

An Overview of Bruneian Creatives' Affective Work and Labor on Social Media

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ABSTRACT

Bruneian youth are actively searching for opportunities to empower and mobilize themselves economically and socially. Creative industry, an industry that requires passion, creative expression, and individuality, offers them the platform for self-exploration, self-discovery, and self-expression. In a span of just a few years, we witnessed our youth's growing engagement with music, fashion, videography, photography, advertising and promotion, and performance art.

This group of youth who are at the forefront of this industry that is characterized by its collaborative, participatory, and creative nature are taking advantage of today's digital connectivity to mobilize their individualism, creative cultural ideas, identity expression, and cultural production. Using Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) and supplemented with personal communication with selected creatives, this paper examines the affective labor of three Bruneian youth and the work by other creatives through collective platforms in producing creative materials, self-promotion, and mobilizing creative youths in the nation. This paper aims to demonstrate the emergence of Bruneians creatives and the growing creative cultural ideas in the nation enabled and sustained by social media use. In so doing, this paper aims to reveal the creative curation of their Instagram via their affective labor and practice leading to the co-creation of new narratives of Bruneian creatives.

Keywords: young people; creative industries; Brunei; mobilities; identity; social media; affective labor; affective practice; Instagram

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INTRODUCTION

Over recent years, we have seen the growth in the number of young creatives showcasing their talents and creative products on social media as a platform to intensively and extensively curate ‘art’ and increase their visibility. The growth in the size of the digitally connected group who are both the consumers and producers of cultural materials are driving forward this recent interest and development in the digital creative work and labor. This group of youth with their knowledge of technology and network are adding nuance to the creative industry. While we have a more traditional form of creative labor, there is a growing focus on emerging fields and digital creative work such as digital cultural content creation on social media sites such as Instagram, YouTube and Tik Tok, fueled by technological development, afforded by the participatory and collaborative culture of new media, and sustained by the aspirational and entrepreneurial creative actors.

The creative industry in Brunei Darussalam is still at its infancy. However, circa 2010 to 2015, the nation has witnessed the growth in the cultural and creative production that parallels the proliferation in the use of social media by the young people evident in the creation of a number of creative spaces, both online and offline. This is seen in the Creative Core Brunei, Creative Space gallery, and the sharing of creative contents on social media such as local infographics and short videos by young and budding creatives (Ibrahim Kamit, Faiq Airudin, and Arif Ebil to name a few). This is not surprising considering the level of internet and social media penetration in the nation during that time. The percentage of social media penetration increased by 4% in 2019 from 95% in 2018 (Hootsuite and We Are Social 2018, 2019). By January 2020, Brunei ranked top in the world (with a few other countries) with 94% (410,000 population) social media penetration in the world (Kemp 2020). Brunei is also one of the top countries with the highest Instagram penetration at 63% (220,000) by January 2019. With today’s precarious conditions, specifically the rising unemployment in the country, Bruneian youth have been observed to take advantage of digital technologies to empower and mobilize themselves for socio-economic development. The slow rise of digital content creators and the growing creative agents’ visibility in Brunei partly exemplify the effectiveness of individuals’ use of new media and digital technology. The growing interest in cultural and creative production in the country was further supported by the establishment of creative academic and non-academic institutions and advertising agencies during the same time period. Just as other neighboring Southeast Asian countries that have recognized the cultural and creative industries as one of the key drivers of their economy have incorporated this industry in their national development strategies, the Brunei government has also recently acknowledged the creative industry, proven by the financial and non-financial support given to relevant youth programs, youth initiatives, and other institutional support through the drafting of national policies and national forum on creative industry (Lopes and Aliudin 2019). Despite such interest and considering the recent development in the creative industry, there remains a paucity of research on creative work and labor in the Brunei’s context.

In light of this exciting turn to youth-led and youth-focused initiatives on creative work, it is warranted and timely that we provide an analysis of the youth’s development in the emerging creative industry, in particular, their development on social media in the forms of digital content creation and boosting visibility. Furthermore, based on the author’s observation of the creative community in the offline and online contexts, there is an indication of creative movement among Bruneian creatives. This can be seen via the affective labor of @vaniliyy and @hanazine as studied in this paper and through the creation of a platform for the creative movement as seen with the

creation of @justbruneians, to inspire, admire and empower local talents founded by a number of Bruneians creatives. In this context, an insight into the creatives' individual and collective works and needs in the industry in the present digital era are instrumental for at least two reasons: firstly, in creating a conducive and sustainable environment for them to continue to prosper in the industry; and secondly, to further understand the youth's mobilities and strategies in today's precarious condition which is characterized by growing constraints in job opportunities. Thus, this paper offers an examination of three Bruneian youths' creative cultural production and self-promotion activities on Instagram to elicit their affective labor in showcasing their creativity, and an examination of collective work by individuals via creative platforms in promoting creativity and individualism. In so doing, this paper aims to demonstrate the emergence of Bruneian creatives and the growing creative cultural ideas in the nation enabled and sustained by social media use and the youth's aspiration for mobilities.

In this study, I draw from the concept of affective practice by Margaret Wetherell (2012) as a framework to study the creatives' social practices in the form of their individual and collective affective labor on social media. Their affective labor is conceptualized as the transaction of creative work on social media via circulation, exchange, and reproduction of creative content and ideas. These are considered as affective (social media) practice, a practice that is significant in young people's mobilities, particularly in the precarious contexts observed in the creative industry. In this paper, their affective labor and practice on social media are framed in the context of youth mobilities and empowerment (individual and communal) and I posit Instagram as mobilities' spatialities (spaces for youth mobilities) allowing for the formation of their creative lives or persona. As Elliott (2016) suggests, "(d)igital technologies should be understood, at least in part, in relation to the containment of anxiety and emotional conflicts of the highly mobile self. That is to say, mobile technologies are not only technical objects through which people coordinate their activities with others. They also constitute the ways in which people go about the production and transformation of their mobile lives" (175). Mobile lives could be considered as mobilities of their creative self that materialized via digital technologies (social media) and can be considered to be liquid, transformative, flexible, and dynamic in nature. Elliott and Urry (2010) define these technologies as 'miniaturized mobilities', the essence of mobile lives and affording virtual and communicative mobilities, in the forms of smartphones, Wi-Fi, iPads, laptops and interactive social media apps. These digital technologies are restructuring how we make sense of our day to day engagements and experiences, how we understand our self and being, and how the self is designed, executed, established, and evaluated. They are significantly transforming our identities at work and in private as well as in relation to our interpersonal relationships, our life-strategies, and everyday narratives (Elliott and Urry 2010) and include our affective (social media) practices.

Prior to delving into the affective practice of the creatives, we need to first consider affect and the affective nature of new media. Media are affective tools and can be used to transmit affect (Garde-Hansen and Gorton 2013). Affect, an elusive term, can be generally defined as emotions that we feel, carry and act upon and it is embodied in the context of our cultural values and principles. Images, captions, and videos could act as a conduit in transferring emotion and affect (Karatigoziani and Kuntsman 2012). As we are increasingly affected by mediated everyday life (Döveling et al. 2010), the focus on affect in the media and communication studies has intensified. We have scholars studying affect in news, journalism, television, film, and on the internet (Hellekson and Busse 2006; Bury 2008; Nip 2009; Evans 2011 as cited in Garde-Hansen and Gorton 2013; Karatzogianni and Kuntsman 2012). There is, however, still a significant gap in the

studies of affect and online media content that engages with ordinary people (Garde-Hansen and Gorton 2013). To respond to this gap and to achieve the aim of this paper, I focused on the micro-scale level and everyday affective labor and practice conducted by Bruneian creatives on Instagram. The discussion on work and labor on social media using the affective practice framework is offered in the subsequent section, which also acts as the research framing section. A description of the study is offered prior to discussing the two interwoven outcomes of the affective labor the creatives are involved with through circulation, exchange, and reproduction of their work: self-promotion and self-branding; and two, collaborative creation of Brunei's creative industry discourse. The later sections will demonstrate Bruneian youths' creative affective labor on social mediascape, Instagram, by discussing their creative curation on @jeeradoesfashion, a Fashion Stylist/Fashion Director; @mr.hzml, a Freelance Photographer; and @babusinur, a persona created by Khairul Anwar, an actor. The penultimate section provides an overall look into creative mobility and the emergence of a creative industry in the nation by discussing affective labor of other creative actors through individual and collective work and through the creation of platforms to support individualism, creativity, and creative community. We will look at @vanilliyy, a Graphic Design/Art Director, @hanazine, a digital depository of the contemporary arts and culture scene featuring underground artists, subcultures and collectives in Brunei and @thecollectiveartevents which organizes creative festivals to make the world better by bringing together creativity-community-art.

