THE EFFECTS OF THE MOBILE PHONE ON SOCIAL ETIQUETTE: A STUDY
PERTAINING TO THE GUYANESE BABY BOOM GENERATION

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A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

GRADUATE PROGRAM IN SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY
YORK UNIVERSITY
TORONTO, ONTARIO

August 2015

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the relationship between technology and society in North America through an ethnographic case-study study of six participants between the ages of 45 and 60, all of whom are of Guyanese ethnicity, and a number of whom are members of my own extended family network. My research took place between August 2014 and October 2014 in Toronto, Ontario, Canada. My position in this ethnographic study was that of insider anthropologist, and as such, I was able to conduct a series of semi-structured interviews in a range of everyday intimate contexts. My ethnography focuses on how mobile phones are affecting my interlocutors' everyday human social interactions and the extent to which their mobile phone use is refashioning their social etiquette. The key themes identified are absence-presence, convenience, connection, means of expression, escape, technologies of the self, rules of conduct, tendency, habitus, anthropology of interaction, addiction, and family time. This study supports the interconnection between technology and society, as there is a clear need to belong and to be connected with others through the mobile phone. The findings of this study provide a platform for future studies on this topic, as there remain more questions to be answered.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This thesis explores the relationship between technology and society in North America through an ethnographic case-study study of six participants between the ages of 45 and 60, all of whom are of Guyanese ethnicity, and a number of whom are members of my own extended family network. My research took place between August 2014 and October 2014 in Toronto, Ontario, Canada. My position in this ethnographic study was that of insider anthropologist, and as such, I was able to conduct a series of semi-structured interviews in a range of everyday intimate contexts. My ethnography focuses on how mobile phones are affecting my interlocutors' everyday human social interactions and the extent to which their mobile phone use is refashioning their social etiquette. I situate my broader inquiry within the anthropological study of social interactions and etiquette, including work in the field of technology and society, such as that of Bernard and Spencer (1996), Bourdieu (1977), Cook (2004), Foucault (2003), Gergan (2002), Geser (2006), Horst and Miller (2006), Joachim (2005), Murray and Campbell (2015), Pelckmans (2009), Rapport and Overing (2007), and Robin, Sheridan, and Vacaru (2014).

In what follows, I begin by setting out my research problem. Thereafter, I provide details about my research design and methodology. I then begin reviewing some of the literature related to this study. This is followed by an exposition and analysis of my ethnographic research, my conclusions, and a bibliography.

RESEARCH PROBLEM

My interest in mobile phone etiquette began with a personal reflection: I have been told on countless occasions by my family and friends that I should be more aware of how I use my mobile phone and in what particular context. For example, when in the company of others at social gatherings, I have

been told that "answering your phone in the middle of having a conversation with another person is rude." This instance, among others, raised certain questions for me: How does one know and learn about these rules of behaviour? Where is social etiquette about mobile phone use codified? In what contexts is it be acceptable to answer a mobile phone, while having a conversation with an individual who is in your present company? What is it about mobile phones that people get so irate about? How have these rules changed over time? How does mobile phone use and rules of behaviour differ with respect to people belonging to different age sets? It also struck me that the raising of these questions and issues may cause people to feel confused. Furthermore, I reflected on what is meant by "etiquette" and "manners" more generally, and how it applies to the public and private use of technology.

Thus, I set out to consider how people use the mobile phone in public and private places in order to open questions about the relationships between the technological and the social. More specifically, I use this research space to unpack the codes of behaviour, rules, or "disciplinary practices" that Foucault (2003) discussed and apply it to mobile phone use, and the contexts or spaces in which these may or may not apply.

RESEARCH DESIGN/METHODS

I have conducted my study through participant observation and interviewed individuals who range in age from 45 to 60, and who use mobile phones in public and private places. I chose this population because while doing research, I came across a 2006 wireless market study on Industry Canada, which stated "wireless ownership is significantly higher among Canadians aged 18–54 than those 55 and over… Age also affects the intensity of wireless usage, as younger wireless users report spending almost twice as much time on the phone as those 55 and over" (Industry Canada 2006). Studying a specific age group, then, can provide further insight into why wireless usage is different between age groups. Initially,

when writing the proposal for this project, I wanted to conduct my research on individuals that were students younger than 45 years of age. After having a discussion with my supervisor, Zulfikar Hirji, regarding which generation would likely give a more in-depth perspective on social etiquette, I decided that in order to understand how etiquette has changed, the best population to research would be a generation that has not grown up with mobile phones all their lives, a generation that has lived without this specific technology and is able to offer some perspective based on how this particular technology has influenced their social etiquette.

Furthermore, gaining insight from this particular group is important because they were the first generation to be introduced to the mobile phone. This allows them to possibly add a more in-depth perspective to discussions of this topic, as they may have had a lengthier experience utilizing this technology when compared to younger generations. This population was also chosen because it was easily accessible and provided valuable insight into lifestyle differences that have occurred as a result of the mobile phone being introduced into this particular generation's life. Anthropologist Susan Cook asked, "Can new communications technologies change the way we interact and see ourselves in the real world?" (Cook 2004:105). In regards to changing etiquette, I think this particular generation will be able to give a perspective on how social interaction has changed, from the time when the mobile phone was introduced into their lives, up until the present.

The group that I chose to research is composed of individuals of Guyanese ethnicity, currently living in Ontario, Canada. Interlocutors spent their early adulthood growing up and being socialized in Toronto, Ontario Canada. As a result they did not develop an active social network in Guyana, as their families had migrated to other parts of the world and departed from their country of origin. This particular group was chosen because they were easily accessible, thus recruiting interlocutors would not be difficult. I defined them as individuals who are born in Guyana and have immigrated to Canada.

Participants in this group must be between the ages of 45 and 60 years old. Six individuals were used for this study. In order to participate, each participant needed to utilize their mobile phone on a daily basis to communicate with people within their social circle. I recruited these participants by presenting myself as a master's student and explaining my project, including the research problem, so that participants would have an informed understanding of what it is I am trying to research and why I need their help.

The method I chose was intensive interviewing, because I wanted to converse with my participants about any experiences they have had with their mobile phones and social etiquette. Intensive interviewing allows for an "in-depth exploration of a particular topic or experience and, thus, is a useful method for interpretive inquiry" (Charmaz 2006:25). This type of interviewing enabled me to ask my participants questions that reflected upon their daily life experiences—for example, questions about their daily mobile phone usage and how social etiquette is involved in this daily process. An intensive interview "may range from a loosely guided exploration of topics to semi-structured focused questions. Although the intensive interview may be conversational, it follows a different etiquette. The researcher should express interest and want to know more" (Charmaz 2006:26).

Another reason that intensive interviewing was chosen is because I wanted a more in-depth exploration in regards to the norms, values, customs, and habits mobile phone users adopted that affected their mobile phone etiquette. At first, when deciding to do my research, I thought I would only interview participants on a one-on-one basis; however, I realized that I would also need to include participant observation as a method as well in my study, which would involve observing individuals interacting with their mobile phones or others, in order to find out how they interact in social situations while utilizing their mobile phones.

Conducting participant observation would provide my readers with more insight in regards to what people are doing when they are in a face-to-face setting. It would allow me to explore and provide more insight into the habits and norms of individuals when they are in the company of others while on their mobile phone, which will enable me to explore how mobile phone usage affects the interaction of people who are interacting in the same space.

I knew that this particular project would be complex. I expected that when conducting participant observation certain issues would arise. For example, what if I ended up listening to private conversations or what if my presence became awkward? My other concern was understanding how to start off conducting participant observation and whether I had to do it on a day-to-day basis. I realized when entering the field that certain alterations needed to be made. I was confident about intensive interviewing, with which I had experience during an undergraduate research project; however, participant observation is something that I did not have any experience in. One possible scenario that I had imagined with respect to conducting participant observation was in the kitchen with my aunt, who loves to gossip, as she gets a phone call and the conversation becomes intense and I start hearing information that I should not be hearing. What would I do? Do I stay? Do I leave? Do I interrupt her conversation to ask her if she wants me to stay or leave? These are some of the conundrums I thought of as my research process began to unfold during the initial stages.

Another issue I thought that I would face while conducting participant observation is taking certain things for granted, because my participants are family members who have surrounded me as I grew up. Because of this, I pondered exactly what would I be missing, or how it would be possible for me to create a method of observation, which would allow me to observe without assumption? Playing the role of the outsider, when I am in fact an insider in my family network, was definitely challenging. Nonetheless, I had to observe my participants with a fresh set of eyes.

I accessed individuals from the ages of 45 to 60 years old, within the same ethnic group that I belong to, which is Guyanese, mostly through the method of snowballing, as I have many family, friends, and acquaintances who belong to this group. In particularly, I brainstormed with my mother, one of my informants, in order to create a list of individuals who would be suitable interlocutors. The criteria that my informants had to meet were as follows: they must be of Guyanese ethnicity, they must be between the ages of 50 and 65, and they must own a mobile phone. I chose six participants to interview. Lastly, I also decided that I would conduct interviews and participant observation where it was most convenient for the participants, whether it was in their homes, on their daily routines, or in a setting in which they were comfortable, such as a coffee shop. The location of the interviews was discussed with participants, ensuring that they had a say in this specific aspect of the research process. All participants in this study were given equal importance.

