Emotion in the Social Practices of Mobile Phone Users

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ABSTRACT

*Emotion in the Social Practices of Mobile Phone Users*

This thesis explores emotions that are mediated via the mobile phone and how these emotions are managed and used in the presentation of self. It addresses the question 'How does emotion occur in the everyday use of mobile phones?' The topic is explored using data collected in interviews with UK mobile phone users aged over 40. These respondents' expressions about, comments on and descriptions of their emotional connection with and through their mobile phones are used to explicate how the emotions mediated via mobile phones impact on their everyday emotional lives.

Prior sociological research on the affective aspects of mobile phone use and on emotion in particular has been limited. Furthermore, most research on the social practices of mobile phone users has been published during the last nine years with studies typically investigating much younger respondents than those in this present study. Drawing on literature on the sociology of emotion and on the social practices of mobile phone users, this study uses the theories of Goffman on dramaturgy, Hochschild on emotion management and Silverstone and Hirsch on domestication to frame the research design and analysis.

The main findings of this study are that within this group of respondents the mobile phone has become a key component in the emotion management of their everyday lives, and that the emotion engendered by mobile phone use appears to have an effect on their sense of self. They use mobile phones extensively to manage the presentation of the self, as well as the emotional highs and lows of relationships and family commitments. It is also a repository of the emotional memories with which respondents interact. The older age of the respondents and the length of time they have used a mobile phone would appear to have some bearing on these findings and future studies on these aspects would further contribute to the body of research about emotion in the everyday use of mobile phones.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I was re-introduced to sociology and to mobile phone research in academia when I signed up BT Cellnet to participate in the STEMPEC project with the DWRC in the late 1990s. I never expected then that researching information and communication technologies and mobile communications users would become my new career and twelve years later I would be completing my Doctorate. I am most grateful to my Supervisors Geoff Cooper and Nicola Green for supporting and encouraging me throughout this present study with utmost patience and consideration, and who, together with the former Director of the DWRC Richard Harper, inspired my move from British Telecom to the University of Surrey. I am also indebted to my colleagues and friends especially those in the COST 298 network who have assisted my studies through international research projects, training schools and publications – in particular Joachim Höflich, Leopoldina Fortunati and Julian Gebhardt.

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1. INTRODUCING THE RESEARCH QUESTION

1.1 The Research Topic

I might, just occasionally, forget that I haven’t put my mobile phone back in my handbag, and then I feel completely exposed - I feel totally naked and exposed if I’ve left it at home. (June)

Emotions evoked by mobile phones, such as the anxiety and vulnerability that strikes when it is forgotten or mislaid, highlight just how much mobile phones have become integral to everyday life. Many people have their mobile phone with them at all times, or if not it is because they have chosen this course of action. To be unexpectedly separated from their phone can thus cause quite an extreme response, whether or not they have a need to use it. However, the mobile phone is not simply a device for summoning help when lost or in trouble, or to stay in contact with friends, family and business colleagues. In addition to these communications uses it appears, for some people, that the mobile phone has become closely associated with both the presentation of the self and the management of emotions in their day to day lives. For example mobile phones are used to demonstrate affiliations – such as with work colleagues - as well as to mediate love, anger, or a desire to be together. They are also used to hold precious memories from friends and family, such as in text messages and photographs, as well as in the association of a particular device with events and people. It is my interest in these links between mobile phone use, emotions, and the self that have prompted me to explore the circumstances in which emotions occur when using a mobile phone.

My aim for this thesis is to contribute new knowledge and research to the body of literature that examines the social practices of mobile phone users. The topic of this research thesis thus focuses on the aspects of mobile phone use pertinent to the sociological study of emotion, and in particular emotion with regard to the relationships, the memories and feelings the mobile phone engenders for its user. It seeks to address the question ‘How does emotion occur in the everyday use of
mobile phones?'' Accordingly, the present study explores, through the experiences of respondents aged over forty, the emotional effects of mobile phones on the presentation of the self and the role the mobile phone plays in stimulating, storing, concealing, managing and expressing emotion.

1.2 Background to the Research

My interest in the topic of this thesis arose from my own twenty years of experience working in the mobile phone industry and examining mobile phone use. This had led me to question just what is it that appears to make the mobile phone such a compelling communications device? And what is it that makes so many people desire a mobile phone, to keep it with them always, and use it anywhere they can? It seemed to me that something quite remarkable had happened with regard to the place that the mobile phone had acquired in people's lives and in the emotion that it appeared to engender. In this study I explore the topic through the experiences of forty respondents in the UK who talked to me about how they use, and have used, mobile phones in their day to day lives. The respondents, who had owned mobile phones for at least twelve years, were interviewed with regard to their own mobile phones, about mobile phones in general and the impact the phones had on them. All these respondents had also experienced adult life before mobile phones were publically available.

I began this present study from a position of considerable experience of mobile phone users, as well as having used a mobile phone myself since 1988. During the time I worked in the UK and internationally with mobile communications network operators, service providers, regulators, manufacturers, and latterly in academia, I had focussed on researching users of mobile phones and other information and communication technologies (ICTs). My work involved me in the continuous transfer of knowledge about the social practices of mobile phone users between different organisations. For example I was required to contribute to decisions about infrastructure and mobile phone designs, most particularly for the Global System for Mobile Communications (GSM) and later for the Universal Mobile
Telecommunications System (UMTS). This would support mobile communications services ten years hence although when the research started both GSM and UMTS had yet to be constructed or tried and tested outside of a research laboratory. I was asked when and for how long people would be using their mobile phone, where they would be when they used it, at what time of the day and what services they might choose. Examining the social practices of existing mobile phone and telephone users gave me many insights during the exponential growth of these still expanding digital cellular services, and I have been able to draw on this knowledge during the production of this thesis.