WORK AND LABOR ON SOCIAL MEDIA: AFFECTIVE LABOR AND PRACTICE

Digital technologies combined with today's precarious conditions resulted to the creation of new sites of production and consumption. This has resulted in the transformation in the concept, value, and actual work and labor. In general, long term and stable employment no longer remain as the dominant form of work. What work and labor entail in today's digital times are different from before; the emergence of gig job and the transition from long-term, full-time employment to short-time, part-time, and freelance employment have been observed globally, particularly "work" on social media sites such as Instagram (Abidin 2019; Abidin 2017; Carah and Shaul 2016; Waninger 2015; Hesmondhalgh 2010). The new cultural and creative industries today are characterized by increasing flexibility, creativity, autonomy, and individual and collective short-term and project-based work that are now increasingly developed and sustained through the use of digital technologies (McRobbie 2016; Gill 2010; Gill 2002). New forms of work have led to the emergence of different types of digital laborers such as software programmers, app developers, graphic designers, journalists, bloggers, and other content producers (Terranova 2013; Gill 2010; Neff et al. 2005). The general interest in this new form of economy and work emerged in the early 1990s, particularly, the interest in the free work (not financially compensated) that are done by group of individuals in the creative industry (such as by McRobbie 2016; Duffy 2015; Kuehn and Corrigan 2013; Florida 2012; Gill 2010; Gill and Pratt 2008; Neff et al. 2005). Such work emerged as a response to the impact of the economic recession on what was considered to be a stable job/full-time employment. Related concepts such as immaterial, emotional, and affective labor were introduced to label such work and were thoroughly analyzed (such as on the work of Maurizio Lazzarato on Immaterial Labor and Michael Hardt on Affective Labor). Such form of labor has also been labelled as digital labor (Scholz 2013), aspirational labor (Duffy 2015), emotional labor (Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2008), hope labor (Kuehn and Corrigan 2013), venture labor (Neff

2012), and entrepreneurial labor (Neff et al. 2005), which all point to the emotion, care, hope, and affect put into work done by individuals within and outside the creative industry.

Within this new form of work and labor, social mediascape has become an important conduit for affectively mobilizing creative cultural ideas and transaction of creative materials and content as can be seen in the growing number of individuals who successfully attained their microcelebrities status via creative sharing on social media. In this sense, Web 3.0 is paradigmatic of an emergent form of immaterial labor (Coté and Pybus 2011) thus offering site for affective production and affective consumption, value generation, and the site for mobilizing youth's actions in the industry, and in circulating affective flows (Wissinger 2007). Despite such revolution, as cautioned by Ross (2013, p.16), it is necessary to note that social media are not “determining agents. They are facilitators, not causes of changing social forces”. Following this, I argue that individuals play a huge role in supporting and mobilizing further actions, hence the focus on the affective labor of and affective practice by the Bruneian creatives for their mobilities in this paper. To put it simply, affective labor refers to the labor of interaction and human communication that can stimulate “intangible feelings of ease, excitement, or passion” (Hardt and Negri as cited in Wissinger 2007, 234).

Such definition of affective labor, although useful in simplifying what “affect” entails in the context of work and labor, research on affect still needs to be grounded on everyday experiences and social practices to capture lived and ordinary affect (Garde-Hansen and Gorton 2013; Karatigoziani and Kuntsman 2012). Specific to work and labor, few scholarly works have attempted to articulate affect and affective labor as listed previously (Duffy 2015; Kuehn and Corrigan 2013; Scholz 2013; Neff 2012; Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2008; Neff et al. 2005). One approach which I found particularly useful in grounding affect in everyday life in the framework of work and labor is Wetherell's (2012) take on affect as affective practice that “focuses on the emotional as it appears in social life and tries to follow what participants do” (4). This affective practice involves studying bodies that are stitched together “with feelings and thoughts, interaction patterns and relationships, narrative and interpretative repertoires, social relations, personal histories, and ways of life,” putting different contexts into the picture. Affective practice approach seeks “shifting, flexible and often over-determined figurations rather than simple lines of causation, character types and neat emotion categories” (Wetherell 2012, 4). The emphasis placed on context, relationality, situation, and identification, embedded everyday social practice, and aspect of performativity linked with social practice by affective practice captures individuals' everyday lived experiences, making affective practice a suitable approach to study work and labor on social media that are predominantly dependent on the creativity, aspiration, situation, and emotion of the laborer. Drawing from Wetherell's affective practice and previous conceptualization (and application) of affective labor, I conceptualize affective labor as actual work activities in the forms of circulation, exchange, and reproduction of creative content on social media imbued with emotion, care, and effort, which eventually become an affective (social media) practice.

Specific to the focus of this paper, affective labor of the creatives is assessed based on the circulation of content by the creatives and the exchanges of creative ideas leading to reproduction of creative content, taken as reposting and context appropriation, of which affect (emotion and passion) flows via the content and in and out of context and situation according to the ‘participants’ (the creatives). Circulation of creative content is taken as the uploading and sharing of photos, videos, and texts (including captions) by the creative actors on their Instagram accounts, which is linked to individual

self-promotion and collaborative work between the creative actors. Exchange of creative cultural ideas is made possible by the circulation of creative content. The audience (fellow creatives) is affected by what they see on the platform, hence creating their own (creative) ideas leading to own circulation of content. Reproduction of cultural ideas by the reposting of creative content and context appropriation is the potential effect of the affective circulation and exchange of creative content and cultural ideas, respectively. This reproduction of cultural ideas could culminate from the “newsfeed, an ontological space grounded in the affective and constitutive relations of users, functioning as a fluid and flexible site of (creative) identity (re)production” (Coté and Pybus 2011, 176). These three elements of affective labor on social media have been demonstrated by other scholars researching social media sharing and Instagram use for marketing and branding, particularly on self-branding and the rise of micro-celebrities (Mohamad and Hassim 2019; Khamis et al. 2016; Gandini 2016; Carah and Shaul 2016). Jenkins et al.’s (2013) work on media spreadability is particularly central in the use of ‘circulation of creative content’ in this paper. At the heart of their media spreadability is the focus on the audience’s active involvement in circulating content and giving meaning to the content. Their focus on spreadability of media highlights the idea of exchanges and reposting of media content, which is also captured by other research (such as Carah and Shaul 2016; Featherstone 2010). Carah and Shaul (2016) in their work on branding and Instagram pointed out that affective labor has two facets: the first being the production of images affect audience and these audience make their own judgements on how to capture, edit and circulate their images; and the second, users (audience) watch the flow of images and modify them by own actions such as scrolling, liking, and commenting. These actions are indicative of exchange of ideas based on the content seen on the site and the reproduction of content by modifying or contextualizing circulated content respectively. Both indicate the active (affective) engagement of the audience with content on social media. Notwithstanding the focus of this paper on the circulation of content on social media by the creatives, it is crucial to acknowledge the significance of audiences (other creatives) in the affective labor of the creatives leading to collective work. The audience, whether they are the producers (creative) or consumers (also other creatives and general public) of the cultural content, are all affective laborers “who interrelate in an ongoing effort to give and gain attention from each other” (Carah and Shaul 2016, 71).

Identity and digital technology researchers continue to be interested in how young people interact and engage online, and research within this topic of online engagement include young people’s use of social media, the process of identity formation and expression, performance of self, self-presentation, self-branding and the building of social capital, and new forms of labor in digital age, transformation in the archetypes of celebrities in today’s entertainment market (Brems et al. 2017; Marwick 2013; Chen and Marcus 2012; Papacharissi 2012; Rui and Stefanone 2012, Zhao et al. 2008; Stald 2008; Stern 2008; Senft 2008; Steinfield and Ellison 2008). Presentation of self, offline and online is pertinent due to the different platforms and ways individuals can express themselves in this period laden with user-driven content technologies. Social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, YouTube and blogging sites become their stage for revealing the minutiae of their life to their audience. Affective labor is closely linked to these self-promotion and self-branding activities. The creatives’ work in revealing their personal life, the mundaneness of the information shared, the effort put into publicizing their life, interests and creative work, and the relatability and authenticity of their content combined together contribute to the creation of their particular creative selves, identities, images and ultimately, brands. Consistent curation of their everyday life and creative work and the presentation of these to their audience helps increase their public visibility and sustain their personal brand (Hearn and Schoenhoff 2016; Khamis et al. 2016).

The consequence of this ontological condition of the self as mobile is an individual that is always in search of the best, most appropriate self for the current context (Howard 2010).