After I had completed the interview process, I tried to conduct participant observation on my research participants. Unfortunately, due to time constraints, this particular method proved ineffective; participants barely had enough time to schedule me in their busy lives to conduct even an interview, let alone participant observation. Unfortunately, I ended up conducting participant observation only three times with three participants separately; however, there was not enough data to come up with valid conclusions, as the total study included six participants.

Another important aspect I reviewed was subject-position, as it would affect the data produced for this project. Subject-position is important to discuss because it can shed light on any power relations that affect the kinds of relations anthropologists have with the people we are working with and the information we observe. Our subjectivity may affect how we interpret what we observe and experience. Anthropologists have backgrounds that can be different from, or similar to, those they are observing. Some similarities that I had with my participants, which I can state as part of my subject-position, include

my ethnicity and my subjectivity as a mobile phone user. I expected there to perhaps be an issue with my subjectivity as being a master's student, because this places me at a higher level of education than my participants. This may place me in a more authoritative position, causing participants to feel nervous, thinking that I am judging them because I am researching their mobile phone habits. When I was in the field and interviewing my interlocutors, however, I did not notice that they were nervous because of me, but rather because of other family members who were present, such as their children. Other family members present tended to comment when interlocutors responded to questions they were being asked. I also thought my subjectivity as an individual of Guyanese descent may make participants more comfortable and less threatened; however, I found that what made interlocutors more comfortable was the fact that we were related and had previously developed a rapport.

My initial research timeline was as follows: after two months of conducting field research and participant observation, I would write up my findings and, if necessary, give myself an additional three weeks if there was anything that needed to be reconfirmed with my participants. After I finished writing up my findings, which I estimated would take three to four weeks, I would prepare my final research paper. I speculated that it would take approximately two months. It took me two and a half months to complete my research in the field. I then took approximately two months to transcribe my interviews and about four months to complete my final research paper.

SIGNIFICANCE OF RESEARCH

My research question addresses the changing world of etiquette in the context of mobile phone use and provides a window into the changing world of contemporary manners as these are technologically mediated. This research can be a beneficial tool for non-academics and academics, as it can guide people as to what is appropriate and what is not in terms of utilizing their mobile phones. This study can also add

to the current literature in regards to the social implications of mobile phone use in everyday interactions. My research will contribute to this particular population, individuals of Guyanese ethnicity, as it explores how the mobile phone can or cannot alter social etiquette in a face-to-face setting.

In terms of accessing a representative sample of participants for mobile phone use, the form of sampling previously mentioned, which was snowballing, was utilized, meaning that the sample attained is not representative; however, using this particular population allowed me to explore the habits, norms, customs, and values that this particular generation has adopted by incorporating the mobile phone into their day-to-day lives. Within the existing literature, which will be discussed below, I did not find anthropological work that is directly related to mobile phone etiquette, which is why my research will add a new perspective to studies on the contemporary usage of mobile phones. Anthropologist Susan E. Cook notes that it is surprising "that relatively few ethnographic studies of the impact of new technologies on language use have been published…because anthropologies cleave too tightly to 'notions of community, fieldwork, the body, nature, vision, the subject, identity, and writing'" (Cook 2004:104).

My study does consist of studying a single community; however, it situates the mobile phone in a social context, in order to investigate the social dimensions or effects that this technology has had on this particular population. What makes this project anthropological is that my research problem questions the habits, values, customs, and norms of mobile phone users, and investigates how the mobile phone refashions the etiquette and behaviour of this particular generational ethnic group. Lastly, the methodology I have used is intensive interviewing, which makes this project anthropological.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The anthropological literature on the specific subject of mobile phone use and etiquette is limited. There was a lack of research information on social etiquette pertaining to the mobile phone from an anthropological perspective. As a result I had to draw from other disciplines such as sociology and psychology. A few scholars have researched how the mobile phone affects social interaction, particularly in terms of how this technology informs their research practice. For example, anthropologist Lotte Pelckmans' study entitled "Phoning Anthropologists: The mobile phone's (re)shaping of anthropological research" (2009) discusses the relations between the researcher and those being researched as mediated by the phone. Pelckmans discusses the changes mobile phones have caused in terms of anthropologists producing ethnographies and how mobile intrusions affected her as an anthropologist while conducting fieldwork. Pelckmans also discusses the positive and negative effects of how this technology has impacted anthropologists while doing fieldwork. She explains how it enlarges social networks, aids in recording interviews, sending messages through SMS, taking videos, pictures, and obtaining access to communication easily through mobility instead of travelling to converse. On the other hand, the mobile phone can be seen as "an irritating intruder in face-to-face communication once an appointment has been made and an interview has started because subjects discussed before a call are not likely to be picked up on again later. Nevertheless, these intrusions can also turn into an asset as particular topics may arise as a result of the intrusive call" (Pelckmans 2009:32). In my research design I was able to draw on Pelckmans discussion of opportunity and intrusion and extend this into the everyday interfaces and interactions of phone users in informal social group settings.

Pelckmans also discusses the effects the mobile phone has on anthropologists and informants when doing fieldwork. Pelckmans states that the mobile phone has an effect on face-to-face settings and the presence of this technology can reshape these settings. She explains the concept of "absence

presence," whereby an individual maybe be at an event or place but is not fully engaged with the people in his or her presence. Instead,

> Concentration in face-to-face settings is more likely to be reshaped by phone presence. People may seemingly be at an event or socially engaged but their attention is elsewhere. Gergen (2002) labeled the intermediate form between not and fully communicating with the phone in the presence of others (e.g. checking an SMS or scrolling the menu, or playing a game) as "absence presence." An informant and or interpreter checking or writing text messages will obviously be concentrating less on the contents of an interview. (Pelckmans 2009:33)

The term "absence-presence" was originally coined by American psychologist Kenneth Gergen, who defines it as a state in which "one is physically present, but is absorbed by a technologically mediated world of elsewhere" (Gergen 2002:227). The cultural implications Gergen is concerned about are the erosion and disruption of casual relationships outside of one's immediate circle of friends, family, and colleagues.

Although Gergen did not discuss etiquette in particular, he explained how the mobile phone might encroach on relationships that are occurring within a face-to-face setting, in which the feelings of those present may be ignored. According to Gergen, having a conversation with another person on the phone

> actively excludes one from participation. Cell phone conversation typically establishes an "inside space" ("we who are conversing") vs. an "outside space" constituted by those within earshot but prevented from participation. The fact that "it doesn't matter whether you listen or not" underscores the important insignificance of the outsider. (Gergen 2002:238)

Gergen goes on to argue that mobile phones prevent polyvocal participation in a multicultural world and enable people to stay connected and committed to a single community or endogenous group.

"Absence-presence" is one of the possible effects mobile phones have on individuals when they are conversing face-to-face. From the generational perspective of those between the ages of 45 and 60, what differences are noticed between now and when the mobile phone was independent from their lives? Overall, by exploring the concept of absence-presence in my research project, I will question my informants about their views on this concept, observe if this is something that does occur, and determine the consequences that it may or may not entail.

Another important anthropological study concerning mobile phones and social behaviour is Horst and Miller's study entitled "The Cell Phone: An Anthropology of Communication" (2006). This study discusses how the mobile phone became a form of expression for the Marshfield community in Jamaica. In their study of mobile phone use, they observe that the mobile phone is regarded as unobtrusive: "The affinity with the audio aspect of the phone as style is evident and comes across not as obtrusive and artificial but in some ways as natural and welcome" (Horst and Miller 2006:64). Horst and Miller's finding in the context of Jamaica is different than Pelckmans experience while conducting fieldwork, which makes me even more interested in how the mobile phone refashions social etiquette in the context of North America.

Horst and Miller find that although the mobile phone is used as a means of expression, for example, by having loud conversations for others to hear, the mobile phone is a new element for social relationships in Jamaica. According to the work of Horst and Miller, this use of the mobile phone is one that is developed out of the culture in Marshfield, Jamaica. Since it is used as a means of expression for others to hear their conversations, it is not primarily about the mobile phone as a means of communications to speak with others over the phone. The mobile phone in this study is not seen as intrusive, but rather conversations on the mobile phone while in a face-to-face setting are welcomed and acceptable.