Research studies I conducted on mobile phone use for the industry organisation The UMTS Forum (Vincent and Harper 2003; Vincent and Haddon 2004) and for Vodafone UK (Vincent 2004; Hamill et al 2004) further developed my interest in the topic of this present study. I had presented some findings from these studies at international conferences\(^1\) during which I explored my ideas for examining emotion and mobile phones with the growing international network of researchers studying mobile phone use. This new research, a great deal of which was sociological, focused on the social practices of individual mobile phone users and the impact of these new and changing social practices on society. The role of emotion in the everyday use of mobile phones became increasingly apparent to me and it appeared that although people were not always prepared to admit that they were emotional about their mobile phone, they used emotion words to talk about it and to describe experiences in which it was used. This combination of emotion language and everyday life experience was important in determining my own approach to this research topic. Drawing on my own background in the social sciences, I too found that a sociological approach appeared to be best suited to examining the research problem. Indeed, at the time this study commenced literature on mobile phone users, and especially on emotion and mobile phones was limited to a few studies\(^2\) and, as I

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1 The 'Wireless World' series of conferences at the Digital World Research Centre at the University of Surrey (2002/2003); Communications in the 21st Century Conferences at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Nyiri 2003a; 2003b; 2003c), and the COST269 Conference User Aspects of ICTs (2003)

2 Fortunati 1997; Fortunati and Manganelli 1998 are the examples of ICT research that included emotion with regard to mobile phone use
aimed to make a contribution to this new area of research, developing complementary studies was thus most apposite within sociology. Furthermore as the new literature was mostly flowing from researchers presenting at the international conferences I continued to participate in them throughout the period of this present study. This enabled me to keep abreast of new developments and to have an insight into research projects that were not always accessible to me in the English language.

1.3 Growth of Mobile Phone Use

Over the last two decades people in the UK, and worldwide, have started to use mobile phones in many aspects of their life. Using one is not simply a matter of having a portable telephone, for as a sophisticated computational device mobile phones are now capable of much more than simple phone calls and text messages. The respondents in this present study have been using mobile phones for between twelve and twenty five years. During this time the demand for mobile phones has consistently exceeded all industry forecasts for growth and there are now over 5.3 billion mobile phone subscriptions worldwide (ITU 2010); it is estimated around half the world’s population have at least one mobile phone (GSM World 2010).

There are more Internet-enabled mobile phones than desktop computers and mobile phones now offer an array of media content and multi-media capability in addition to basic talk and text messaging. In the UK, there are now more actively used mobile phones than there are people indicating that many people have more than one phone. The amount to which people use their mobile phones varies considerably, some hardly ever use one but keep it for security, while others never let it out of their hand and are constantly connecting with someone. Others find different uses than communications such as to take pictures, to listen to music, to look at images, to play games and to manage their everyday lives - such as by using it as a diary, a clock, an alarm, for looking up contacts or for keeping notes - and as a means of always being available, regardless of location.

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3 This figure includes pay as you go and contract customers and reflects the ownership of multiple phones by some subscribers.

4 131.7 active mobile phone connections per 100 population in 2010 (Ofcom 2010)
Mobile phone use in the UK continues to increase year on year; some 86% of adults and slightly fewer children of all ages have access to a mobile phone, and each year a diminishing number of people never use one (Ofcom 2008). In addition to the increased use of mobile phones for voice calls, during 2009, an average of 265 million text messages were sent each day in the UK of which 1.6 million were picture and video messages5 (Mobile Data Association 2010). The wide ranging uses that people have for their mobile phone are made possible because of the technological advances that enable services on multiple media to converge via single devices such as the mobile phone (Jenkins 2006). In a recent study of media use by Ofcom it was noted that ‘23% of mobile handset owners use it to access data-related services such as the Internet’ (Ofcom 2010: 1) and the same report noted that many people also used their mobile phone concurrently with other media activities such as listening to music or using a computer.

Some of the history of mobile phones, how they came to be used and what might have influenced their adoption is examined here in order to provide the context within which the respondents had experienced their mobile phone use. It would be unwise to suggest the motivation for the creation of mobile phones was initially anything other than business and technologically led, but the tipping point (Gladwell 2000; Vincent and Harris 2008) for its transition to the ubiquitous global communications medium was indeed a surprise to even the most expert of business forecasters (Short 2007). In the UK, the early take up of mobile phones was initially dominated by the economic opportunities of the North Sea oil and fishing industries that led to coverage being provided in the late 1980s in Scotland and off shore in advance of many other UK cities, including parts of central London (Vincent and Harper 2003). This was an example of the socio-technical shaping of mobile communications (Mackenzie and Wajcman 1999), as the location and range of services offered were heavily influenced by user demand and industry value as well as the technological capabilities that enabled the connectivity. According to MacKenzie and Wajcman, the concept of the social shaping of technology had only

been accepted since the late 1990s prior to which technology was viewed more in terms of the effect it was having on society. They described this view of technological determinism as ‘a separate sphere, developing independently of society; following its own autonomous logic and then having ‘effects’ on society’ (MacKenzie and Wajcman 1999: XIV). Although originating from technological invention the development of the mobile phone (since the mid 1990s) has been considerably shaped by the aspirations of its users, and potential users, not least in the way that it has moved from being a business only product to one that is now embraced for personal and business use alike (Vincent et al 2005; Colombo and Scifo 2005).