In such a situation, Instagram has become the site of production and consumption (Mohamad and Hassim 2019) and spaces for youth mobilities due to the circulation, exchange and reproduction of materials and contents. The affective labor of individuals turned micro-celebrities are apparent in the curation of their social media content that emphasizes relatability, authenticity, value development, individuality, and consistency in their individual's self and image, which are considered as key features for successful self-branding (Mohamad and Hassim 2019; Khamis et al. 2016). According to Gandini (2016), "(t)he study of self-branding practices across digital freelance professions in the knowledge economy reveals how social media has come to represent a working tool that serves the curation of a professional image and the management of social relationships via the enactment of performative practices of sociality" (1). In this use of social media as an image management tool, the thinking and practice of self as a salable commodity become common (Marwick 2013). Self-branding is acknowledged as one of the strategies to attain social and economic mobility (Gandini 2016) and profit generation (Brooks and Anumudu 2015; Marwick 2013; Hearn 2008). Mobilities on social media, both virtual and communicative, has contributed massively to this recent development of individuals' self-branding. By using affective practice framework in this study of Bruneian creatives' individual and collaborative work on social media as affective labor, this paper is hoped to demonstrate their self-branding and self-promotion practices via their transaction of creative content (circulation, exchange, and reproduction). These are guided by the need to be consistent, authentic, and individual so as to increase their value and create a brand of their own and finally, transpiring into the co-creation of creative industry narratives and discourses in the country.

METHODOLOGY AND METHODS: STUDYING THE CREATIVE WORK ON INSTAGRAM

The data used in this paper is an outcome of an un-funded research entitled "*They are Just Bruneians: An Exploratory Study of Bruneian Youth in the Creative Industry*". The research aims to explore the Bruneian youth's aspirations and active engagement in different sectors of the creative industry including music, fashion, videography, photography, advertising and performance art. The objectives of the research were to investigate Bruneian youth's aspirations, their forms of engagement both offline and online, and the challenges they faced in the creative industry. Apart from the use of semi-structured interviews, this research also employs Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) on young Bruneians' creative work on Instagram. This QCA was chosen for its in-depth analysis of the online content, allowing for extractions and interpretations of themes and contexts (Schreier 2012; Boyatzis 1998).

In line with the objective of this paper that is to examine the affective labor of three Bruneian youths, @jeeradoesfashion, @mr.hzml, and @babusinur and the work by other creatives through collective platforms such as @vanilliyy, @hanazine and @thecollectiveartevents in producing creative materials, self-promotion, and mobilizing creative youths in the nation with the use of social media, only the data from the QCA that focused on content such as images, videos, stories and captions of the content they share and the work they do. Circulation, exchange, and reproduction of content on Instagram aimed at creating an online portfolio are analyzed and

discussed as well. QCA on the creatives' work on Instagram were conducted between April and October 2019. To further support the QCA, additional information on the creatives was obtained via personal communication with them. Following the research framing of the study on affective labor and practice on social media in the context of youth mobilities, the QCA was guided by specific key focus: firstly, the work done by individuals and the collective effort of the creatives to circulate their creative product, and showcase their skills and talents; secondly, the exchanges of ideas as a result of the circulation of content by other creatives; and thirdly, the reproduction of content by reposting and contextualizing one's own creative content based on the present circulation and exchange of creativities and content. To analyze the creative mobility and the emerging creative industry in the nation, the QCA focused specifically on the work done individually and collectively by the creative actors and through the creative platforms @vanilliyy; @hanazine; and @thecollectiveartevents on Instagram. Based on the QCA, I found their circulation, exchange, and reproduction of creative content to reveal their creative and strategic curation of Instagram content to enhance consistency, authenticity, individuality, and value as well as the existence of local creative consciousness and new subjectivities created and accentuated via the contextualization of reposted and appropriated content. Based on these findings, two interlinked themes emerged: firstly, self-branding and self-promotion; and secondly, the collaborative creation of Brunei's creative industry discourse. Notwithstanding the claim made throughout this paper on the discourse of creative industry and the narrative of the creatives, I acknowledge the diversity within the industry and make no claim to represent the nation's creatives but instead offer an insight into the work and labor conducted by a selected few creatives from different sectors of the industry.

The site of this study, Instagram, was purposively chosen for two reasons. Firstly, the site's popularity among Bruneians as mentioned in the Introduction section. Secondly, the site multi-modal features such as video (from 15 seconds to 60 seconds for Instagram) and image upload (from single photo to multiple photos per upload for Instagram), Stories, and Live Video. These features together offer the creatives the tools for content sharing and self-promotion and audience with the tools to obtain creative materials. Stories, for instance, due to their potential reach, discoverable nature, and the personalization offered, have been recognized as an important branding awareness tool (Laurence 2017).

CREATIVE CULTURAL PRODUCTION AND IDENTITY EXPRESSION ON SOCIAL MEDIA

The three creatives, @jeeradoesfashion who is a Digital Content Creator, Fashion Stylist and Fashion Director, @mr.hzml who is a Photographer, and @babusinur who is a Digital Content Creator and an Actor are purposively selected from different sectors of the creative industry, specifically including fashion, photography, and performance art respectively. This was done to show the differences in the form of work they do but with a focus on the production of creative content, self-promotion, and self-branding via conscious and unremitting identity expression on the platform. Their artistic and strategic curation of Instagram posts via selective content sharing, consistent color scheme and aesthetic, and appropriate captions are indicative of the new form of work and labor, their affective labor, and affective (social media) practice that are becoming common nowadays and are known to contribute to individuals' social and economic mobilities. In

this section, the individual work of the creatives is assessed to demonstrate their individual creative cultural production and their creative identity promotion and branding.

@jeeradoesfashion

Jeera is a familiar face in the country. She is a fashion enthusiast, an artistic director, and a digital content creator. She started her creative journey as a fashion blogger sharing fashion styles and her Outfit of the Day (OOTD), which were later transferred to Instagram. In 2016, she resigned from her full-time teaching profession at a local academic institution to become a full-time blogger and to realize her creative aspirations. Three years on and she has become a full-time artistic director for fashion and corporate campaigns within the country and overseas, specifically for companies based in Kuala Lumpur and London. As an artistic director, she provides concepts for marketing campaigns that reach out to the target market and is also involved in the model casting, hiring of photographers and hairstylists. She made a few of her creative campaigns available on her Instagram profile to showcase her work. She is also considered as a social media influencer in the country, a label she rejected in preference of the label digital content creator. Rejection of the label “influencer” by a few creatives in the country is an interesting observation. One of the possible reasons for the rejection is the backlash received by a few Bruneian “influencers” over what could be considered as disrespectful acts at the soft opening of a well-known fast food joint’s second branch in the country in 2018.

As an artistic director and digital content creator, Jeera’s affective labor on Instagram is apparent via the circulation of her OOTD, styling work, fashion style tutorials, daily vlog which includes her activities with her family, and Instagram stories on everyday basis (Figure 1). In her Instagram stories, she also spoke of the collective work of creatives from different sectors in bringing the fashion industry to the modern age (Figure 1). She uses her Instagram profile effectively as a digital portfolio exhibiting her image and style, which proved to be successful in landing her several styling jobs outside of Brunei. For instance she secured jobs at the Fashion Valet, an e-commerce company and Lubna, a fashion brand under Zalora, another e-commerce company, both of which are based in the Southeast Asian region (Figure 2) and a styling job in London (Personal Communication, August 26, 2019). Similar to fashion models, Jeera offers fashion content that can be used in circulating affective energy in an affective economy (Wissinger 2007). Although her style which includes layering style, thick fabric, and high heels may not be suitable for everyday wear in the region and due to other practicality aspects, her content exhibits fashion styles and subjectivities in the form of new fashion ideas appropriated to her identity as a Malay Muslim in the Muslim majority country. Such new styles and subjectivities are indicative of the exchange and reproduction of creative materials based on the circulation of fashion content from other countries (Figure 3). Her styling work, at the beginning, were not accepted by her audience as they were considered inappropriate and ‘over the top’. Such comments were anticipated given that Brunei is still relatively new to new creative fashion expressions. Over time, with the growing presence of fashion creatives in the country, such rejections have become less common.

Her persistence in bringing in new fashion styles to the society despite such resistance is matched by the consistency of her individual fashion style and via the campaigns she directed, which are

observed to have cemented and validated her individuality and authenticity. Her emphasis on “**my sense of style**” implied the need to create value via her individuality.

Slowly I got gigs like being a stylist, because of **my knowledge in fashion history** and how I incorporate it to today and **my sense of style**...(a)nd now I’m a full-time artistic director for campaign...it’s not something that exists or in demand in Brunei’s industry. So, my clients here are corporate. (Personal communication, August 26, 2020. Bold emphasis by Author).

What are not portrayed on her Instagram posts are the affective labor behind her strategically managed feed. Via personal communication, she stressed the importance of photography and editing skills she learned over time in creating images and videos that are affective. To her, these skills combined with her knowledge of fashion history, fabric and materials and their effect post-production are used to produce her creative work, identity and narrative online. They are fundamental to her progress in the creative industry. It could be said that her affective labor behind the scenes (pre-production) and overall creative processes online and offline combined are working to mobilize creative fashion subjectivities in the country. Her persistence and online presence combined with other fashion creatives’ work could be considered as promotion of fashion mobilities via their affective labor and practices on social media as well as through social events offline. Such new fashion subjectivities could aid in changing the society’s perception of Bruneians’ common everyday wear, which is predominantly practical and streetwear. Her online presence has not only led to her own economic mobility but has potential in empowering other youth in the fashion sector.