Joachim's work entitled "The Mobile Phone and the Dynamic between Public and Private Communication" examines the lack of privacy that occurs when the mobile phone enters the public sphere. He explains that this results in a temporary absence where other people may be ignored, viewed as obtrusive, and represented as a nuisance, which is similar to the idea of "absence-presence." Joachim conducted a study in Germany amongst a variety of Europeans, which included individuals from Spain, Germany, Italy, and Finland. It was found that while utilizing a mobile phone

> whether a phone conversation conducted in a particularly loud voice, or a ringtone with an overly loud setting—can become a nuisance. Many people even get annoyed just witnessing people fiddling with their mobile phone if this appears to take too much of that person's attention away from the particular situation. (2005:132)

In his study "Is the Cell Phone Undermining the Social Order? Understanding Mobile Technology from a Macro Sociological Perspective," sociologist Hans Geser explains that the mobile phone is utilized to escape unfamiliar public encounters, continue relations within one's immediate circle, and encourage unpredictability and spontaneity as opposed to planning, scheduling, and disciplining oneself. Based on Joachim and Host and Miller's research, this suggests that there is a range of mobile phone etiquette that is considered acceptable. Evidently in Joachim's study, what is deemed as appropriate etiquette regarding the mobile phone varies as he interviewed individuals from different European countries. As a result, questions arise regarding what is viewed as acceptable social etiquette in a North American context.

Foucault's "Technologies of the Self" discusses how the conduct of conduct is linked to care of the self and "in the mode of action that an individual exercises upon himself by means of the technologies of the self," meaning that there is a particular conduct by which individuals govern themselves (Foucault 2003:147). Taking care of oneself is about self-governmentality, which "involves various things: taking pains with one's holdings and one's health. It is always a real activity and not just an attitude" (Foucault 2003:151). Subsequently, individuals conduct/govern themselves in a certain manner in regards to their

mobile phone, as governing oneself is to be concerned with "men in their relation to that other kind of things, customs, habits, ways of acting and thinking, etc." (Foucault 2003:93). Foucault demonstrates how, through technologies of the self, there are specific practices by which subjects constitute themselves in and through systems of power that maybe imposed or natural. It is a way in which people police themselves in society that enables or constrains them based on different techniques that allow individuals to work and regulate their conduct. With this in mind, I then ask: In what way does this form of technology refashion an individual's social etiquette?

Berger and Luckmann discuss how individuals need to converse in order to develop particular social practices. In their study, they maintain that conversation is an "important vehicle by which the contours of a homogenous social reality are maintained and developed; by way of conversation individuals are integrated within a set of social practices, and a common cultural world-view is objectified and crystallized" (1966:140).

According to the concept of "anthropology of interaction," there is a technique of interpretation that allows fellow interactants to successfully interact with one another conversationally by comprehending their interaction in the same way. According to Hymes, the "shared rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech represent the primary determination by a community of the competence and belonging of its members" (1972:54). Perhaps when it comes to how the mobile phone affects our social etiquette, there are various structures of sociocultural exchange that help individuals understand one another's ways of interaction.

Perhaps, however, there may not be a code of conduct that individuals within a cultural group adhere to when it comes to the mobile phone and social etiquette: "It may be incumbent upon each to know and employ certain routine, even standardized, forms (musical, behavioral) in order to enter the exchange, but these serve a diversity of ends; they are not a constraint" (Rapport and Overing 2007:232).

In other words, individuals may adopt certain behaviours or interactions that suit their own purpose, but which a cultural group can comprehend; however, this does not mean that they must obey or follow suit to a particular routine or standardized form of behaviour.

Tendency is defined as

> the propensity that human groups have to perform the same technical actions and to develop very similar means of preforming these actions. A recurrent—and unanswered—question in the anthropology of technology is to understand how this "*tendance*" interferes with the incredible diversity of the ways cultures co-produce techniques and meaning. (Barnard and Spencer 1996:546)

In regards to social etiquette, has there been an established tendency to perform a specific form of etiquette? Is there such a thing as tendency in respect to how individuals preform social etiquette based on the introduction of the mobile phone into their lives? And has the mobile phone influenced the tendency of social etiquette, if such tendency has developed?

According to Bourdieu's theory of habitus, which is about social reproduction, which regulates and generates practices that make up social life. Based on the conditions that individuals are placed in, people choose what situations are compatible or work for them. Bourdieu emphasizes social laws and the mindset of individuals meeting. Habitus is about the practices that make up social life. "The *habitus* disposes people to particular actions, and its power to do so is directly related to embedded and unconscious learning" (Barnard and Spencer 1996:178). According to Bourdieu, there are two main ways of learning habitus, which is derived from inculcation and formalized principles:

> The first produces the habitus through "the unconscious inculcation of principles," i.e., the way of learning described in *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. The second pedagogical form produces the *habitus* explicitly through "articulated and even formalized principles." Where both forms exist, unconscious and "practical" learning is crucial because of its influence on the way people later respond to explicit instruction. (Barnard and Spencer 1996:179)

Through utilizing Bourdieu's theory of habitus, I can observe and examine which particular form of habitus individuals are likely to adopt pertaining to social etiquette and the mobile phone in my own research.

According to authors Murray and Campbell (2015), there has been a vast amount of research conducted in regards to information technology but minimal research has been performed on the impact technology has on personal relationships. Murray and Campbell conducted a qualitative study, which included 319 university students, in order to identify particular themes pertaining to how technology impacted their relationships. One theme that stood out in their study was that forms of technology, such as the mobile phone, can in fact connect individuals to their partners who they are in a relationship with, as it is extremely convenient when trying to get in contact with one's social network. Another theme of this study, which stood out, was that of

> partners using technology as an escape mechanism (e.g., "Escape mechanism for both, distracting"), having other areas of their lives infringe upon their time for their relationships (e.g., "Distraction during conversation from texting other ppl"), feeling neglected because of their partners being distracted by technology (e.g., "If one of us has something to do online when the other does not that person might feel neglected"), and having less "down time" for their relationships (e.g., "We sometimes get distracted by technology and don't spend time together as we have planned"). (Murray and Campbell 2015:133)

Even though their study takes a macro prospective on how technology can impact relationships, it discusses the positive and negative effects the mobile phone can have. As a result of Murray and Campbell's study, I am eager to discover if the theme of absence-presence arises in my research project, allowing me to observe and examine how this particular theme may or may not be significant to social etiquette.

In a recent qualitative research project conducted by authors Vacaru, Shepherd, and Sheridan, focus groups were utilized for data collection in regards to New Zealand youth and their relationships with the mobile phone. These participants were much younger than the age group that I am focusing on, as they were between the ages of 13 and 19. Nevertheless, interesting themes emerged from their research, such as practicality. Many of the youth agreed that their mobile phone is a piece of technology that allows them to communicate easily with others despite spatial or geographical limitations. Socialization was another key theme, as many described the phone as a way to maintain their social life by connecting with friends and their partners. Addiction to the mobile phone was another interesting concept that was discovered in their research. Participants had mentioned that actions such as texting had become normal behaviour, an everyday action where people felt they needed to text. They also thought that people who are addicted to their phone do not like engaging in face-to-face contact.

> When asked to explain how they would identify an individual who might be addicted to their handset, three significant factors were highlighted. Firstly, the preference for cyber communication as opposed to face-to-face communication, despite being in a social setting. Participants were adamant that such behavior was inappropriate, and suggestive of addictive like attachment to their mobile phone. (Vacaru et al. 2014:580)

Also mentioned as a sign of addictive behaviour was taking out the mobile phone for no purpose. The last indicator that was mentioned was the feeling of being lost and having anxiety due to the inability of accessing one's phone.

These authors are not stating outright that these are the effects of the mobile phone, but rather identify these as themes that have arisen after conducting their studies. Particular themes mentioned above, such as absence-presence, tendency, habitus, technologies of the self, anthropology of interaction, escape, means of expression, and addiction, would be considered when completing the analysis of this project in order to determine how my interlocutors conduct themselves regarding mobile phone etiquette.

These particular themes will provide a lens through which to view how the mobile phone can affect the behaviour of individuals, as well as a sense of direction when exploring how certain contexts affect individuals' social etiquette. By adding to the subject of mobile phone etiquette, I hope to develop a more in-depth understanding of the above themes and perhaps discover other themes which illuminate how technology affects the social.

CHAPTER TWO: THE DATA

MAJOR THEMES

Throughout the research process, and while conducting interviews, a number of major themes kept reoccurring. Some were relevant and some were irrelevant to the literature review that I had previously conducted. The relevant themes that arose were absence-presence, convenience, connection, technologies of the self, rules of conduct, tendency, habitus, anthropology of interaction, addiction, and family time. The themes that would have been relevant to the literature review, but were not apparent in my own research, were means of expression and escape, as participants either never discussed these two themes or did not have anything to contribute to these particular subjects. Regarding the rest of the themes mentioned above, the data corresponded well as my interlocutors had a lot to discuss at the time about those themes.