In the UK mobile phones were initially used almost exclusively by business people and ‘Young Urban Professionals’ (Yuppies) and they were perceived by many non-users as a display of what Veblen (1899) called ‘conspicuous consumption’ and as a demonstration of status and position in society (Williams 1982, Geser 2005a). Many of the respondents in the present study were early adopters of mobile phones as a result of being given them to use in their employment. The transition of the mobile phone from exclusive business tool to an everyday product for personal and business use, was enabled by many factors not least the arrival of text messaging (Levinson 2004; Taylor and Vincent 2005; Goggin 2005; Hillebrand et al 2010) and an affordable and ubiquitous service (one that provided assured coverage in most locations). Prepay mobiles introduced in the mid 1990s that could be bought without the need for a contract or a permanent home address meant that creditworthiness and residency were no longer a prerequisite for their use (Ling and Donner 2009), making them easier to acquire. In the UK, mobile phones have been easily accessible to all since the late 1990s, and for many have replaced the house phone (Ofcom 2010). They have certainly seen the demise of the public payphone with some payphones in UK telephone boxes now being preserved for their touristic and sentimental value rather than their communications value (Taylor and Vincent 2005). The mobile phone has now moved from being a device associated with Yuppies and business, to an everyday and essential communications device with ubiquitous coverage and usage nationally.
Writing in 2006 de Souza e Silva referred to this ubiquity of the mobile phone stating that:

As long as cell [mobile] phones are ubiquitous, they can also be regarded as tools, since they turn out to be so natural that one does not even perceive they are being used. (de Souza e Silva 2006: 26)

The concept of the transparency of the mobile phone she develops (namely that it is taken for granted) builds on Meyrowitz's (1985) earlier analysis on the unobtrusiveness of the telephone. This suggests that the mobile phone has become such an integrated part of everyday life that people do not think about it as a mobile phone, but as the means of communication – one thinks about the person with whom one is communicating with first rather than the device. Indeed, the twenty-first century has seen mobile phones become integrated with many other electronic computational devices such as the MP3 music player; television; games console; health and fitness monitors and the World Wide Web (Harper 2005; Jenkins 2006). This small wireless computational device now has an extraordinary range of capabilities and uses (Northam 2006) and, following the pattern of the 'convergence of modes' (de Sola Pool 1983: 23) that combined electronic communications in the early 20th century, the mobile phone now pervades many information and communication technologies of the 21st century (Jenkins 2006; Ling and Donner 2009).

1.4 The Structure of the Thesis

This first chapter forms the introduction to my thesis. It describes the research problem and the background to the thesis, and in this section an outline of the structure of the thesis. The second chapter examines the developing literature that provides the theoretical frameworks for understanding emotion and mobile phone use. Much of the literature on mobile phone use included in this review has been published since I began this present study in 2004 and it has thus informed the research design and the analysis on a continuous basis during the course of the
research. This research has followed an interactionist approach and has thus incorporated my own reflexivity in the gathering of material and analysis of data. The interactionist studies in the research literature that examine mobile phone users are predominantly based on Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical theory and his work on the presentation of the self. In this study of mobile phone users Goffman's work offers an approach to understanding how emotions are presented to others, and I turn to Silverstone and Hirsch's (1992) work on domestication for an understanding of how the mobile phone has been incorporated into everyday life.

Chapter 3 builds on the literature reviewed in Chapter 2 by examining the study of emotion in sociology from an interactionist perspective. The chapter examines the development of some of this work from its beginnings in the nineteenth century to the present day and follows the considerable discourse on the topic that builds on Goffman's work in particular. Sociologists and researchers from other disciplines have informed and developed definitions of emotion in their research, and some of these are also discussed in this chapter. The work of Hochschild (2003a), that examines the feeling rules and emotion management which people use in their work and private lives, is explored to develop an understanding of the more intimate private emotions involved in managing the self and the relationships with others in everyday life.

The fourth chapter outlines the research design and describes the methods used in the collection and analysis of the data. As the present study is about the previously less studied emotional aspects of mobile phone use the research design necessitated an approach that would capture emotion responses to the mobile phone elicited by the respondent. Further, emotion and mobile phones used by people aged over forty has not previously been researched as a specific research topic. Accordingly this chapter begins by exploring some different approaches that could be used to examine the topic before looking in detail at the research design and the chosen methods for the qualitative data collection and analysis, namely open ended interviews and narrative analysis.

The fifth, sixth and seventh chapters comprise the analysis of the interviews with mobile phone users that explore and examine the research question. Chapter 5
examines how the respondents' acquire and personalise their mobile phones, exploring emotions in the relationship the interviewees had with their mobile phone. The chapter covers four themes, desirability, disappointment, dependability and nostalgia. The role of the mobile phone in these respondents' everyday lives is examined from their perspective regarding their choice of device, the way they use it and how they feel about it. The interview approach allowed the respondents to relate stories about their mobile phone use over the period of time they had owned a phone and this led to their looking back to past times which had been particularly memorable.

Chapter 6 examines respondents' emotions and their mobile phones with regard to the personal and private aspects of its use, exploring the emotion that is elicited through interaction with the mobile phone that does not directly involve others. It examines this through three themes: personalising the mobile phone is about how the mobile phone becomes uniquely associated with the respondent and their self. The second theme examines how this personalised device is then used to sustain emotion in life experiences such as through phone numbers and ring tones. The last theme in this chapter explores emotion experiences evoked by the mobile phone that in are some way influencing the respondent's feelings and their subjectivity. The chapter draws on Mead's (1967: 174) explanation of the representations of the self (that refer to the 'I' and the 'me'), and Hochschild's interpretation of the transfer of feelings between the 'I' and the 'me' (discussed in chapter 3) is used to highlight the delicate balancing of respondents' inner feelings and their effects on their subjectivities.

In Chapter 7 the emotion examined is elicited by interaction with people through the relationships the mobile phone mediates. The always on always available capability of the mobile phone is vital to sustaining these relationships and the three themes examined here differ from the previous chapters in that they are about the emotions stimulated by interaction with others rather than with the mobile phone or the self. The first theme, constant presence, refers to emotion mediated via the mobile phone as a result of the respondents being able to feel as if they are in the presence of their friends and family although they may be thousands of miles apart. The second theme examines the negative effects on the respondents of the expectations of others to be
always available, or to worry about missing a communication even when it is unexpected. The final theme in this chapter explores how emotion mediated via the mobile phone has come to strengthen emotional contact between the respondents and their interlocutors.