Figure 1: Jeeradoesfashion claimed to be a fashion stylist and aspires to be a fashion director on her Instagram stories (Screenshot from @jeeradoesfashion Instagram Story).

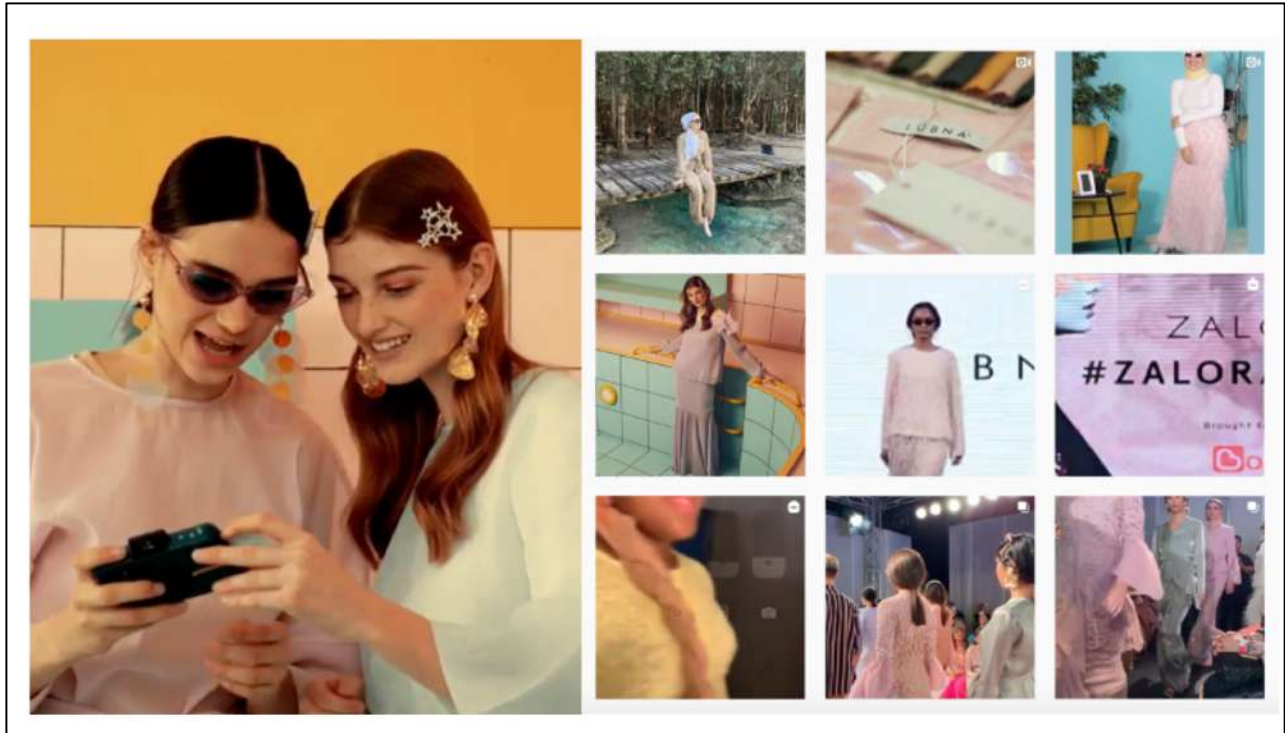


Figure 2: Jeeradoesfashion fashion styling work for Lubna Official.

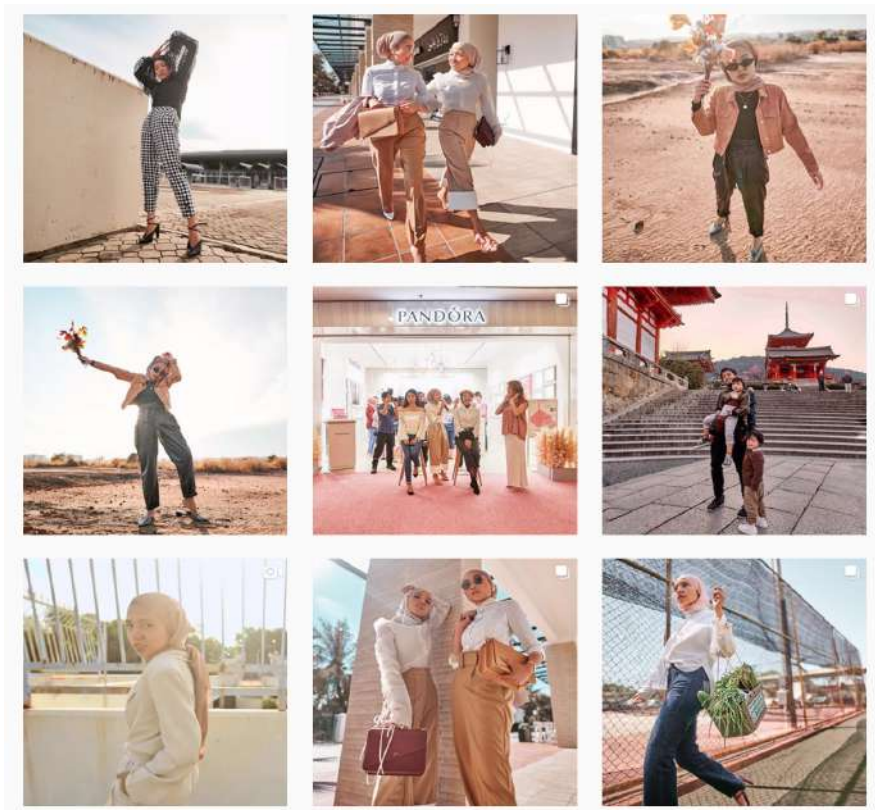


Figure 3: Jeeradoesfashion's Instagram Feed (Screengrabbed from @jeeradoesfashion Instagram).

@mr.hzml

Hazimul is a freelance photographer who started his photography journey when he was studying overseas in 2017 under his university's Discovery Year program. He uses multiple platforms to showcase his creative work. He uses Instagram as a digital repository for showcasing his photography and WordPress for his photography portfolio. He aims to create a brand of his own which he believes could be achieved via his individuality. He applies consistent aesthetics on his photographs and on social media to portray his identity: clean; consistent palette; applying the right vibe and mood to his photography; and incorporating specific editing styles (*"moody and contrasty"*, *"warm and nature"*, *"warm and green tones"*). Knowing how fluid the creative industry is and as a photographer who aspires to create his own photography brand using his own name, Hazimul continues to work on improving the quality of his work while maintaining his signature aesthetics. Similar to Jeera, his affective labor includes the work conducted behind the scenes such as the editing styles he applied to his photographs, the type of photographs he takes such as his photojournalism, coverage of social events and portraiture, and sharing the work done for his clients on his Instagram as a form of self-advertisement.

His affective labor is not only visible in the individual photos he uploads to his site and the overall look of his Instagram, but also in the way he shares his photography journey. Via his Instagram Stories (Figure 4), he shared with his audience the evolution of his creative work from street photography to documentary and portraiture including the need to find unique composition, and the incorporation of different editing styles to capture his subjects (people and nature). This specific Instagram story which focused on his journey as a photographer reveals the importance he puts on individuality in his work and captures the circulation of creative work that is imbued "with feelings and thoughts, interaction patterns and relationships, narrative and interpretative repertoires, social relations, personal histories, and ways of life" as Wetherell (2012, 4) states. The photographs he captured and produced are not detached from his everyday social relations and experiences. Rather, they are shaped by his emotions, relationship (his romantic relationship shaping his photography), and aspiration to challenge the common perception that Brunei lacks materials/subjects to capture. Looking at his photography journey, we could observe the affective labor involved in the production of his creative work overtime.

Furthermore, his affective labor as a photographer could contribute to the production of creative subjectivities and the visibility of other creative work such as in fashion. Despite not doing fashion photography, his photographs support the materialization and circulation of fashion ideas and materials which assist in accumulating collective ideas through the exchange and reproduction of creative content. Just as he said: "they (photographers) kind of promote fashion, and you see a lot of fashion companies, they seek help from photographers. Sometimes, when they call professional photographers it is expensive, so they try to find cheaper alternatives. Individuals who are able to create content for them" (Personal communication, February 9, 2019).