ABSENCE-PRESENCE

The theme of absence-presence arose a lot throughout the interviews. The data derived from my fieldwork supports the existing theoretical research about the concept of absence-presence. Its correspondence to the data offers a great way to think about the information provided during the interviews as many interlocutors encountered absence-presence in their lives. Based on this data, it is quite clear that the mobile phone impacts face-to-face settings and in turn re-shapes these settings. Many participants have discussed how either they themselves or those around them are at times completely engrossed in their mobile phone, prompting the state of absence-presence, where an individual is no longer engaged with the people they are in the presence of. Participants have stated that the mobile phone interrupts face-to-face settings. Nearly every participant, with the exception of one, indicated that from a

generational perspective they remember when the mobile phone was not in their lives, disrupting the flow of conversation or family time. Participants mentioned that the mobile phone has indeed made an impact, as it takes the attention away from the present moment, allowing individuals to become absorbed by this piece of technology.

One participant, Sabie, acknowledged that, when in the presence of others, she tends to get completely engaged in her mobile phone. Sabie's children and friends have noticed and asked her to not go on her phone when she is in their company, as they do not feel she is paying attention to her present surroundings. Her children especially do not like when she becomes absent-present, and frequently mention that she talks on the phone too often. She has mentioned that being absent-present is rude while in the physical presence of others, and has been making an effort to not answer her phone, especially in front of her children. Sabie's friends have also had an issue in regards to how many times she tends to answer or glance at her mobile phone while they are having a conversation. Sophia, who is my mother and is Sabie's cousin, was also present during the interview and mentioned that when she calls Sabie, she notices that other people are always calling her other line.

Even though Sabie mentioned that people are constantly pointing out that she is absent-present, she also stated that she does not appreciate it when others are absent-present in this way. Sabie stated that it is okay to carry on a phone conversation for about a minute or two, but she believes anything longer than that is rude. An example she provides of absence-presence is when her children are on their headphones listening to music while she is having a conversation with them. While she is speaking to them, she believes they are listening to her, when they are not. She stated that this is rude.

Indeera, another participant, revealed that she noticed her kids being absent-present while at dinner. She believes that the younger generation has an issue with the mobile phone. While conducting this interview, other cousins and aunts were around as well. Her daughter interrupted the interview to

state that even though her mom (Indeera) is connecting with everyone through her mobile phone, as a result she becomes anti-social in present company, as she ends up being on her phone the entire time. Indeera defended herself by explaining that she only utilizes the mobile phone when necessary. She also defended herself by stating that the younger generation tends to utilize the mobile phone all the time and that because she is older she does not have an issue with using the mobile phone. There is a discrepancy between what Indeera is stating about being absent-present versus what her daughter is stating, as they both have different perspectives on the situation.

Sophia discussed how when individuals are in her presence, she does not appreciate it when they are engaged with their mobile phone and become absent-present. She explained that when this occurs she feels her time is being wasted and that engaging with someone who does this is pointless. She gave an example of a friend, named Roxanne, who once misused her time when she visited Sophia, and utilized her mobile phone the entire time before reporting to Sophia the entire conversation she was having. Another example she gave is that of Roxanne constantly on Facebook, and looking up and laughing but not mentioning what she is laughing about. This annoys Sophia because Roxanne interrupts what Sophia is doing, such as watching television, in order to engage in conversation, but then disregards Sophia as she becomes engaged with her mobile phone instead. For Sophia, being absent-present is rude and wastes others' time. In this situation, Sophia thinks that if you are laughing at something on the mobile phone and do not include her, this is impolite.

Another participant, Lee, also agreed that when in the physical presence of others, the correct thing to do is pay attention and treat those that are around you as priority, and not the mobile phone. Even though she does believe that this is the correct thing to do, Lee admitted that if she is bored in social situations, she can become absent-present herself, as this as a diversion tactic. Another example of absence-presence she discussed is when people receive phone calls and do not keep the conversation to a

minimum; she explained that this could make others feel uncomfortable and alien to the conversation. This is a concept she has tended to notice in daily life. She mentioned that when she is with friends at dinner, she sometimes looks up and finds that they are all so engrossed in their phones that they are not paying attention to what is occurring in the present moment. Her friends have also noticed this as well. She stated that she also notices that her friends become engulfed in social media such as Instagram, at times rendering her a "secondary entity." She has stated that she does not feel awkward when this happens, however, as she has become use to it.

Another way my data corresponds to the literature discussed above is through Gergen, who was concerned about people being confined to their own social circles. An important observation I made when conducting these interviews is that participants constantly mentioned the mobile phone as a way to keep in contact with their social circle. When asked if the mobile phone prevented them from creating new connections with others, they mentioned that it did not prohibit them; however, none of the participants mentioned any examples or situations in which they created a new connection. Interlocutors only mentioned that the phone was being used to contact people within their immediate circle; therefore, Gergen's theory of absence-presence is definitely a valid concern as the participants are indeed connected to a single community. They provided no examples of instances in which the phone aided them in connecting with someone who was not already in their immediate social circle. A concluding point, then, is that individuals are engrossed within their mobile phone to the extent that not only do they become absent-present around individuals they know, but it prevents them from creating new connections with others who are not already in their network.

CONVENIENCE AND CONNECTION

Throughout the interviews, many participants indicated that their mobile phone is a means of connection to their social network and the world at their convenience. Even though the themes of connection and convenience were not discussed in the literature review, this was a theme that stood out in my own research, since each participant spoke about it. The mobile phone is a source of convenience that is reliable, according to the participants. They have mentioned that it enables them to connect with their work colleagues and family members such as children. It has given them the ability to access information at their own convenience.

One participant, named Shamie, has stated that it enables her to keep in touch with others, in turn strengthening her social connections, which is very convenient for her. It also enables her to make appointments, read articles, and go on YouTube while she is on the train. Sophia made a similar remark: "You know, it saves you time. If you're busy and you can't, you know, wait till you get home, if you're on the train... I'm on the train, someone could call me up or I can text them and keep in touch. And say, 'Hey, how are you?'" (Sophia 2014).

Similarly, Kay, another participant, mentioned that she typically leaves her home before her children are up and it enables her to speak with them while she is utilizing public transportation by telling them "good morning." Participants value that they are able to connect with people within their social circle at their own convenience.

Indeera also mentioned that the phone has made her life convenient. She is now able to connect with people in her social/work network and check her emails easily. She also mentioned that it allows her to solve certain conundrums she may be facing by connecting with others conveniently through the mobile phone. Similarly, Lee mentioned that the mobile phone is convenient in the sense that she is able to pinpoint directions, coffee shops, or various other locations, enabling her to access information when

she needs it, at her convenience. She mentioned that she is no longer dependent on calling 411, as was the case in the past. Sophia, Kay, and Sabie also mentioned the convenience of being able to connect with their social circle and work at any time, as they can connect with people when they need to or when others need to connect with them.

TENDENCY

Another major theme that emerged out of my own research as well as the existing theoretical literature is tendency. Many participants noted that that they have developed the tendency to perform the same actions regularly. For example, some have developed a tendency to not answer the mobile phone in public spaces such as work. Many participants have developed the tendency to perform the same actions, and have developed a similar way of performing these actions.

Sabie mentioned that she believes it is unacceptable to answer the mobile phone in a public space such as work, stating, "I think if you're in a business setting or meeting then maybe you should turn it off" (Sabie 2014). When asked if she turns her phone off in business meetings, she stated that she always does. Similarly, throughout the interview the topic of utilizing one's phone in a business setting arose yet again and Sabie mentioned that if her mobile phone is not being utilized for business purposes then her phone is off. It is apparent that she has developed a tendency to disregard the mobile phone while being in this particular space.

Relatedly, Kay also discussed her views about the mobile phone and the workplace. Throughout our interview, it was apparent that she believed there was a clear divide between personal spaces and workspaces. Kay viewed the mobile phone as something that is personal. She explained that when in a meeting she would typically turn her phone off, and that if she happened to glance at her mobile phone,

she would determine if it were important enough to answer. Usually, she would ignore her phone. If expecting a call, then she would typically answer it. During the interview, Kay started to discuss one of her co-workers. She discussed a particular co-worker who did not have all of her faculties, and while at work she would constantly utilize her mobile phone. Kay found this inappropriate, especially since Kay and her co-worker are nurse's who deal with patients. This particular co-worker was constantly on her mobile phone, and one day ended up having an argument with her husband on her phone. She was yelling very loudly at the time. After her colleague finished the conversation, she ended up talking to her about it. Kay asked her, "Why are you lowering yourself to his standards? And you're in a public place. You're in a school. You're on the city cell phone, you know?" (Kay 2014). Kay has clearly developed a tendency of disapproving of utilizing the mobile phone while at the workplace. This tendency has even extended as far as speaking to other colleagues about the matter, especially when she deems the situation to be inappropriate, and even if she is not responsible for their actions.

Correspondingly, Sophia has also developed the tendency to not answer the mobile phone while at work. Sophia discussed one particular situation in which she was having a conversation with her boss about work expenses; however, during the conversation, her boss was on his mobile phone. Sophia found this extremely inappropriate. She felt that if you are having a one-on-one conversation with her, you should not be on the mobile phone simultaneously, as she would like your undivided attention, especially when speaking about work matters. She explained that when this occurred she decided to tell her boss that they could reconvene their discussion at another time: "I called him on it. I said, 'No, I'll wait until–' and then he says 'No, no, no, it's okay, go ahead' I didn't feel comfortable about doing it because I wanted him to know where I was, what I was talking about, and pay attention and listen to what I was discussing, but he had other things on his mind" (Sophia 2014).