Each of the analysis chapters contains a section of concluding thoughts arising from the discussions and these are further developed in the concluding chapter which delivers the main findings of the thesis. It begins by reviewing the main points from each chapter leading on to a discussion of the key findings and finishing with the implications for future studies. In addition to the bibliography and glossary of terms the document includes in Appendix 1 the interview brief used for the fieldwork, and the information to prospective interviewees and the interviewee consent form are in Appendices 2 and 3. Appendix 4 contains details of the respondents who participated in this present study. Appendix 5 contains a record of papers I have given at conferences, workshops and seminars that pertain to this present study, and my publications arising from the Doctoral research.
2. CONCEPTUALISING MOBILE PHONE USE

This is first of two chapters which reviews the literature that examines emotion in relation to the social practices of mobile phone users. Chapter 2 explores how the phenomenon of the mobile phone appears to be such an integral and emotionally important part of so many people’s lives. It explores research on emotion aspects of mobile phone use and examines the theoretical perspectives used in the research by others. In Chapter 3 the definition of emotion is explored through examination of the complementary sociological discourse on emotion. It discusses how it is situated socially with regards to interaction with the body and the self, and in relation to others.

When I began this study in 2004 research on the topic of mobile phone users was relatively sparse considering their use worldwide, and although today there is an increasingly diverse and burgeoning literature on mobile phone research, there remains a dearth of material that specifically examines emotions in relation to mobile phone use. Nevertheless, human emotion with regard to feelings, memories and relationships mediated via the mobile phone had been explored as a corollary to other research topics that emerged from mobile phone studies, or as a finding from broader research on information communication technologies (Green et al 2001; Palen at al 2001; Plant 2002; Katz and Aakhus 2002; Vincent and Harper 2003; Fortunati et al 2003). The focus of this review is the emotion involved in using a mobile phone that pertains particularly to the relationships it sustains and the memories it embodies. Not all literature exploring emotion and mobile phones is necessarily pertinent to the analysis here, and thus literature that explores some affective elements of mobile phone use such as the emotional design of the device itself (Norman 2004), affective computing technologies (Picard 1997), or the close scrutiny of the words spoken between interlocutors (Licoppe and Heurtin 2001), is not germane to the research question explored here and is not included in this review.
Accordingly, in this chapter the topic of emotion in the social practices of mobile phone users is explored through a number of different research areas in which relationships, memories and emotion feature. The chapter begins by contextualising the literature, exploring material that is not necessarily about mobile phone use, but which has been used by researchers of mobile phone users to examine their findings. Arising out of this discourse are several strands, the first of which discusses the theoretical foundations for mobile phone research, leading on to the literature on absent and co-presence. This approach also shapes the analysis in chapters 5 - 7 where some of the literature is explored in more detail.

2.1 Contextualising the Research

Research on mobile phone users conducted by organisations, such as network operators and mobile phone manufacturers, within the mobile communications industry has of course been conducted since the first availability of mobile phones in the 1970s but it remained largely inaccessible to academia. Furthermore, research about mobile phone use that supported technological and engineering developments tended to refer to international telecommunications standards for guidance on user requirements, as in the work of the International Telecommunications Union (ITU) and the European Telecommunications Standards Institute (ETSI) (Goggin 2006; Tafazzoli 2006; Daniels and Channing 2008). Additionally some studies have been published by the mobile communications industry organisations such as the UMTS Forum, the GSA and the GSMA. This is possibly a reflection of the continued dominance of technologically led developments in information and communication technologies (ICTs) during this period and also of the demand for quantitative data to support business growth and investment.

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6 Universal Mobile Telecommunications System Forum http://www.umts-forum.org/
7 Global Mobile Suppliers Association http://www.gsacom.com
8 GSM Association http://www.gsmworld.com
The development of academic research on the social practices of mobile phone users during this time was slow to start and it is interesting to note that although mobile phones have been available in the UK since the mid 1980s, (and earlier in some other countries such as Norway and Finland), academic studies that explored the ways people incorporated them into their day to day lives did not really commence until the end of the 1990s and early 2000s. Notable exceptions within the academic community, however, were the studies by the COST248 group (including Haddon 1997; Ling 1997; Bassett et al 1997) that built an agenda for future research on mobile telephony taken up by researchers from the COST 248, COST269 and COST298 networks worldwide. In addition there was a four year study on mobile communications by the Digital World Research Centre (Green et al 2001; Green 2002; Cooper et al 2002), and two reports for the UMTS Forum (Vincent and Harper 2003; Vincent and Haddon 2004) that addressed the topic of the social shaping of technology, and more particularly what could be learned from the social practices of mobile phone users that could be used to better inform the design of future mobile phone services. Notably the two studies for The UMTS Forum specifically addressed this topic following industry recognition that technologically dominated product design had failed to deliver commercially successful outcomes in the past, such as the rejection by mobile phone users of the much vaunted WAP (wireless application protocol) that was an early and unsuccessful attempt to offer internet–style services on the mobile phone (Vincent, et al 2005; Goggin 2006).

Publications by Plant (2002), Katz and Aakhus (2002) and Brown et al (2002) augmented this early portfolio of research that built on a similar research agenda to that of the COST248 group. These various studies particularly noted the changing behaviours of mobile phone use in public and private places and the effects of the expectations that arise from the constant connectivity that the mobile phone facilitated such as in this example from Plant’s research:

There can be something comical about the mobile user attempting the difficult task of managing a call whose purpose and emotional

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9 COST248 was funded by the European Science Foundation (1995 – 1999) and lead to continuing research on ICTs including mobile phones in subsequent research actions COST269 (2000–2004) and COST298 (2006 – 2010).
registers are at odds with those [...] around them: the conversation with a lover on a train, or with an irate boss in a bar. Certain conversations can induce emotional and bodily responses which may be quite incompatible with their perceptions of their physical location. Their participants often look as though they don’t quite know what to do with themselves, how to reconfigure the tones of voice and postures which would normally accompany such conversation. The mobile requires its users to manage the intersection of the real present and the conversational present in a manner that is mindful of both. (Plant 2002: 50)