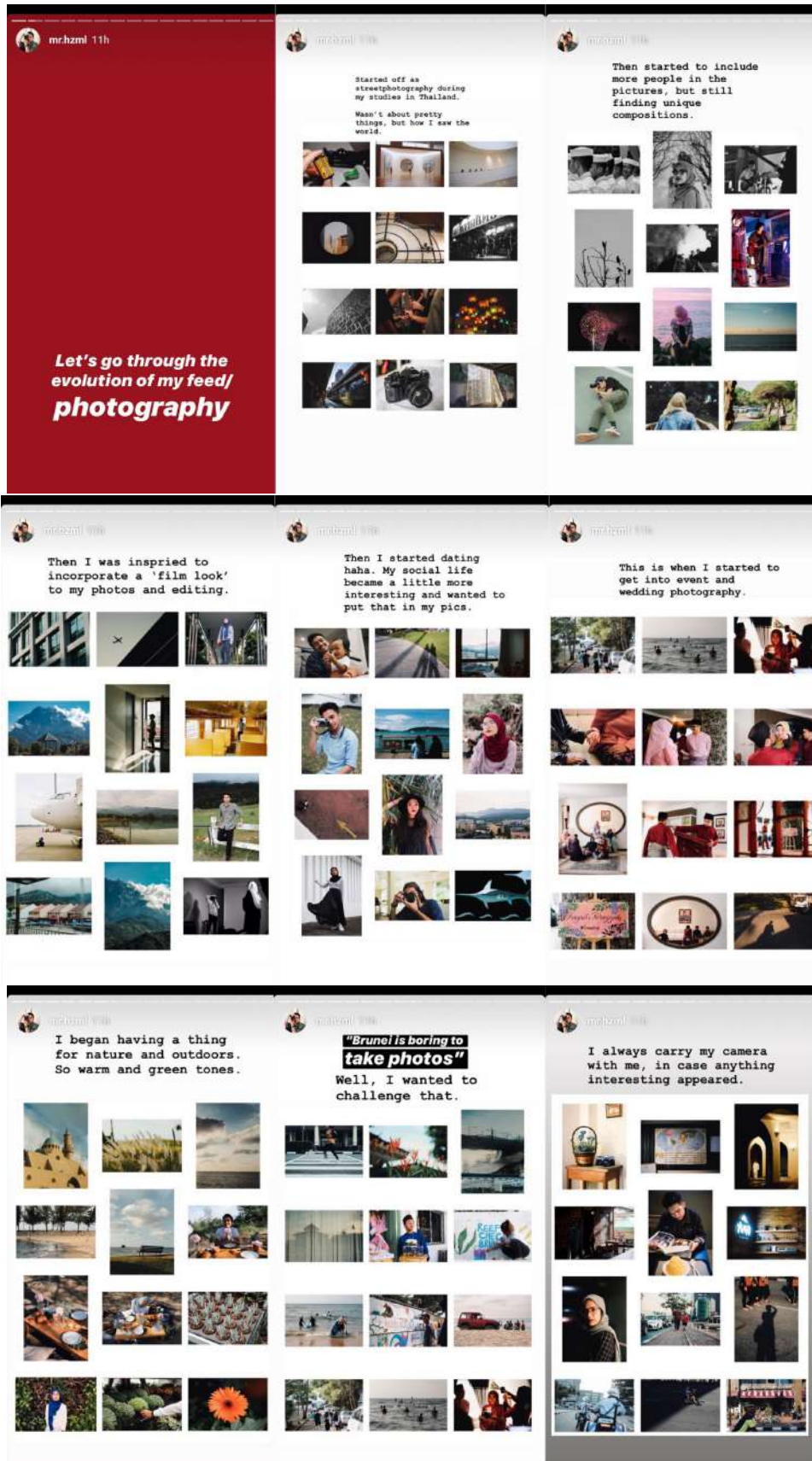




Figure 4: Hazimul's Photography Evolution.
(Screengrabbed from @mr.hzml Instagram Story).

@babusinur

Babu Sinur is a persona created by Khairul Anwar based on the image of his mother. This image came to life via his trademark sartorial presentation on Instagram: a yellow apron and a yellow towel that covered his head in turban style (Figure 5). His Instagram video started in 2014 when he got the idea to come up with short videos showing Bruneian identity after observing a Singaporean influencer's work on social media. He created short videos on the comedic life of Bruneians that captured Kampong Ayer's culture, identity, and cultural issues. The Babu Sinur persona was also created to showcase his creative talents as he made funny skit videos. Apart from his Babu Sinur persona, he is known in the nation for his acting and dancing talent and was casted in a local theatre performance "Kastela" which was produced by Sutera Memento, "a Bruneianised Theatre Company". His affective labor in the form of his trademark identity

presentation and creative content in the form of his funny videos circulated on his Instagram and YouTube channel. This became his steppingstone for his aspired economic mobilities (Figure 6). In times of precarious conditions, particularly the rising unemployment in the nation, Khairul Anwar strategically took advantage of Instagram's affordances to survive, as he shared in his interview with The Scoop below. Similar to Jeera and Hazimul, he sees social media as a platform to create and display his portfolio. Today, as a result of successful self-branding in the form of his sartorial trademark and upbeat character, he landed several advertisement jobs and gathered a large fan base locally. Despite his success, Khairul Anwar found the current condition of the creative industry to be detrimental to his growth. This is due to the underpayment, underappreciation of creatives, and the restrictions in terms of content creation. This view of the state of the country's creative industry is shared by many other creatives.

I started making videos three years ago after graduating from Universiti Brunei Darussalam (UBD). The job opportunities [in Brunei] are limited and after applying for jobs and receiving countless rejections, I needed an outlet for me to be creative. I needed to think of something substantial because I needed to survive. I didn't want to depend on my parents because they also depend on me. I kept telling myself that I need to invest in my creativity (Khairul Anwar, 2018. Taken from his interview with The Scoop).



Figure 5: Babu Sinur in his signature look. Photo taken by Rasidah Hj Abu Bakar (The Scoop).

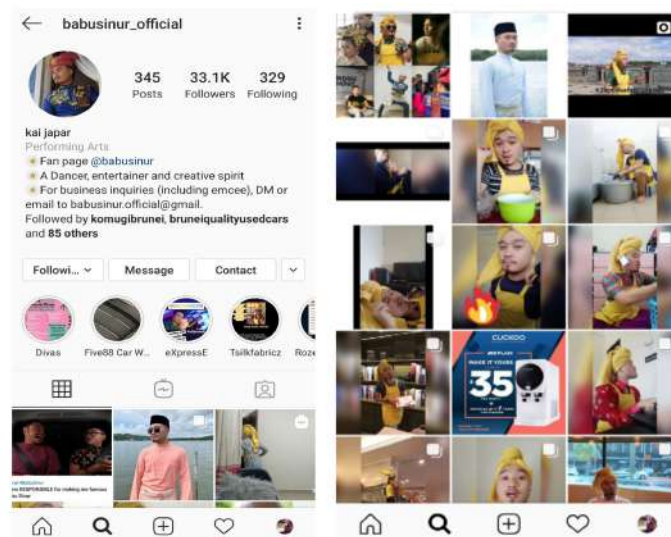


Figure 6: Babu Sinur's Instagram Profile (Screenshot from @babusinur).

The creative cultural production by @jeeradoesfashion, @mr.hzml, and @babusinur narrated above illustrate their creative work and affective labor involved in showcasing their talent and making themselves visible to their audience and potential clients. Their contents on Instagram are a combination of work done both in the offline and online environment. This affective labor off social media includes work conducted at the physical site such as photo taking or video making and the editing that went into each of the work done while affective labor online includes the curation of content on Instagram through drafting context appropriate captions and hashtags to achieve their desired image. What is immediately visible to the audience is the content circulated on the creatives' social media. However, the affective labor done behind the scenes to create their holistic image is often not portrayed on the site. For instance, Jeera's behind the scenes affective labor in creating her digital portfolio elaborated previously included her photography and editing upskilling and her knowledge of fashion, Hazimul's work on finding the right composition to portray his photographs, and Babu Sinur's research on a persona that portrays Bruneian identities and his effort behind the scene to materialize those identities.

All three creatives recognized social media and sites for curation as important tools of professional image/s as claimed by Hazimul "You know, these days, you kinda have to brand yourselves using social media. I think it's an important tool to market ourselves. For me, it's important for people to kinda see what I am able to do and provide, and also a good platform to grow" (Personal communication, February 9, 2019). Their Instagram profiles are utilized as a platform to showcase their work and the creative curation of those materials which point to creative identity expression for self-promotion. The potential benefits from circulation, exchange and reproduction of creative content on social media that can lead to creative branding become a motivation to promote themselves and to make a personal brand as seen in all three creatives. Social media, in this context, plays a huge role in supporting this recent development of individuals' self-promotion and self-branding (Khamis et al., 2016). Although the branding of oneself online seemingly garnered the attention of ordinary individuals only in the early twenty-first century when sites such as YouTube and Instagram evolved from their original purposes to sites for marketing commodities (physical and non-physical), the discourses and practice of self-promotion are not new. Ontologically, we have always been a part of a promotional culture and we are all promotional subjects (Wernick 1991, 192). On a daily basis, before the existence of social media and its affordances, celebrities and non-celebrities alike were involved in self-promotion through sartorial presentation, speeches, actions and the physical commodities we own. In this sense, we have always been involved in a curated impression management devoted to give a positive impression of ourselves and to add to our value to social others (Goffman 1959) as promotional culture becomes a social and economic practice embedded in our society. Here, self-promotion and self-branding can be perceived as extensions of the creatives' impression management practice.