Sophia explained that her boss could have reconvened the conversation when he had the time—that way, he would have been able to pay attention and listen to what she was talking about. She stated that when you are in a business setting your mobile phone needs to be off; you can be contacted at work if it is an emergency. Sophia is very adamant when it comes to utilizing the mobile phone on company time, as she later in the interview gave another example of a co-worker who was constantly on Facebook. It is quite apparent that Sophia has developed the tendency to not utilize her mobile phone while in the workplace, as she does not utilize it at work and disapproves if other colleagues do.

Indeera had similar views to those of Sophia, Kay, and Sabie about the mobile phone and the workplace. When asked if she has noticed anyone doing anything inappropriate in regards to their mobile phone, she responded by stating, "Yes, I notice a lot of people… Last week, I told an employee during work hours… that you shouldn't be on your cell phone unless it is an emergency" (Indeera 2014).

She has also adapted to not utilizing the phone while in the workplace by keeping her ringer off; however, she mentioned that she does check her mobile phone from time to time to see if she receives any important calls, as she utilizes her phone for both personal and business purposes. She explained that if it was an important call, then she would answer it, but if it was not, due to her workplace policy, which does not allow the use of mobile phones, she would be very mindful of her actions and answer the phone only if it was an emergency or pertained to business matters. It is apparent that Indeera has developed a tendency to not utilize her phone for personal reasons, but primarily for business purposes only, when she is at work.

In regards to the tendency of utilizing the mobile phone at the workplace, Shamie has a different take on this situation. During the interview, she explained that if her mobile phone rings, it is for emergency purposes. She explained that it is awkward if a manager or a colleague is around and her phone rings. During the interview, when asked if she would answer her mobile phone while at work, she

said yes, and mentioned that she would even run to answer it. Shamie tends to find that her mobile phone is not disruptive in spaces that are personal such as her home; however, in areas considered non-personal such as work, she did it find to be disruptive. While at work, she has defined the mobile phone as personal. If her phone does ring while she is at work, she is attentive, as she stated her mobile phone is for family and friends to call as well. When at work, if she must answer the phone, she makes sure that the conversation is short. It is quite clear that Shamie, as opposed to the other interviewees, has developed the tendency to answer the mobile phone in non-personal spaces such as work. Throughout the interview, she mentioned that if she did answer her mobile phone in front of a colleague or manager, it is awkward; however, it seems as if she is comfortable answering her mobile phone relative to other interviewees, who stated they do not utilize the phone while at work for personal use. Clearly, there is an established tendency in which this particular group of individuals performs a specific form of etiquette based on this technology being introduced into their lives. Without the mobile phone, these tendencies would not have developed, as it would not have been necessary.

HABITUS

After reviewing my interviews, another concept, similar to tendency, arose on numerous occasions: habitus. This particular concept complemented the data well. Habitus is about practices that make up social life. Habitus can either be inculcated unconsciously or formed through formalized principles. While speaking with Indeera about mobile phone etiquette, there were other family members that were around, including her children, spouse, siblings, and cousins. Indeera's daughter Alysia decided to interrupt the interview on numerous occasions while her mother was responding to the questions. When Indeera was asked about her mobile phone habits and if she was on the phone a lot, she mentioned that she typically is on her phone for about an hour a day. To my knowledge, my mother (Sophia) and

aunt (Indeera) are on the mobile phone for longer than an hour at a time. When Alysia heard her response, she contradicted Indeera's statement by mentioning that her mother is on the mobile phone much longer than that, noting "When you go to bed at 7 o'clock and you are on the phone" (Alysia 2015), meaning that she is on her mobile phone for much longer than an hour. Indeera then explained that she utilized her house phone more than her mobile phone, as the mobile phone is only used if she has to make a long-distance call. Again, her daughter mentioned that her mother utilized her mobile phone for anything, and not just long-distance calls.

There is a contradiction in the data with respect to what Indeera says about how often she utilizes the mobile phone versus what her daughter has stated. Indeera has also mentioned that she forwards her home phone to her mobile phone. A lot of her calls for work and personal usage are thus received on her mobile phone. When I asked her if the mobile phone was an addiction for her, she explained that, "No, it's not an addiction, but it's an addiction for those young people" (Indeera 2014). Right after she stated this, her daughter then responded by stating, "It is an addiction for you" (Alysia 2014). Perhaps what can be drawn from the concept of habitus, based on the data collected, is that Indeera is perhaps unaware of her mobile phone habits. Perhaps what her daughter is observing, and what Indeera is denying, are habits that she herself is not conscious of. Evidently, there is a discrepancy regarding how Indeera understands and perceives her own mobile phone use and what her daughter thinks.

While speaking with Lee about mobile phone habits that arise, she explained that she has developed particular habits, such as playing games on her phone. When it comes to interacting with others, she mentioned that only once has someone ever told her about her mobile phone habits: "Someone actually grabbed my phone once, because they said, 'Why are you always on that thing?'… It's a friend of mine who never talks anyway" (Lee 2014). Lee explained that if someone were interesting to talk to she would not resort to her mobile phone to keep her preoccupied. She also stated "if you're in a bigger

group and… there might be two or three people and you're not quite, you don't feel quite included in the conversation, you can take a side glance and do something else…" (Lee 2014). This particular habit is one that Lee is aware of.

Even though Lee is conscious of her mobile phone habits and is aware of her need to escape depending on the social situation she finds herself in, there is a contradiction between what she says about social etiquette versus her actions. Lee believes that when you are in the physical presence of others, the individuals around you should become a priority and not the mobile phone. Prior to Lee explaining what proper social etiquette is, she mentioned that she tends to utilize her mobile phone in the presence of others. Evidently, Lee's social etiquette is a variable based on the situation she is placed in. When asked if carrying on a mobile phone conversation while in the presence of others is appropriate, she explained that the best way to behave in a situation like that would be to "be in the present company… I think that would be rude…" (Lee 2014). What she means here is that if she were to continue to use her mobile phone in the presence of others, it would be rude. There is a discrepancy between what Lee has actually adopted as habit, which is utilizing the mobile phone in the presence of others, and what her perception of social etiquette is.

Sabie has also adopted habits when utilizing the mobile phone. Sabie has to constantly check if someone is messaging her or calling her when she is in the presence of others. This is a habit which Sabie's friends and family members have noticed. Throughout the interview, Sabie mentioned on several occasions that her kids think that she is on the mobile phone far too much. When asked about her mobile phone habits, she stated, "My kids think that if people are around, if my phone rings and I answer it… they say, 'Mom, if you're talking to somebody you shouldn't'" (Sabie 2014). At first, when Sabie was asked the question about how she would define social etiquette in regards to the mobile phone, she did not give a direct answer. She responded instead by re-confirming what her children have previously said:

I often get friends or family that say, 'Turn your phone off,' because I am on it a lot. If I am talking to them while having a coffee they will go, 'Do you have to answer your phone?' And I usually look over. I'll choose not to answer but… I think I do have bad manners, when it comes to the phone. (Sabie 2014)

Evidently, Sabie has developed a conscious habitus of picking up the mobile phone while in the presence of others. She is aware of her actions, and realizes what she is doing, but her justification for doing this is that she is only on the mobile phone for a minute or two. When examining Sabie's interview, the concept of habitus is a good way to think about the data. We can clearly see a repetition of particular actions that Sabie performs and is conscious of which make up her social life.

Sophia also explained during our interview that she has a constant habit of checking her mobile phone. She explained that she feels her mobile phone is a part of her and it is her connection to the world. She described how when she does not have her mobile phone with her, it is as if she is missing something. When I began to ask her questions about how the mobile phone has impacted her social etiquette, she explained that she is habituated on it. She mentioned that she checks her mobile phone religiously every half an hour, whether other people are or are not around—but only very hesitantly did she admit this. Sophia explained, she also needs to check Facebook and that even though she has a habit of checking her phone, she does try to make a conscious effort of not answering the mobile phone when people are around. She stated, "Yeah, I check it like every half an hour or so. I use to check it like every fifteen minutes but I feel like… it's like attached to me, like I have to check it. Why, I don't know. I just have to check it. It's like a habit I developed… a nasty habit…" (Sophia 2014). Throughout the interview, Sophia stated she is aware that she has this habit; however, when asked if she does tend to check her mobile phone in the presence of others, she mentioned that she tries not to, but did not openly admit that she actually does so.

During the interview, and during discussions with my mother about my thesis, my sister was present. My sister brought up the fact that my mother is on the mobile phone a lot and does tend to check her phone in the presence of others. It appears that perhaps Sophia is not particularly conscious of this habit. In regards to this particular situation, habitus as a concept is a good way to make sense of why Sophia is not transparent about her answering her mobile phone in the presence of others; perhaps this is a habit that is embedded and unconscious. Based on what has been observed, it appears that this is a habit that Sophia has developed naturally, and that she is not explicitly aware of.