It was clear from these studies that researching mobile phone use was not simply a matter of examining communications or observing human behaviours in public and private spaces. Instead, it became apparent that mobile phone use involved a complex interwoven fabric of relationships, work life balance, the different ways that people acquired and made use of mobile phones and how, over the past twenty or so years, they had become embedded into the everyday life of UK citizens in society. The notion of emotion in relation to mobile phones recognised in the quote from Plant above was also noted by Vincent and Harper who stated that:

People do have a distinct and essentially emotional relationship with their mobile phone. This reflects what the phone enables them to do in terms of being in touch with those they are close to, in the way that the mobile enables emotional and spontaneous behaviours, and in the ways in which people account for and think about their phones. (Vincent and Harper 2003: 17)

There are indeed similarities between the appropriation (Silverstone and Hirsch 1992) of the mobile phone and other ICTs such as the television, personal computer and fixed line telephone. Within this relatively new domain of academic research on the mobile phone many studies have treated the mobile phone as yet another electronically mediated communications device alongside other ICTs. However, as will be explored in this thesis, the mobile phone appears to have some distinctive qualities that set it apart from other ICT, not least in how it has come to be used in
everyday lives (Vincent and Harper 2003). Some research explores the user experience from a comparative perspective with the fixed telephone (Haddon et al 2005; Haddon 2005a, 2005b; Hamill and Lasén 2005), and even to the television with references to McLuhan (1964) and Meyrowitz (1985) who were writing on the concept of electronic mediation long before the mobile phone came into everyday use. Whilst there are indeed similarities with the mass adoption of these ICTs, a particular difference is how, in the UK (and in Western countries), most mobile phones are used only by their owners, and are rarely shared within a household. By way of contrast the radio, the television, the fixed line telephone and even the home personal computer were shared within households, with communications on radio and television being targeted at a mass audience rather than a small group known personally to each other as is the situation with mobile phones (Haddon and Vincent 2005). Thus, although they have in common the electronic mediation of communication, the mobile phone differs in numerous ways from these previous technologies, particularly in the locations where it can be used, and where it is kept when not in use, e.g. in a pocket or handbag or immediately to hand on a desk (Lasén 2005). As Ling notes, the role and use of the telephone prior to the advent of mobile phones was not the same as in the present day, when seemingly everyone has their own personal phone and has no need to share a public phone booth, household phone, or dormitory phone (Ling 2008: 69). Indeed, this use of a mobile phone in public, only made possible after the introduction of 'hands free' pocket phones in the 1990s, brought to the fore the issue of clashes between public and private behaviours already encountered with some other electronic media, and illustrated by this quote from Meyrowitz:

Many Americans may no longer seem to “know their place” because the traditionally interlocking components of “place” have been split apart by electronic media. Wherever one is now – at home, at work or in a car – one may be in touch and tuned in. (Meyrowitz 1985: 308)

There is now a growing and highly useful body of research that is examining how people are incorporating the mobile phone into their everyday lives and some suggested reasons for this. It is also beginning to explore the feelings and emotions of the users when they carry out these activities related to mobile phones. This wide
ranging research on mobile phone users has examined what people are doing with their mobile phone, how they behave in public and private and who they are communicating with (Ling 2004; Haddon 2005c; Höflich 2005; Ling and Pederson 2005; Katz 2003a, 2008; Ito and Okabe 2005; Nyiri 2005, 2007a; 2007b; 2009; Rössler and Höflich 2005; Kavoori and Arceneaux 2006; Castells et al 2007; Qui 2007; Sapió et al 2007a; 2007b; Ling and Donner 2009; Loos et al 2008; Pierson et al 2008; Vincent and Fortunati 2009; Fortunati et al 2010; Gebhardt et al 2010; Höflich et al 2010). The material gathered in these studies is diverse and their research methodologies are mostly qualitative. However, a great deal of this research about mobile phone use is based on observational studies and questionnaires. Whilst the findings provide important contributions to this body of research, data gathered in this way does not yet enable a number of more searching questions to be answered that seek to explore why and how people are using their mobile phones, what their feelings are about them and how their emotions might affect their mobile phone use. Some of the qualitative research on the usage habits of mobile phone users is beginning to give insights into these questions, such as research by Höflich (2009) which used breaching experiments (following Garfinkel’s model) to explore people’s responses in public to the sound of an unanswered mobile phone whose owner was ignoring rather than answering it. Other research that examined mobile phone use by keeping diary records and exploring details of talk and text usage have also produced some valuable insights, as well as comparisons between observed behaviours and the actual reasons for it (Cumiskey 2005; Rettie 2007; Light 2009; Fortunati 2009a; Vincent 2009). This is demonstrative of a growing body of research that seeks to develop a wider and deeper understanding of the social practices of mobile phone users that provides insights into their expression of emotion, their feelings and their subjectivity.

2.2 Social Interaction and the Mobile Phone

Social theory with regard to the appropriation of mobile phones, and emotion in the social practices of mobile phone users, is still in the early stages of development. Sociologists have sought to explain this rapid take up of mobile phones, and the
apparent dependence and attachment that some people appear to have to it (Katz and Aakhus 2002; Geser 2005b; Hulme and Truch 2005; Ling 2008; Fortunati 2009b; Vershinskaya 2010). However, developing new social theory when the topic itself is not yet fully explored nor understood obviously presents challenges, and not all approaches are successful. The relationships between the user and their device, what they use it for and how it forms part of their day to day life are also explored in other disciplines. This complementary research is also informing the sociological discourse, such as in the aforementioned transdisciplinary research of the COST groups that offered a locus for debate and study, and the work of others who explore the use of mobile phones from the perspectives of economics (Laffont and Tirole 2000; Groebel et al. 2006), technology (Haug 1994; Webb 2001; Huber and Huber 2002; Hillebrand 2002; 2010; Trosby 2004; Taffazoli 2006; Jenkins 2006) and linguistics (Crystal 2008; Esposito and Vich 2009). The theoretical approach favoured by many sociologists respects the traditional approach of the interactionists building on the work of Goffman and in particular his analysis of the presentation of the self (1959). This is discussed in more detail in the first strand of this theoretical analysis, followed by the domestication theory of Silverstone and Hirsch (1992) and finally discussion of developing concepts addressing the electronically mediated properties of mobile phone use and the emotion associated with it.