Jeera, Hazimul, and Khairul Anwar via @babusinur envisioned economic success through their successful self-branding on social media. While physical products such as branded clothing, photographs and creative videos are commonly used by individuals to express and construct their self and identities, their personalities and newly created personas do contribute as much in the making of their image. Their individualities are made evident via their individual style and expression of authenticity, achieved by consistency in the images and styles posted on Instagram which, over time, become their self-branding practice. For these creatives, images on their Instagram need to be managed daily to match the main identity they wish to portray to their audience. Each photo on one's Instagram, accumulated over the years, make up their holistic

image. As demonstrated through their respective narratives, consistency, authenticity and individuality in their creative content are significant elements in their affective labor, which are noted as key features for the successful self-branding (Khamis et al. 2016; Duffy 2015). This sharing by the creatives reveal how a creative self is mobilized. Affordances of miniaturized mobilities allow mobilities of self through instant materialization of self, commodification of self, and self-reflexivity and the creation of mobilities' spatialities. The ability to make one's content "special" and using filters to achieve the desired image of oneself alluded to the instant materialization of self; quick, easy, and obvious. The desire or need to ensure one's content is organized, filtered and themed is tied to the commodification of self, self-reflexivity, and audience-subjectivity. The creation of *Babu Sinur's* persona is an example of instant materialization of self and commodification of self where an identity is created for the purpose of production and consumption. At this juncture, based on the experiences of the three creatives, circulation of creative content or any content sharing cannot be conceptualized as a mundane, everyday practice by social media users. Rather, it is the transaction of creative content on social media that has become an affective practice.

Returning to Wetherell's take on affective practice, I posit that these creatives' sharing practices on social media as affective labor that has, over time, become an everyday affective (social media) practice. It is a practice that is embodied with feelings and thoughts of the creatives, shaped by the interaction patterns between the creative and their audiences, including other creatives and non-creatives, and unarguably embedded with their own narrative, histories, experiences, contexts, social relations and everyday life. Each of these creatives' affective labor and affective practices demonstrate situated performance which is not only grounded on their individual need to survive on a daily basis considering the growing constraints in job opportunities in the country but is also based on Brunei's socio-cultural contexts and the current state of the creative industry. All in all, the mobilities of creative self is afforded but not determined by social media as shown by @jeeradoesfashion's, @mr.hzml's, and @babusinur's individual creative work on and off social media. Such affective mobilities of creative self is closely linked to the work done by other creatives in the nation which could give rise to creative mobility and creative industry.

CREATIVE MOBILITY AND THE RISE OF A CREATIVE INDUSTRY

Via the QCA conducted on Bruneian creatives on Instagram, I found similar narratives running through the postings of the creatives: undervaluation of creative work, misunderstanding of the creative processes, volatile environment and importance placed on individualism in creative work. Here, the affective labor by creatives via personal Instagram (@jeeradoesfashion, @mr.hzml, @babusinur, and @vanilliyy) and creative platforms (such as @hanazine and @thecollectiveartevents) are upholding the industry. The creative content within are directed to mobilizing young creatives in the country. Their work collectively addresses the current narratives of the creative industry as mentioned above.

@vanilliyy

@vanilliyy (Liyana Hanif) is a certified graphic designer currently working at Progresif, one of Brunei's telecommunication service providers, as Creative Director. Prior to joining Progresif, she was previously the graphic designer involved in the branding project for the company (Figure 7).

Liyana volunteered to create the logo for Brunei's National Youth Day 2019 and also landed several designing works with companies outside of Brunei. Via her hashtag #creativliyy (Figure 8), she made her creative work visible on the social mediascape. Realizing the lack of knowledge society has on the creative processes involved in creating a product, Liyana posted time-lapses of her creative work process and the end products to remind non-creatives of the hard work put into creative work. She wished to show her audience that creating a product is not easy and cannot be done hastily (Personal communication, August 24, 2019). Apart from showcasing her own creative work on @vanilliyy, Liyana was set on empowering other creative actors in Brunei and to address the current discourse in the industry on the undervalued Bruneian creatives by creating "*They're Just Bruneian*" poster and pin (Figure 9 and Figure 10) and calling for collective input to recreate the logo (Figure 11). Liyana was motivated to address the concerns she has on how creatives and the creative industry are perceived in the country. The "*They're Just Bruneians*" poster kicked off her exploration of those concerns as she wrote in her caption:

I created this poster based on a saying I keep coming across, 'oh they're just Bruneians'. When I first heard it, I was confused by the statement. As I thought more about the meaning of intent, it led me to want to poke a little fun and make a joke out of it - because I have seen what Bruneians are capable of and how so many have so much talent and potential. As I dove deeper into my creative process, it made me realize the widespread issue in the community on creatives feeling undervalued, and I think it's time for a change. There are so many Bruneians that deserve to be noticed for their passion, skill and creativity. Possessing creative talents is something to be respected and admired. Possessing creative talent is also something you should be proud of. This begins my mission to focus on the creative aspect of this issue and how we can encourage more value and admiration towards creativity in the local community. I hope you will join me on this journey. (@vanilliyy, Instagram Caption accompanying Figure 9, May 25, 2019).

The creation of the pin further materialized the concerns and in Liyana's words, it has become her personal reminder to keep empowering Bruneians like herself to take charge of their own creativity. For her, Bruneians are "forward thinkers, game changers, shakers and movers" and Bruneians collectively have a huge role to play in shaping how the creative industry is perceived and how it will operate in years to come (@vanilliyy, Instagram Caption accompanying Figure 10, July 14, 2019). Her "*Just Bruneians*" creative products on and off social media further led to the creation of a platform for the creative movement that inspires, admires, and empowers local talents. The call for the use of #justbruneians to showcase local talents is hoped to bring the unnoticed and underground local creatives to the front (Figure 12). Liyana's affective labor on social media is visible through the circulation of her own creative work and through the exchanges and reproduction via reposting and context appropriation of new subjectivities, empowering the creative youth to take their stance in the industry, educating the society on the thought process behind each creative product.



Figure 7: Progresif colour palette (Screenshot from, @vanilliyy Instagram Feed).

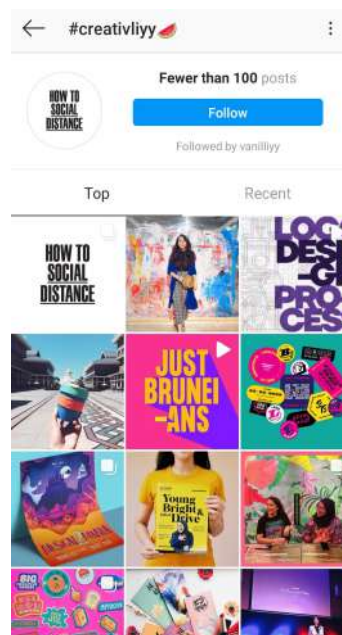


Figure 8: #creativiliyy (Screenshot from, @vanilliyy Instagram Hashtag).



Figure 9: “They’re Just Bruneians” poster created by Liyana Hanif (Screenshot from, @vanilliyy Instagram Feed).

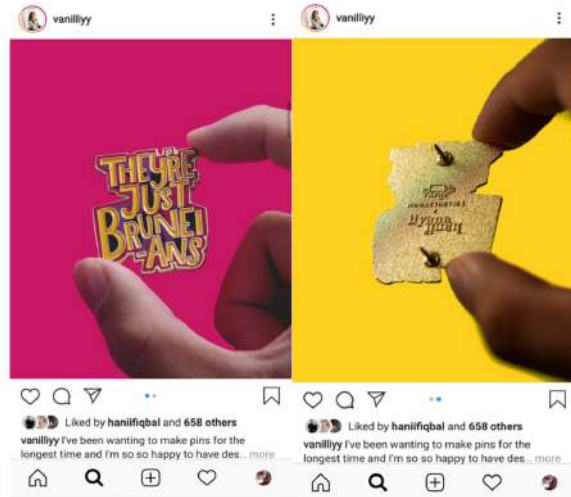


Figure 10: “They’re Just Bruneians” pin created by Liyana Hanif (Screenshot from @vanilliyy Instagram Feed).

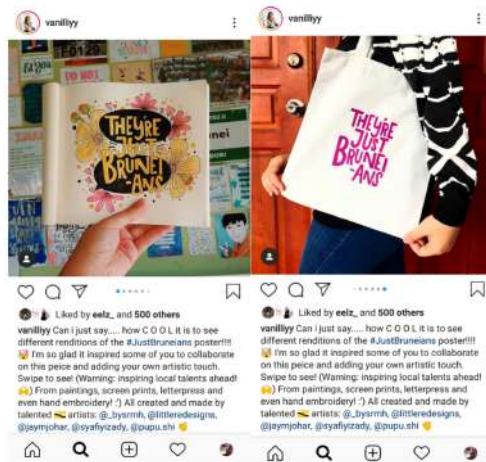


Figure 11: ‘They’re Just Bruneians’ collective work by other creatives (Screengrabbed, @vanilliyy Instagram Feed).