TECHNOLOGIES OF THE SELF

Another concept that is relevant to my research is one that was coined by Foucault, namely, "technologies of the self." Foucault described this concept as one about governing oneself in regards to customs, habits, and techniques that individuals police themselves, aiding them in regulating their conduct. Throughout my research, I have seen various participants governing themselves in a particular way when it comes to the mobile phone and its use in a non-personal space, such as the workplace.

Throughout out my interview with Sophia, it was apparent that the mobile phone is, to her, a personal item. She defines the workplace as a non-personal space and actively chose to not utilize her mobile phone while at work, and governs herself by this rule. The topic of what would be considered improper social etiquette arose. Sophia then began to discuss a situation, which she encountered at work. One of her colleagues used to be on her mobile phone, according to Sophia, "twenty-four seven." Sophia never considered her colleague's actions rude because if she were laughing she would tell Sophia why or what was going on. I then asked her what exactly was the issue about her co-worker's behavior if she did not think her actions were rude? She explained,

We're at work and you are not supposed to be doing that… You can't do that during working hours. On your break time that's your time but seven and a half hours you're giving, if your employers see you posting stuff on Facebook… during the time you're working you could be fired! Yes [laughing]. And they make you sign that. So don't ever get caught on Twitter or whatever… because they will know exactly what time you post. (Sophia 2014)

Another previous example, which was discussed earlier, was Sophia's boss being on the mobile phone. She did not approve of him being on the mobile phone while they were speaking about business matters. According to the data, Sophia has a particular way she governs herself while at work, which is to not utilize her mobile phone due to a contract that she has signed. The Foucauldian concept of technologies of the self is a good way to think of the data, as it helps one make sense of why this particular action is taken by Sophia. We can understand that this is a particular rule that she conducts and governs herself by, as a result of the mobile phone being introduced into the work place. The particular custom of not utilizing the mobile phone while at work does not seem to restrict Sophia. It regulates her conduct and allows her to follow the contract that she signed for work.

Shamie, who appears to be on the opposite end of the spectrum, tends to answer her mobile phone while she is at work. According to the data, she has developed a technology of the self where she must answer her mobile phone because she has designated it primarily for emergency purposes. She has mentioned that any time her phone rings while at work she needs to answer it. She stated, "Yeah, I run towards my phone. I run because the basis of the phone at work when I have it on my desk is for emergency purposes, or somebody that I know is calling me. So therefore when it rings, I would run to it" (Shamie 2015).

Noticeably, she has adopted a custom of answering the mobile phone while at work. When asked if she thought that receiving a personal call was disruptive when she was speaking about business matters at work, she stated that it did not disrupt the flow of the conversation.

While this is one particular way that she has come to self-governed herself, another form of self-governance she has adopted is lowering her voice when answering the mobile phone while in the "quiet zone" on the GO train. She explains that her "Yeah, I mean the only thing I mind is the way I speak to people, in my tone. My tone is very important for me and my behaviour—that's the only thing" (Shamie 2014).

She then stated, "When I'm on the cell phone in public places, I make sure I don't speak loudly." About the restricted area on the GO train, she explained that "that's where you have to really watch the way you speak, watch the loudness, watch the volume" (Shamie 2014). The concept of technologies of the self is a good way to think about the research data in regards to Shamie's examples, as we can plainly see that she has specific ways of governing herself when she is in public spaces, such as in the workplace and on the GO train.

The mobile phone has indeed altered her self-practices and conduct simply because if this technology did not exist, it would not be a necessity to answer the mobile phone while at work or to lower one's tone while in public spaces utilizing this technology. Furthermore, a discrepancy is observed between the data and Shamie's perceived use of the mobile phone. She stated that she thinks that her social etiquette has not been affected by the mobile phone; however, based on what she has mentioned, it is evident that if she did not have a mobile phone she would not need to answer it while at work or while on the train. As a result of this research, it is apparent that the concept of technologies of the self is reflected within the data as it demonstrates how individuals such as Shamie constitute themselves through systems of power.

Sabie has also developed a particular conduct regarding the mobile phone. Sabie mentioned that she is on the mobile phone constantly. She explained that even if she is on the phone while in the presence of others, she tends to either go on the phone for a minute or two, but no longer than that. She

would also occasionally glance at her mobile phone. Based on the data, it appears that this mode of self-governance works for her but not for others around her. She explained that if others around her are on their mobile phones for about a minute or two it does not bother her. Based on the data, Sabie has developed a conduct where she allows others to go on the mobile phone for a brief period and in turn allows herself to do the same. She explained that "a minute or so is not bad… But if you're going to go on ten minutes and have me sitting waiting… then I get upset" (Sabie 2014).

Sabie has also developed a particular conduct in regards to the mobile phone and the workplace. She does not answer her phone during work hours. She explained that if a call pertained to work then she would answer it. Otherwise, she stated, "When I am doing my work, I can't answer the phone. That's when I just put it on silent and when I'm done I will go back and check messages or whatever" (Sabie 2014). Although the mobile phone has only been recently introduced into Sabie's life, based on the way she governs herself by particular forms of conduct she has created, the impact that this piece of technology has had on her is tremendous. Previously, she would not have had to worry about answering her mobile phone in the presence of others or cutting a conversation short with someone. As a result, she has developed a strict work ethic obligating her to not answer her mobile phone. By utilizing the concept of technologies of the self, it can be observed that a form of self-governance has been established.

ANTHROPOLOGY OF INTERACTION

Throughout the interviews, many participants described how they developed a variety of social practices that they tend to follow. These rules are either determined by themselves or the communities to which they belong. There is not one participant that has not developed a particular form of interaction. According to the anthropology of interaction, fellow interactants engage with one another through conversing and by comprehending each other's interactions.

When speaking to Indeera, it is clear that she has defined the mobile phone as a personal item, which is only to be answered at work if it pertains to business. Otherwise, Indeera will typically utilize her mobile phone for personal purposes. She has developed a rule to answer the mobile phone if she is not at work. She explained that she tends to be on the mobile phone if she is in a personal space, such as at home. Being on the mobile phone while being at home is acceptable to Indeera. Her daughter, on the other hand, did not agree: "Everyone is more anti-social. You are more anti-social. You sit on your phone all the time" (Alysia 2014). To Indeera, engaging with others through the mobile phone is not an issue, but her daughter explained that her mother is on the mobile phone too often and as a result is anti-social. This is one particular instance in which Indeera has adopted a routine that suits her own purpose regardless of her daughter's opinion.

At Indeera's workplace, there is a rule that no mobile phones are to be used while at work unless it is an emergency. If a call must be taken, it is for emergency purposes or pertaining to business. This is a rule that fellow interactants must abide by and a common social practice that is maintained at work. Indeera and other co-workers abide by this rule. She even mentioned that she recently had to tell an employee to get off of their phone while at work unless it was an emergency. When she told them to get off their phone, this employee understood that it was common social practice that the phone is not to be answered while at work. The employee then ended their phone call, as they comprehended each other's interaction of speech, and had a common rule of conduct, which they shared.

Lee also discussed a common social practice within her social circle, which is being on the mobile phone in the presence of others. Lee explained that being on a mobile phone has become socially acceptable, and that people refrain from saying anything for this reason. She explained, "Yeah it's the norm… but I do find sometimes when I'm with friends at dinner or something like that and suddenly we'll look up and were each on our phone and it is like, why are we even here?" (Lee 2014). She

explained that these comments are not geared towards any particular individual; rather, they comment as a group about the group's mobile phone habits.

She described how they are used to being on mobile phones around each other. She stated that she finds that with " some friends … you can be talking to them and they'd be so distracted that they get a text or if somebody posts something on Instagram that they want to see it right away or comment and so you've become the secondary entity and the phone is number one" (Lee 2014).

When I asked her if this makes her feel awkward, she explained that it does not. Based on the data, we can observe that with respect to being on mobile phones in the presence of others, Lee and her friends have a common social practice in which they understand one another's interactions. Evidently, established by the data, in Lee's social group, there is a form of sociocultural exchange in which individuals within the group are able to understand one another's way of interaction and behaviour.

Sabie, Kay, Sophia, and Shamie have discussed how they react when they get a phone call on their mobile phone if they are in the presence of others. They have all adopted a particular form of conduct that is similar to one another. For example, they all are conscious of how long they stay on the mobile phone when they receive a phone call in the presence of others. These four people have a common set of social practices, in which they employ a particular standardized routine. Shamie explained that when she is at work and she receives a call on her mobile phone, any conversation that she is having with others around her does not get side-tracked because she is conscious of how long she is on the phone. She explained that when in the presence of others, the length of the conversation that you have with someone who has called you on the mobile phone is important. Since her conversations are not very long when she receives a phone call, she explained, her conversations with people that are present are not affected.