2.2.1 Front Stage: Back Stage

Early reference to Goffman’s relevance to the topic of the mobile phone user was originally mooted in the aforementioned COST248 studies (Ling 1997). In his work, Ling notes that Goffman explored the use of the telephone, albeit briefly, and that in his early writings he saw the telephone as being used only privately (Ling 2008). However, in later writings, Goffman considered the use of telephones in more public spaces and commented on the behaviour of those who were co-present. Ling identifies some clear analogies with mobile phone behaviours in the observations of Goffman on the use of fixed line telephones, such as the way that co-present others change their behaviour when a telephone call is answered, allowing the recipient of the call (and thus the telephone as well) to be the dominant party. Writing before the advent of mobile phones, Goffman’s perspicacious and detailed analysis of human
behaviour nevertheless provides an appropriate frame for the exploration of mobile phone use (Goffman 1956; 1959; 1966; 1967; 1971; 1974; Höflich 2003).

Goffman’s dramaturgical approach uses a metaphorical description to examine the meaning and actions of humans, viewing life as if it is being conducted on a stage on which people are continually presenting their self to others as if they are actors on that stage. This means people have to develop a form of what Goffman termed ‘information management’ in order to ensure others perceive them in the way they intend; their performances are played out in the context of the moment and influenced by those co-present. In his discourses on the presentation of self (1959) and interaction ritual (1967), Goffman offers explanations for the ways people manage their response to others – the form people adopt (i.e. their behaviour in particular situations), and how they deal with the unexpected by putting on a ‘face’\textsuperscript{10}. Goffman articulates this by exploring the behaviours of people when in the presence of others. People, he argues, have different ways of presenting themselves; front stage being those aspects of the self one is prepared to show in front of others, and back stage behaviours, those one is not prepared to make explicit or share without consideration. It is as if back stage a person is taking off their performance mask and revealing more of the self.

How one should behave in public and private was also explored by Goffman in his concept of ‘face-work’, and the ‘line’ one should follow to maintain one’s face. The influence of friends and family was central to the particular face one might adopt and, once established, the line that accords to that face must be followed. Furthermore, front stage and back stage behaviours could be played out in public or private space with strangers and/or familiars (those people who know each other in some way). Although there is a tendency towards an assumption that back and front are analogous to private and public, this perhaps owes more to consideration of the location of the behaviours (in a public or private place) than about the social setting - and indeed, in his examination of behaviour in public places, Goffman (1966) asserts that:

\textsuperscript{10} ‘face’ refers to the way that a person presents themselves to others. They will have different faces for dealing with different people and/or different situations.
Public order traditionally refers more to the regulation of face to face interaction among those members of a community who are not well acquainted than it does to the interaction occurring in private walled-in places where only familiars meet. (Goffman 1966: 9)

Goffman’s work on people and their behaviours continues to be used by others in studies that use observation as a data source for researching the social practices of mobile phone users, such as Murtagh (2002) Höflich (2005, 2009), Fortunati (2005c), Humphries (2005) and Schlote and Linke (2010). Clearly there is a significant point of difference between Goffman’s studies, which were largely based on the observation of co-present people who are communicating, and mobile phone research, where the observation is of people who are visibly communicating with others who are not co-present. However, Goffman’s assertion that ‘co-presence renders people uniquely accessible, available and subject to one another’ (Goffman 1966: 22) warrants further investigation when considered in the context of mobile phone use, for, as is discussed later in this chapter, the observed and reported behaviours of the mobile phone interlocutors is as if they are co-present, hence the relevance of Goffman’s research to this topic.

An example of mobile phone research that has highlighted the difference between what might be expected from one person’s front stage behaviour and that of others is the study by Höflich, which examined the effects of the mobile phone on others in public space (Höflich 2005). This investigation was conducted by observing mobile phone users in a piazza in Udine. Höflich describes how people telephoning on their mobile phone were observed to continue to move about within the piazza but somehow it appeared to the observer that they were no longer in that place or with those who were present.

\[\text{The individual releases himself/herself from co-operation with others to the point that he/she (temporarily) ignores their presence. Yet, after the telephone call, the individual has to find his/her way back into the here and now of his/her real surroundings. (Höflich 2005: 167)}\]
It is as if the people telephoning transferred the locus of their emotion from the piazza to the performance place – the telephone call and its participants. Ferraris (2005) had posed a similar question to Höflich with regard to a situation he had observed:

Two people are walking and talking in the street. At a certain point the cell phone rings and one of the two starts talking to a third person with all her gestures directed at the absent third party and not at the person next to her. It is a nice question to ask where, precisely, is the person who is replying to the cell phone? (Ferraris 2005: 41)

Judes and Stevens (2007) also referred to this in their research on young people using mobile phones on public transport in London, as did Lasén (2004) who studied mobile phone use in public places in three cities.