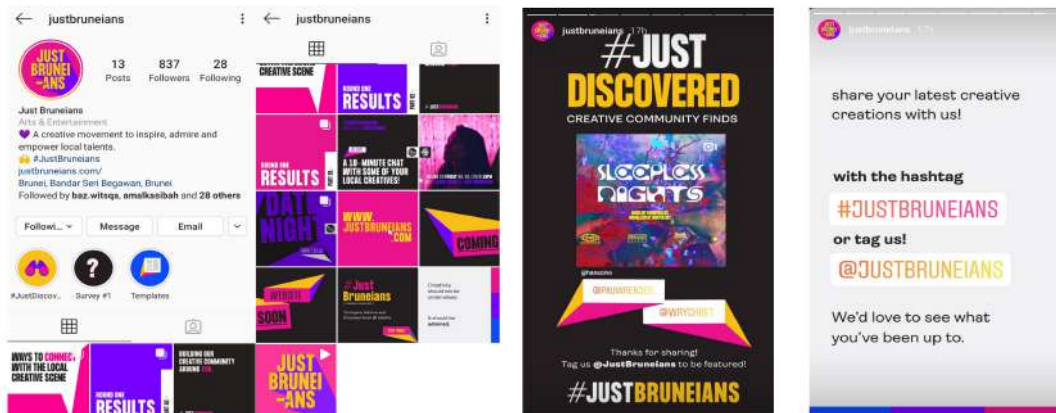


Figure 12: Just Bruneians’ Creative Movement Instagram Profile.

@Hanazine

Hanazine's Instagram profile is a digital depository of the contemporary arts and culture scene featuring underground artists, subcultures and collectives in Brunei (Figure 13). Although Hanazine is not an active Instagram account with 21 posts since the creatives first posted in January 2018, at the time of writing, their affective labor on Instagram is analyzed here due to their manifesto in paving the wave for the next generation of artists in this digital age. Their manifesto is materialized in the printed form of Hanazine's first Zine issue in September 2019 (Figure 14) that highlighted creatives such as Muiz Zamri, Wani Wasli, Ibrahim Kamit, and Apalagini? by Faiq Airuddin and Instagram content on newsfeeds and stories. The Zine titled 'Rest in Peace Art Industry' featured a culmination of art works and words through the exploration of existing and experimental creative industries since its inception.

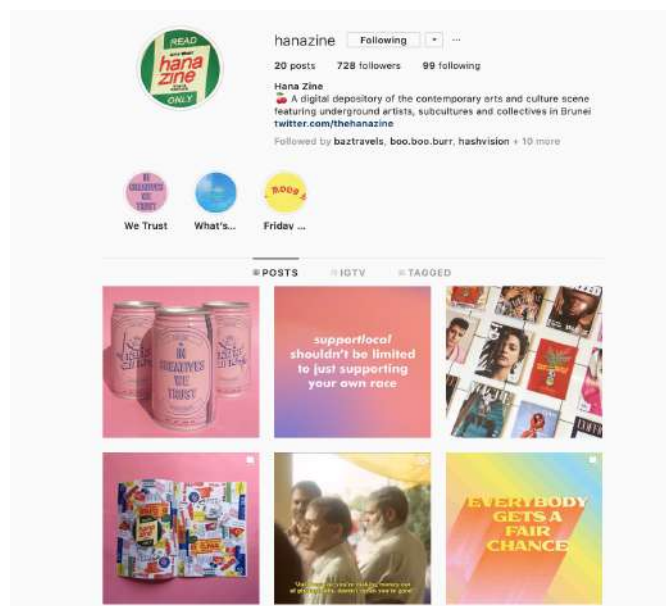


Figure 13: Hanazine Instagram Profile (Screengrabbed, @hanazine).



Figure 14: Hanazine's Zine Issue 1 (Photo: Taken by the Author)

According to Richelle Ret, Editorial Director of Hana Zine, through her opening note of the Zine, “the creation of the zine was birthed from the realization that the existing industry did not have a place for all kinds of artists”. Richelle yearned for a representation for creatives such as herself to start something of their own. For her, “(t)his budding (creative) community needs another pair of lungs to breathe life into a place that is ‘so dead’... (t)his is a manifesto for the collectively curious and experimental DIY artists in this digital age, paving the wave for the next generation of artists to come.” One photo uploaded by Hanazine featuring pink canned drinks (not an actual drink) with the label “In Creatives We Trust” (Figure 15) set on showcasing and promoting many other non-mainstream creative talents in Brunei and the value of creativity. Hanazine’s affective labor transpired via their work in providing the non-mainstream young creatives a platform to speak their mind about the creative industry in the country. Through the work they do on Instagram and offline, publication of their first zine for instance, Hanazine is accentuating one of the current discourses of the creative industry: the importance of diversifying creativity at individual level.



Figure 15: Hanazine Instagram Feed ‘THE RISE OF THE CREATIVES IN BRUNEI’. (Screengrabbed, @hanazine).

Hanazine *THE RISE OF THE CREATIVES IN BRUNEI*

*"Do you see hope in the creative Industry in Brunei?" "No" - answered by 8/10 people we asked
by different groups of people.*

*It has been a common thing for people to have no hope for the creative industry when your opinion
is limited and has boundaries.*

*Comparing the creative industry 5 or 10 years ago, it wasn't the same as it is today. There are
more people showcasing their talents - from content creation, to drama & theatre, music, fashion
and the list goes on. You can see creatives in different types of fields uplifting each other in every
way possible and if that's not progress, I don't know what is.*

*There is no way but up and Brunei is a country with a rising potential of creatives that will soon
be known internationally for their craft.*

*Continue to support
Continue to create*

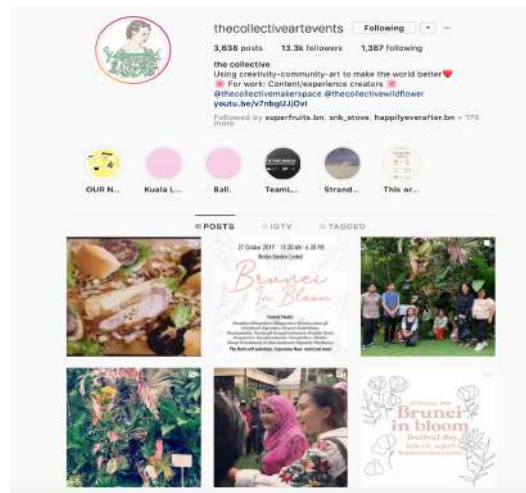
IN CREATIVES WE TRUST (Not an actual drink)

*(Sticker art designed by Hana Zine)
Phrase inspired by [#Purveyr](#)
Drink originally from [#drinkgoodmood](#)*

@hanazine, Instagram Caption accompanying Figure 14. Formatted for publication purpose. October 21, 2019.

@thecollectiveartevents

The Collective Art Events is a platform that brings together creativity, art, and community through creative festivals (Figure 16). It started from a small creative event offline, organized by Shinnny Chia, the founder of The Collective, with the objectives of building a strong local art scene and culture, helping build a sustainable commercial market for the local creative industry and bringing creative fun and sparkle into the community (Keasberry 2016). The Collective Art Events is predominantly an offline platform but the creatives running this platform have done noteworthy sharing of creative content and mobilizing creative ideas on their social media profile. Their sharing activities include showcasing the creative festivals they organized and their collaborative work with other creatives during the Brunei in Bloom Festival, School of Thought's event, reposting other creative activities, such as Liyana Hanif's "*They Are Just Bruneians*" creative work and time lapse (Figure 17). Occasionally, the creatives share stories or quotes linked to creativity and community building (Figure 18). Overall, these creatives' affective labor is visible in the effort they put in creating and sharing their work on social media and while doing so, they are establishing creative scenes in Brunei through individual and collaborative work.