Similarly, Sophia mentioned that when in the presence of others, at times, depending on the situation, she either may or may not answer her mobile phone. She explained that if she does answer the

mobile phone, the conversation is very brief, and she explains to those calling that this is not a good time and she will get back to them when she can. When I asked her if she thinks that it is rude to carry on a conversation on her phone when others are present, she explained that, from her perspective, if someone were to do that to her, it is a waste of her time. She stated, "I just think it's rude because if I'm taking time out of my day to spend it with you, and if its five minutes or whatever, I'm visiting you or whatever, I think the courtesy is that you should do the same for me because I took time out to be with you" (Sophia 2014).

Sophia provided an example of a friend who came over to her house and wasted her time, as she was constantly preoccupied with her mobile phone: "I find it rude that Roxanne was there with me and what did she do?… She chose… to go on her phone and gab with you and tell me everything that you were saying… I mean, we were there to visit dad [who was in the hospital]… Like, what is she doing?" (Sophia 2014). Undoubtedly, Sophia can understand when someone needs to take a phone call or utilize their mobile phone for a minute or two, but anything longer than that she deems as rude.

Like Sophia, Sabie explained that, when in the presence of others, she would either answer the mobile phone for a minute or two, or she may ignore it:

> "You are going to talk to someone on the phone when I haven't heard from you for a long time and you're continuing that conversation when I came out for a coffee or lunch with you or whatever. And they are carrying on… Yes, that would upset me. Well, if it's just 'hi' or 'bye,' or 'I'll just call you back,' then I think that's okay… A minute or so is not bad..." (Sabie 2014)

Sabie mentioned that she finds it to be an appropriate form of conduct to be on the mobile phone for a minute or two; however, typically, those around her tend to get annoyed because sometimes her mobile phone constantly rings, one call after another, and it becomes a distraction.

Correspondingly, Kay also mentioned that if receiving a call on a mobile phone while in the presence of others, the phone call should remain very brief. She explained that when people are at social gatherings, they should not be answering their phone unless they are on the phone for about a minute or so. Anything longer than this, she explained, and they should step away and have their conversation privately: "T30 seconds, a minute, whatever, but when you go over that, that is bad etiquette. Especially if you are in a group" (Kay 2015). I then asked if the same rules would apply to her and I currently having a conversation: What if I received a phone call for about 30 seconds to a minute? She then explained,

> I would think the same rules apply. Like, right now, if this phone rings or even if your phone rings and you answer it, and you're on the phone for a while, unless it's not important. If it's very important, like it's your mother or something happened, that's different. But if you're going to just sit here and have a conversation, I think that's very rude, or even me picking up the phone and having a conversation. (Kay 2014)

Among the four individuals above, there is a similar social practice, which they utilize to interact with others, in order to successfully maintain a conversation. It can be seen that these four individuals have adopted a standardized routine that allows them to interact with other people in their presence when they receive a call on their mobile device. Lee and Indeera also have their own particular social practices, which they utilize to interact with individuals who are their friends or co-workers. Based on the data above, these participants are engaging in an anthropology of interaction. They have adopted a form of sociocultural exchange in order to understand others and for others to understand them, while interacting with one another.

ESCAPE

Another concept that was discussed in the literature review is escape. Throughout my interviews, this topic only came up only once. Many participants would note that they either need their mobile phone for personal or business purposes. Many never got into details about using their mobile phone as an escape mechanism if they needed to remove themselves form an awkward social situation. Therefore, I find that this concept did not integrate well with my research, as it was not a topic that participants discussed. Lee, the only participant to have briefly mentioned it, explained that "if you're in a bigger group and there might be two or three people and you're not quite, you don't feel quite included in the conversation, you can take a side glance and do something else…" (Lee 2014).

Based on the data, with only one participant having discussed this particular concept, it was not reflected in my own research, as participants utilize their mobile phone for a variety of purposes, but generally not as a means of escape.

MEANS OF EXPRESSION

Another theme that arose throughout the literature review was "means of expression," which was coined by Horst and Miller (2006). Their study took place in Jamaica, where they discovered that those they had observed and interviewed used their mobile phones as a means of expression, primarily by allowing others to hear their phone conversations by speaking loudly. This particular concept was not reflected clearly within my data. Many participants explained that if they received a phone call while in the presence of others, they would either not answer the mobile phone or tell the person who is calling them that they are currently preoccupied.

Kay and Shamie explained that while taking public transportation, such as GO Transit or TTC, they did not appreciate when other people spoke loudly. Shamie explained that she is extremely mindful when she does need to use her mobile phone, especially in areas that are labeled as "quiet zones." Shamie has even explained that she once had to tell an individual who was utilizing their mobile phone on the GO train, and speaking loudly, to lower their tone. To Shamie, being loud on the mobile phone, especially while taking public transportation, is not acceptable. In this particular situation, the person who she had asked to lower her voice had a hearing impairment, and she apologized; however, in general, she ensures that her tone is lowered, especially when in public places not just on the GO train.

Kay mentioned that when it comes to social etiquette, she thinks that some people "have it" and some people do not. She mentioned that what she deems improper etiquette is when, "for example, if you're on the bus and they're just yelling on their cell phone or they have their music on loud…" (Kay 2014). Kay identifies speaking loudly in public spaces as improper because not everyone needs to hear your conversation. Kay gives another example of her co-worker who, at one point, was speaking loudly in a school that they were working in. In this particular situation, Kay told her colleague that she should lower her voice, especially because she is in a public place, insinuating that others would hear. With that being said, Kay maintains that being loud while on the mobile phone in a public space is being obtrusive and inappropriate.

Lee also believes that speaking loudly is a form of improper etiquette. She explained that she did not find this appropriate:

> "Social etiquette, to me, regarding the cell phone is… not talking too loudly… Because I think that's one of the things that can be bothersome… You find some people, whether they're on the streetcar or walking down the street, just speaking really loudly…" (Lee 2014)

Lee does not think the mobile phone, as a piece of technology, should be used for the purpose of everyone listening to one's conversation. Like Kay and Shamie, she views the mobile phone as something to be used for communicating, and not for expressing one's self to the public.

Overall, the concept "means of expression" was not reflected in my research, as many participants did not approve of speaking loudly on the mobile phone for others to hear. In fact, when other people are around speaking loudly on their phones, they disapprove, and when they themselves receive an incoming phone call on their mobile phone, they either end the conversation quickly or do not answer the phone. Evidently, the individuals within my study utilize the mobile phone as a means of communicating with those that they need to get in touch with, but not as a means of expression, to allow outsiders to listen to their conversation, or for others to be involved.

ADDICTION

Another theme, which arose throughout my research, is addiction. Only one participant that did not state that they had an addiction to their mobile phone, which was Shamie; however, based on the data, whenever she receives a call at work, she explained that she tends to run to her desk to answer her mobile phone, as it is used for emergency purposes. Needless to say, people call others on their mobile phones for a variety of purposes, not just emergencies. It appears that perhaps Shamie does have an addiction, if she feels the need to run to her mobile phone every time it rings at work.

Right at the beginning of my interview with Sophia, when asked how the mobile phone has impacted her life, she explained that she has become too attached to her mobile phone, as if it is a part of her. She explained that she is "hooked" on her mobile phone and stated, "I feel like I have to look at it every half an hour, even if I'm home" (Sophia 2014). She explained that it is a pure addiction, and that

she also has to check Facebook. When asked if she does this when people are present, she explained that she did not, but would like too. She then offered a more in-depth explanation of how she is addicted to her mobile phone: "Yeah, I check it like every half an hour or so. I use to check it like every fifteen minutes, but I feel like…its attached to me, like I have to check it. Why, I don't know. I just have to check it. It's like a habit I developed… a nasty habit that every half an hour I must check it…" (Sophia 2014).

Like Sophia, Sabie explained that she feels her mobile phone is a part of her: "It is. I have to take the cell phone with me. Like, in my bag or purse. If I miss my cell phone, I am coming back home for it. I can't go a day without it" (Sabie 2014). She stated that without it, she is lost and panics. She also stated that she tends to talk and text on her mobile phone while driving, despite it being against the law and despite her children telling her not too. She utilizes her mobile phone a lot; she stated that she uses 15,000 minutes each month. She explained that within one hour her mobile phone would ring about ten times. She also mentioned that her friends often get annoyed, because for each phone call, she answers her mobile phone for a minute or two, letting them know that she is busy at the moment. Based on this data—with Sabie's friends and children constantly asking her to get off the phone, and the amount of minutes she utilizes—it is apparent that she is addicted to her mobile phone.

