice if there are disagreements on where the boundaries lie. There seem to be issues with over-regulated communication that is invasive to the private sphere and may blur the boundary between work and non-work.

Table 4 Gray area

Regulated issue	#/#	Adapted example sentence
Employees represent the company in all circumstances	13/30	Even if you would write as a private person, some can see you as a representative of the company. Others may build an impression about the company, based on your appearance. Act accordingly.
Private and professional roles must be separated	7/30	One should show clearly the distinction between these two roles; make sure the audience recognizes whether your communication is private or not.
Private and professional roles are mixed	4/30	These roles have become mixed and intertwined, so that there are no generally applicable rules for the communication.
Loyalty clause	8/30	Employees are restricted by their loyalty obligation to their employer, both in private and professional roles (also in Employment Contracts Act).
Commitment to work must not be compromised	3/30	Make sure that your personal commitments do not interfere with your work performance or commitment.
Common sense	4/30	Use your common sense; act wisely.

The third category contains guidelines that are the most invasive in a Finnish context. Regulations of private use expect employees to adapt to the organizational rules in communication far beyond the workplace.

Table 5 Company- related regulations for non-work

Regulated issue	#/#	Adapted example sentence
Company e-mail or telephone number	4/30	Do not disclose your company telephone number, or use your company e-mail address (even for logging in).
Colleagues or supervisors can read the status updates	5/30	Anyone in the workplace (such as colleagues and supervisors) may be able access to your status updates. Write with respect, without hurtful contents.
You can comment about your employment	4/30	Whenever writing about your employment, make sure that you give correct information about your specialty and also that the subject of discussion not defamatory to anyone.
Be yourself if you say something about your employment	2/30	If you write about your work, we encourage you to write with your natural style and speak honestly about your employment.
Respect all opinions	3/30	Act fairly towards diversities and different opinions. If you disagree, do it respectfully. Respect especially the company, your colleagues, partners, and subcontractors.
Sharing the company's public Facebook news	4/30	You can preferably share news that is published on the company's Facebook pages or other our contents that are targeted to media. Employees can "like" the updates and share these on Facebook.
The company must be boosted (e.g. every 10th message)	1/30	It is smart to add some positive remarks about your employer every now and then, especially if you are allowed to use Facebook during working hours. This is doubtless a personal choice, but an appropriate interval to promote the company could be every 10th post.
Make it clear when you are writing in a private capacity	14/30	Ensure that your audience understands which opinions are personal. Please also indicate whether you are talking about a personal view or a fact.

5.3. Facebook bans

Some companies were enacting bans or restrictions on Facebook use (11/30). These are listed in table 5. Most companies did not explicitly limit Facebook use at all during working hours in their Facebook regulations.

Table 6 Bans or partial bans of Facebook-use

Facebook forbidden	Number
Allowed in working hours, if work is not negatively impacted	3
Not allowed in front desks	1
Primarily in free time	6
Forbidden during working hours	1

5.3 Large scope of regulation

The findings show that companies have regulated employee communication in Facebook in many ways. The regulations require employees to show caution about what they post, and recommend correct styles and contents when posting on work-related subjects. Employees are also often demanded to behave correctly during their free-time, giving them a perception that their behavior is being monitored.

A noteworthy amount of regulations define what is polite communication. It is also interesting that in their regulatory documents companies did not explicitly express concerns about disturbing the work-life balance by expanding the company regulations into the traditional private zone.

6 DISCUSSION

To revisit the research question briefly: “How are personal and work-related uses separated in company-internal Facebook policies?” We have discussed the boundary separating work and non-work as well as the extension of regulation to non-work. Finally, we have outlined the sanction mechanisms mentioned in the guidelines. Our findings show how employees are guided to communicate when using their personal accounts. In addition, a different set of rules was in place to regulate the use of company accounts.

The findings show great variance between the two groups of controlling and supporting Facebook policies. Some companies have high demands of control concerning private communication, whereas others do not. We cannot reasonably imply causality between the invasive extension of the regulated sphere towards the private and with stronger control – in extreme cases termination of the work contract. However, we can observe two different groups of regulations that include almost all of our regulation documents: high-high and low-low.

This means that if a company enforces stronger sanctions in the policy, it often suggests guidelines that are invasive and also extend regulation to non-work. In contrast, if the rules are more like suggestions then the guidelines do not extend to traditional non-work areas and the work-life boundary can remain clearer.

This also means that the social factory argument does not necessarily hold for all of the regulations or at least that a group of companies has opted for laxer control and sanctions. This group of companies limits the extension of work by opting for low-low guidelines. This does not invalidate the claim of the social factory, but it suggests that one way to create room for non-work and private life is through the creation of socially sustainable Facebook guidelines – or - we could even speculate - leaving Facebook communication to little regulation.

The amount of gray zone regulations signals work-life balance concerns. Surprisingly few organizations seemed to strive towards a balance between work and non-work spheres in their guidelines. Work-life balance programs promote a clear boundary between personal and professional matters, between work and non-work. This would support creating guidelines in the category of low-low as a good way forward for many companies. Most of the companies however currently had opted for another direction:

invasive regulation that is reinforced by reminders of strong sanctions. It is worthwhile to note that almost half (13 out of 30) of the guidelines extend regulation to non-work by reminding the employees that they represent the company in all circumstances.

Facebook use requires a level of immersion to the platform. There is a risk that some users would immerse themselves deeply in Facebook when they are supposed to be working and that this would pose a clear problem in the work environment. Several guidelines hinted towards this being an issue that the policies addressed although it was not explicitly expressed in the guidelines.

6.1 Limitations

The popularity and usage intentions of Facebook show a substantial variance in different countries and cultures [2]. For the sake of scope, we minimize the discussion on legislation in this paper.

The study is about Finnish companies and thus its generalizability to a global context is limited. We would however welcome studies of cross-comparison across different legal contexts. We think that work-life changes related to Facebook bring many ethical issues that need to be solved.

6.2 Suggestions for future work

Our results open up a set of interesting possible new avenues for research:

- 1) The positive and the negative impacts of Facebook regulations for employees, their life spheres and wellbeing, as well as for companies and society;
- 2) What are the differences in productivity, stock price, trust, innovation, networks and so on between companies that implement laissez-faire policies and those that implement more authoritative ones? What are the reasons for the different choices?
- 3) What does it mean, theoretically, for the social factory argument that we seem to have companies that follow it and others that do not?
- 4) What are the best practices related to work-life balance and how to measure them? How to increase awareness of the need to establish a boundary between work and non-work?
- 5) Comparison of different social media services regarding their use and suitability for different tasks.

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