**Figure 16: The Collective Art Events Instagram Profile
(Screenshot from @thecollectiveartevents)**

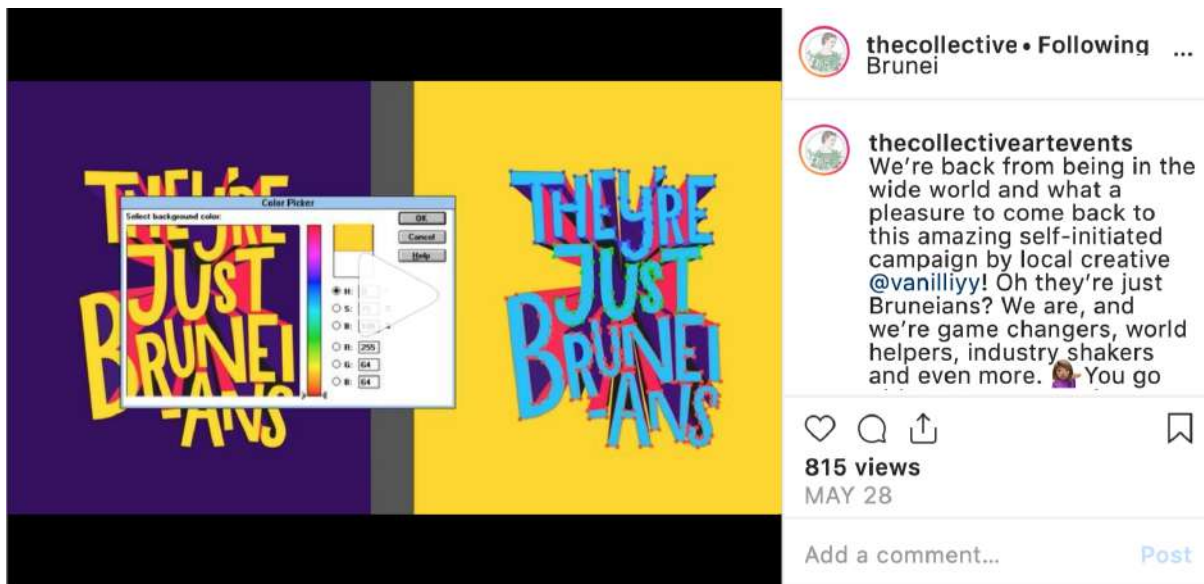


Figure 17: The Collective Art Events reposting Liyana Hanif's "They are Just Bruneians" Time Lapse (Screenshot from, @thecollectiveartevents)

@thecollectiveartevents We're back from being in the wide world and what a pleasure to come back to this amazing self-initiated campaign by local creative @vanilliyy! Oh they're just Bruneians? We are, and we're game changers, world helpers, industry shakers and even more. 🧡 You go girl!! We're so proud to see the creative industries movement growing with awesome campaigns like this! #Brunei #creative @thecollectiveartevents, *Instagram Caption accompanying Figure 16, May 28, 2019.*

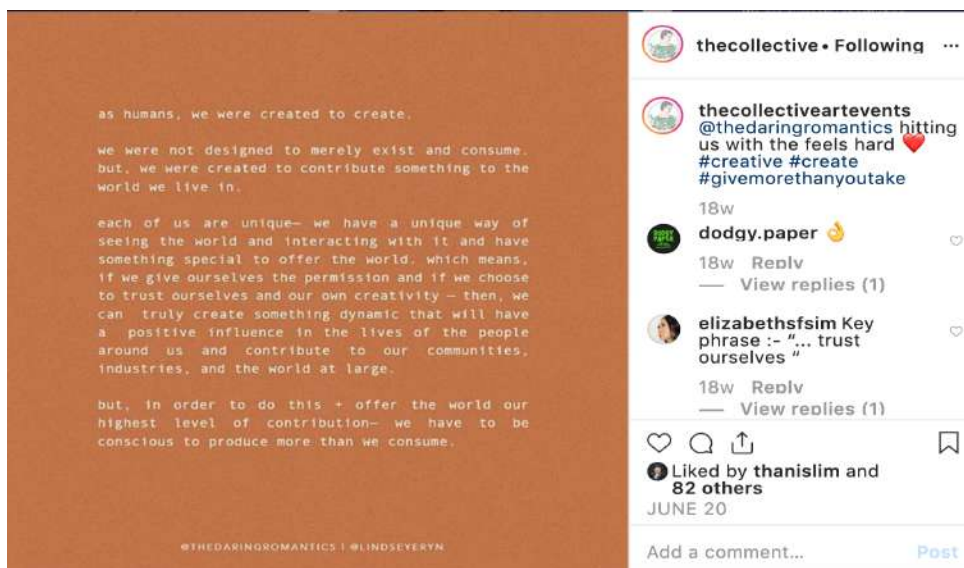


Figure 18: The Collective Art Events sharing stories relevant to creative community building (Screenshot from @thecollectiveartevents)

The collective affective labor of @vanilliyy, @hanazine, @thecollectiveartevents and other collaborators, both online and offline is creating an affective space, space for creative mobilities,

and creative community in challenging the current discourse of creative industry on the undervaluation of work, misunderstanding of the creative processes, the volatile environment with regard to pay and wage, and the importance of diversifying creativity at the individual level. Together, their work and affective social practice contribute to the co-creation of new narratives of creativity and the creative industry in the nation. We could observe aspirations of the young creatives and the hope labor involved in the creative material production, in hope that their work could mobilize individual and collective creativity and pave a new way for the industry in this digital age. Such actions by these creatives attest to the youth-led initiatives in driving the industry.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the QCA data and personal communication presented in this paper expounded the individual and collective work of a few selected Bruneian creatives, namely @jeeradoesfashion, @Mr.Hzml, @babusinur, and @vanilliyy and a few creative platforms such as @hanazine and @thecollectiverartevents to support creativity, to co-create narratives of Bruneian creatives and to make known to society the current challenges faced by creatives in the country. Instagram and a few other social media sites have been strategically used as digital portfolios by young Bruneian creatives for self-promotion and self-branding, indicating the existence of affective online spaces for creative mobilities. Unarguably, self-promotion, a product of individualism, commodification and reflexivity amongst the young Bruneians, is crucially a catalyst to their social and economic mobilities. The creatives are sustaining the industry by the current streams of cultural content on the site as seen in @jeeradoesfashion through her Outfit of the Day (OOTD) and styling jobs, @mr.hzml through his photography, @babusinur through his comedic videos of Bruneian culture, @vanilliyy through her time lapse and end product, @hanazine through their showcase of non-mainstream creatives, and @thecollectiverartevents by bringing together the creative community through festivals and celebrating such festivals online.

In this paper, the discussion on the QCA data has offered an analysis of young creatives' work and labor on Instagram to illustrate the emergence of the creative class and industry in the nation based on the growing creative interests and their individual and collective affective labor which was set against the current discourses on creativity and creative industry in the nation. The paper, via the analysis of creative work done by three creative actors demonstrated, at a micro-scale level, individual youth partaking in self-branding practice and making themselves visible through affective labor on an affective social media space to navigate today's uncertain condition within the creative industry. At a macro scale level, the surge of youth-led and youth-focused initiatives corroborating the existence of active, mobile and empowered creative individual youth taking charge in reconfiguring their own lives, and in effect, contextually working on reconfiguring the creative industry in the country.

This paper, as the first of its kind that captures Bruneian creatives' narratives and their affective labor and practice is hoped to offer an overview of the creative industry in the country through the lens of the selected creatives. Aside from this, the narratives of the creatives here could serve as a springboard into further discussion in the academia on youth mobilities via the framework of affective labor and practice. As shown in this paper, social media platforms such as Instagram allow for the creatives' mobilities of self, indicative of youth mobilities' spatialities which could be studied further to explore different spaces of mobilities. While taking note of the potential contribution the

paper could offer, it is important to be cognizant of the limit of the narratives in generating representation of the country's creative industry. As emphasized in the Introduction, it is by no means the author's intention to offer a generalization of the work, labor and experiences of the creatives. The selection of creatives in this paper is justified by the diversity of the creative industry, making it necessary for a more targeted, narrowed down and in-depth approach. I acknowledge the pool of creatives from different sectors contributing to the country's creative industry discourse and narratives that have not been included in this paper. Their insights, experiences, affective labor, and affective practice would provide richer insights into the creative environment which could be endeavored by future research.

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- Vanilliyy [vanilliyy]. Instagram. <https://www.instagram.com/vanilliyy/>
- Vanilliyy [vanilliyy]. (2019, July 14). I've been wanting to make pins for the longest time and I'm so so happy to have designed my first one based on my #JustBruneianspassion project, in collaboration with @moosethetics! This pin has become my personal reminder to keep empowering Bruneians like myself to take charge of our creativity and make the things we

want to see in the world. We are #JustBruneians. Instagram.
<https://www.instagram.com/p/Bz4TIU2BSyi/>

Vanilliyy [vanilliyy]. (2019, June 11). Can i just say.....how C O O L it is to see different renditions of the #JustBruneians poster!!!! I'm so glad it inspired some of you to collaborate on this peice and adding your own artistic touch. Swipe to see! (Warning: inspiring local talents ahead!) From paintings, screen prints, letterpress and even hand embroidery! :) All created and made by talented. Instagram. <https://www.instagram.com/p/ByjSjmVBcEh/>

Vanilliyy [vanilliyy]. (2019, May 27). Thank you #Brunei! A massive thank you to everyone for showing support and love for this project. I'm so grateful to see the positive response and it motivates me to do more. Many plans and exciting things are in the works, and I'm hoping to expand this journey by working on collaborations with you talented #Bruneians! Instagram. <https://www.instagram.com/p/Bx9UC0PhimR/>

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