As mentioned previously, while conducting my interview with Indeera, other family members were around. Indeera was discussing her mobile phone habits and explained that she is on her mobile phone for about an hour a day. Her daughter overheard the conversation and joined in. She claimed that her mother is on the mobile phone from the time she arrives home from work until she goes to bed. When I asked Indeera if she felt her mobile phone was a part of her, she stated that she did not, and that she could leave her mobile phone alone without having to think about it. She also stated, "No it's not an addiction, but it's an addiction for those young people" (Indeera 2014). Her daughter then replied, "It is an addiction for you! I like to go on it a lot, but she will take it off and call somebody else right after"

(Alysia 2014). Clearly, there is a discrepancy between how Indeera perceives her own mobile phone usage and what her daughter perceives. Indeera believes that she is not addicted to the mobile phone and is not on the phone all the time, whereas her daughter believes that she is.

Lee explained that she loves games and that she likes to play them whenever she can. When it comes to playing these games, she stated, "I'm addicted to games so I think that's one of my things that's changed… I love all the apps that they have…" (Lee 2014). Aside from playing games, it did not appear as if she had an addiction to her mobile phone. In contrast with Sophia and Sabie, Lee does not feel as though her mobile phone is a part of her. If anything, she utilizes it to find out information or to find specific locations. She explained that, in fact, she tends to forget about her mobile phone a lot because the ringer does not sound. She also mentioned that she tends to screen people so that she does not have to answer their phone calls. Her perception of the mobile phone has changed: "I'm finding I'm changing my perception of it. At one time, I use to think it was great, people can get a hold of me at any time… Now it's almost like… I don't want to have it with me because I don't want people to access me at any time…" (Lee 2014). Lee also mentioned that she tends to forget her mobile phone quite a bit. In one sense, then, she is addicted to playing games; but when it comes to people accessing her through the mobile phone, she is more uncomfortable, as she finds that she is made too accessible by her mobile phone. Based on the data, it is evident that Lee is not addicted to her mobile phone.

Like Lee, Kay is also not addicted to her mobile phone. She explained that she knows when and where to use it. She clarifies that at work she is not on the mobile phone, and has in the past had to tell co-workers to get off the phone. She also explained that she tries to not speak loudly while on her phone on the TTC. Kay stated that you have to have control and know when it is proper to answer your mobile phone. She explained that, when in public spaces while others are around, she may answer the mobile phone for a minute or so, but would not remain on the phone for any longer. She also stated that she

would have no hesitation in telling someone else to get off the phone if need be. Throughout the interview, when asked if anyone had ever made any comments about her mobile phone etiquette, she said someone might have mentioned something in the past, but nothing too serious that she could recall. It appears that Kay does have control when it comes to utilizing the mobile phone.

Based on the findings, four out of six participants appear to have an addiction to the mobile phone. Two participants have admitted that they are addicted to the mobile phone, as opposed to another two participants, such as Shamie and Indeera who have not. This concept of addiction is thus relevant to the research, as it was a frequent theme among those who stated that they did not need their mobile phone around all the time, but pointed out individuals they noticed to be on their mobile phones a lot. They also maintained that being on mobile phone frequently was a form of bad etiquette.

FAMILY TIME

Family time as a concept was discussed by three out of the six participants. These participants stated that they believe that the mobile phone has taken away from the family's spending time with one another, because their other family members, such as their children or spouse, are constantly on their mobile phones. The other three participants did not mention this issue: Lee is a single woman with no children or spouse; Shamie has very young children who have no need to utilize a mobile phone at this point in time; and Kay focused her interview on how the mobile phone impacted her work life.

Sophia explained that when she tries to have a conversation with her husband or children, they are constantly on their mobile phones. Sophia began explaining how she feels when her children and spouse are constantly on their mobile phones:

"I feel like I have to book appointments to have a conversation with them… Sometimes I'm in the middle of a conversation with my husband and the phone rings. His customer calling, there's no time and place. It's like you can't see a number and let it go. Or see a twitter message or an Instagram posting… Focus on what you're doing." (Sophia 2014)

Later on in the interview, she explained that she tries to make a conscious effort to not utilize her mobile phone all the time, because other family members have a habit of doing so.

While conducting another interview with Sabie, my mother (Sophia) was also present. This topic came up yet again. She began talking about when she was younger, and how family life has since then changed:

I think for me our family life has changed because when kids were together we didn't have cell phones. If you come home at dinnertime, everybody is eating together and doing stuff. Today, sometimes you are eating, they are texting, and talking to someone… They are too hooked on the cell phone. Even for myself, too. (Sabie 2015)

She then stated that if the mobile phone did not exist, they would be spending time with each other, as opposed to spending time on the mobile phone. She explained that now everyone is busy doing things on their own, whereas if the mobile phone were not around, her and her children would have probably been eating and cooking together because they would have been forced to.

Like Sophia and Sabie, Indeera made a similar comment about how utilizing the mobile phone can be inappropriate at times. She did not directly state that she felt the mobile phone was infringing upon family time; however, based on the data, it appears that she does feel this way. Regarding inappropriate conduct and the mobile phone, she noticed that "a lot of people, sometimes at work and even now the kids, are only on their phone and I feel it's inappropriate. At dinnertime we are out to have dinner and you are sitting on your phone" (Indeera 2014). She mentioned throughout interview that she thought the younger generation, including her daughter, was on the mobile phone a lot. Based on the data gathered

from the three participants above, it is evident that the mobile phone has affected family time. Before the mobile phone, family members were giving their undivided attention to other family members. Since the mobile phone has arrived in the lives of these participants and their family members, they are noticing changes, which include disengagement with each other, as their children have now become preoccupied with their mobile phones. The participants explained that this is a breach of social etiquette of which they disapprove.

CHAPTER THREE: CONCLUSION

My case study on mobile phone etiquette provides a small glimpse into the relationship between technology and society in North America. My ethnography in everyday contexts, amongst a group of individuals who are of Guyanese ethnicity and who belong to the baby boom generation, has identified key themes in which technology has affected the social. Key themes identified are absence-presence, convenience, connection, means of expression, escape, technologies of the self, rules of conduct, tendency, habitus, anthropology of interaction, addiction, and family time.

The majority of my interlocutors have stated that the mobile phone has affected their social etiquette regarding this particular technology. This set of issues suggests that the mobile phone makes a difference in face-to-face settings, as the attention is being taken away from those present and given to the mobile phone. Many participants explain that this either makes others feel uncomfortable or disrupts the conversation for a brief period of time. This suggests that technology impacts the social in a negative way, as it is creating a disconnect between mobile phone users and those who are in their physical presence.

Findings also revealed that interlocutors developed specific tendencies regarding mobile phone use, depending on the context. Mobile phone users would not answer their phone if they were in a non-personal space, such as the workplace, whereas they would answer their phone when in a personal space, such as at home. Based on the data, these tendencies have been developed because of the social. This particular technology has influenced interlocutors social etiquette while at work, as a majority of participants do not utilize their mobile phone while at work; this suggests that the mobile phone influences the definite norms that have been established at the work place, which influences the behaviour of these individuals when they are in a non-personal space.

Based on the findings, there is also a discrepancy between what participants think is correct mobile phone etiquette and the habits they have developed. Participants have stated on numerous occasions that one should not be on the phone while in the presence of others, yet they have developed a habit of checking the phone when in the presence of others, suggesting the phone has taken precedence. Clearly, the mobile phone affects the actions of interlocutors in an unconscious manner, as they are not always explicitly aware of their actions. The data also suggests that the mobile phone has now taken priority over the social, as interlocutors are more engaged with their mobile phone, as opposed to the people in their presence.

Connectedness to others was revealed to be a major benefit of mobile phone use, as interlocutors explained that this was the main reason that they had mobile phones. Remaining connected to one's social circle is what all participants described as the purpose of their phone. The mobile phone allows individuals to connect with others when they are in personal or non-personal spaces. Interlocutors also mentioned that when they connect with others, it is generally considered to be a private conversation, as they do not want others to hear what they are speaking about, as this is deemed inappropriate. This study supports the interconnection between technology and society, as there is a clear need to belong and to be connected with others through the mobile phone.

While being connected to one's social group and having a sense of belonging was important to the participants, the data also suggested a sense of disconnect amongst family members. Interlocutors mentioned that when the mobile phone was utilized in personal spaces, such as in the home, feelings of exclusion surfaced. It appears that technologies such as the mobile phone, which give individuals the feeling of being connected and belonging to one's social group, can also alienate members of that social group, if the mobile phone is given preferential treatment. I also note that the anthropological study of everyday technologies such as the mobile phone is limited; therefore, my study contributes in a small way

to filling a gap in this area by exploring mobile phone etiquette in personal and non-personal spaces, in everyday interactions, and the importance of being connected to one's social circle.

The findings of this study provide a platform for future studies on this topic, as there remain more questions to be answered: As a result of absence-presence, will family time be completely eroded? Will the state of being absent-present become a norm, where individuals no longer notice that they are absent-present? Will the cell phone isolate individuals, preventing them from connecting with others who are not already in their social circle? In the future, as mobile phone users are becoming more addicted to their mobile phone, will this technology invade non-personal spaces such as the workplace? Will mobile phone users become dependent on their phone so that they no longer need face-to-face interaction? Will absence-presence become socially acceptable?

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