Goffman's dramaturgy and his notion of front and back stage behaviours has provided a conceptual framework for Höflich and others to look more deeply into the social practices of mobile phone users. Fortunati (2005c) exploring the role of the mobile phone and the self has investigated the backstage activities of the user. She postulates that the ease with which people can use their mobile phone in public space has made its use for backstage behaviours 'irresistible'. Examining the emotions associated with mobile phone use and public space she alerts us to the loss of the intimacy of the back stage and she asserts that: [...] 'we have lost awareness of social space as a place of control' (Fortunati 2005c: 217). In other words the mobile phone user is not affected by their proximity to others in a public place (most notably strangers), when making mobile phone calls to their friends and family. This is further exemplified by Höflich's findings:

[...] a certain "sense of place" exists. This is evidenced in one way as orientation in space [...] but also in the (non-verbal) cues telephonists[11] use to show that they are only temporarily stepping

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[11] Höflich uses the term telephonist to describe the mobile phone user
Collectively these studies give an indication as to how one might examine emotion in social practices in relation to the use of mobile phones, and the relationships that are mediated by them. Furthermore they also give some indication of the emotional intensity of a communication that can apparently transport the mobile phone user into different (virtual) public and private spaces, albeit physically in the same public location. Studies that are mostly about the observed behaviours of others (following Goffman who focused on observations of the behaviours of the co–present) also give the observer an idea of why particular actions might occur. However, they do not enable the examination of the more personal and emotional aspects of the relationships mediated through the device without the benefit of further questioning that explores the subjective and experiential aspects with the subjects observed. It is also impossible to learn from observation how the content of calls, or the information the mobile phone contains, can affect the subjectivity of its user. Assumptions made about emotional responses, such as agitation, crying, smiling and laughter, could also be misconstrued.

Some research reports the effect on others who are co–present, but questions about the mobile phone user’s behaviour remain unanswered (Ling 2008; Höflich 2009). One can see that an emotion has been elicited by a conversation or a response to a message, but it is not necessarily clear if this is a positive or negative response. This leaves a certain ambiguity in the meaning of the communication and in the meaning of the mobile phone for the user. This is because, despite this lack of knowledge about the content and meaning of the communication, it is clear from these studies that there is a considerable blurring and confusion between these front and back stage behaviours now that the mobile phone is so freely and widely used almost anywhere. This blurring of the boundaries is further compounded when one considers aspects of co–presence and how this is being interpreted by the mobile phone user in their backstage behaviours. For example they may be treating someone who they are talking to on their mobile phone as being co–present whilst choosing to ignore others who are physically present. It is as if backstage one is whispering between familiars so that only those for whom the information is
intended will hear it (Goffman 1966: 17), although patently others not involved in
the communication can, in fact, overhear.

Goffman had determined from his research that people would develop ways to
overcome a particular situation in which they felt awkward and embarrassed and this
would inform their behaviour the next time they found themselves in a similar
situation (Goffman 1967: 111). He also commented that this might have an effect on
the ways an individual dealt with a particular encounter and that they might not
always resolve the matter to their own benefit. This, he suggested, implied a certain
amount of elasticity within the social structure which, in turn would have
necessitated flexibility in dramaturgical information management. As highlighted in
the above example from Plant (2002), the mobile phone user may be left with some
conflicting feelings about how they should respond to the plethora of
communications mediated via their mobile phone that happen, regardless of
location, propinquity or time of day. Perhaps, however, through their use of the
mobile phone they are able to play out their backstage and front stage feelings
regardless of location (often in a public place) or whether their feelings are private.

2.2.2 Domestication

Another useful model for examining mobile phone use is the domestication theory
of Silverstone and Hirsch, (Silverstone, Hirsch and Morley 1992; Silverstone and
Hirsch 1992; Silverstone and Haddon 1996; Silverstone 1999). Originated from the
concept of taming or domesticating a wild animal, it was initially developed to
explicate the way objects, such as the television or the land-line telephone, were
incorporated into the household domestic setting. The theory of domestication was
born out of the exploration of the consumption of goods, why they are chosen, what
people feel about them and how possessions are organised and used (Haddon 2007b:
26). Domestication offered an explanation of how people adopt and adapt
technologies for their everyday use in ways that reflected their own needs both
within the home and in organisations, such as in the work place. In so doing it
acknowledged that people were capable of making meanings for the technologies
that reflected themselves rather than the deterministic approach of its producer.
Furthermore, as Berker et al (2006) suggested, domestication also provided a
complementary position to Rogers' much cited 'diffusionism' (Rogers 1962) challenging 'the linearity and overtly rationalistic bias of this model' (Berker et al 2005: 5). According to Rogers the decision to adopt a technology occurs over a period of time during which its adoption is strongly influenced by its lead users (or early adopters) and their perceptions of the added contribution it makes to them and their organisation.

Domestication has been used by other researchers examining ICTs, including mobile phones (Nafus and Tracey 2002; Haddon 2003; Ling 2004; Morley 2006; Sørensen 2006). However, because of the increasing mobility of telecommunications and ICTs and with the availability of portable devices more generally, domestication theory had to move into a more individual domain that brought the domestic into public space and into the 'bubble' (Bassett 2005: 38; Judes and Stevens 2007), that surrounds the mobile phone user.

Silverstone revisited the discourse on domestication (2006) and highlighted that mobile phones represented a new phase of domestication that was demonstrative of the constant renegotiation of the use and the role of the device in the life of the user and which differs from its role in their home.

Domestication as a process of bringing things home – machines and ideas, values and information – which always involves the crossing of boundaries: above all those between the public and the private, and between proximity and distance, is a process which also involves their constant renegotiation. (Silverstone 2006: 233)

This 'constant renegotiation' has resulted in the transition of domestication from the intimacy of the relationship with technology occurring in the household, to the intimacy of the relationship occurring between individuals and technologies in any location. This point is explicated by Morley who posits that there might even be a situation where the home is being de-domesticated in favour of the privatisation of
public space, a situation that began with the Walkman\textsuperscript{12} but which has now been overtaken by the mobile phone as "the privatizing (or individualizing) technology of our age, par excellence" (Morley 2006: 34). Prior to the availability of mobile phones everyday occurrences communicated via the telephone could not take place anywhere, and private moments that involved the use of the telephone were negotiated within households. The mobile phone has now enabled these communications to take place in any location and this has meant people will make and receive communications on any topic almost anywhere rather than in the familiar setting of their home. This change in setting has meant that people have added proximity and location in public space to the management of their communications. As Morley further asserts:

The mobile phone is, amongst other things, a device for dealing with our anxieties about the problems of distance created by our newly mobile lifestyles and with the emotional 'disconnectedness'\textsuperscript{13} that this geographical distance symbolises for us. (Morley 2006: 35)

Morley has highlighted the spatial and emotional factors that are involved in the privatisation of public space as he questions where the boundaries of domestication lie. Sørensen's (2006) research on the enactment of technology is also exemplary of the renewed interest in domestication as a result of the impact of the mobile phone in society. He used a study\textsuperscript{14} of mobile phone users to illustrate his articulation of moral issues in the domestication process. His analysis referred to the morality of the mobile phone and how, during the domestication process, people struggle to find moral norms that are acceptable to all. Moreover, people felt there should be some form of normative behaviour that regulated appropriate actions although there was little evidence that this might be forthcoming (Sørensen 2006: 55). Part of the process of the establishment of moral norms as discussed here could be also be how people respond to the use or display of mobile phones in public places. This bears

\textsuperscript{12} The Sony Walkman popularised the use of personal portable music (MP3) players (du Gay et al 1997)

\textsuperscript{13} Morley cites Tomlinson (2001) for this parenthesis reference.

\textsuperscript{14} His sample of 21 interviewees from Norway is also relevant to this present study as his respondents were aged 25 – 60 (Sørensen 2006)
some relationship to Veblen's (1899) discourse on conspicuous consumption which examined the ostentatious display of ownership to demonstrate one's wealth and status in society. This conspicuous display of mobile phone use in public is a further indication of the crossing of the boundaries to which Silverstone refers resulting in a renegotiation of what might be acceptable or unacceptable behaviour with regards to mobile phone use in public space.

Although domestication theory is used to good effect to explore the integration of the mobile phone device into people's everyday lives, such as de Souza e Silva's discussion of the transparency of the mobile phone (de Souza e Silva 2006), this only accounts for some of the ways the mobile phone has become so embedded into people's emotional lives and in their communications with their friends and family in particular.

By combining domestication with the concept of face-work in the exploration of mobile phone use one can begin to unravel the complexities of ways people might be feeling and making meaning with regard to their mobile phone use. Why, for example, they feel compelled to respond to incoming calls and texts and why they never leave home without their mobile phone.

2.2.3 E–Actors and Electronic Emotion

The pursuit of new social theory applicable to explaining the use of mobile phones continues to be a point of debate amongst sociologists conducting mobile phone research. It is recognised that social theory developed exclusively for the mobile phone is perhaps ambitious and unnecessary given the latter's close links with the ICT portfolio of electronically mediated communications devices (Fortunati 2010). However, there are two concepts explored here that have emerged from the COST network of researchers which do contribute towards a greater understanding of emotion in the social practices of mobile phone users and perhaps towards this developing social theory. The first of these is the concept of the e–actor (Vershinskaya 2010; Fortunati 2010) and the second is the notion of electronic emotion (Vincent and Fortunati 2009), both of which address the symbiotic relationship between the mobile phone and its user, as well as the ambiguities of the
conflicting front and back stage behaviours discussed above. These studies emerged from a research programme that had examined 'participation in broadband society', and before examining these relevant emotion concepts, what is meant by broadband society is first explained.

Broadband refers to the technological capability that delivers information and communications technology (ICT), especially the Internet and mobile phones, and broadband society is defined as follows:

The term Broadband Society is used to characterise a society in which information has not only become the primary economic commodity, as it defines the information society, but where people’s instant access to a wide variety of modes of information and communication (made up of sounds, images, texts) is becoming a common and – to a certain extent, in certain contexts – indispensable feature of their everyday lives. (Fortunati et al 2010: 9).

The e–actor, an electronic actor, describes a person who is acting in this broadband society, the electronic space and the virtual world that is the domain of ICTs (Vershinskaya 2010). Following Goffman’s dramaturgical approach, the e–actor is performing on an electronically mediated stage, and the uncertainty (their own and also that of others) as to whether they are performing front or back stage is being managed through a mutual understanding of the face-work this involves. Their performance is played out through their use of ICTs, and most particularly their mobile phone.

e–Actors is a term that defines social actors viewed under the lens of their relationship with ICT […] They possess a common cognitive reference framework with regard to technology, have a specific competence, share common attitudes and social practices and share common language and communication resources. They are therefore recognisable as stable social figures since they form a kind of wholeness for others and for themselves, and they share a common life world and a common social reality. (Fortunati 2010: 33)
Each e-actor has a usage pattern and behaviour unique to them; this is their own e-portrait. The e-portrait can be 'painted' in numerous ways using a variety of data sources based on the e-activities the e-actor performs and which together 'give us a picture of a person showing what part of his/her life has become digital' (Vershinskaya 2010: 181). Vershinskaya discusses the implications of these new concepts of e-activity, e-actor and e-portrait with regard to the advent of an 'action oriented multi disciplinary theory'. The complexity of the component parts of the simple term e-actor begins to take shape when one considers just how much interaction this involves – as Vershinskaya makes it clear:

> Computer skills are not enough, to conduct e-activity - one has to have advanced information skills such as awareness of an information need, definition of the sources of information, comparison of information from different sources and choosing the best, using the information when making a decision and disseminating it to the interested people. (Vershinskaya 2010: 182)

Thus from a situation in which technology was at times viewed as a separate entity and interaction determined by or reflective of engineering and technology design, we now have a situation where the mobile phone user is an actor in electronic space in which neither the technology nor the e–actor is subservient to the other. Instead, the concept of acting in electronic space refers to the activities the mobile phone user performs whilst using their phone; activities that are completely reliant on the mobile phone and which could not happen without it. Such a close relationship as this does not, however, demand expert knowledge and/or a thorough understanding of technology. The user is for the most part, not interested in knowing how it works rather they simply like to use it (Longo 2003; Fortunati, Lee and Lin 2008; Fortunati and Vincent 2009).

At the heart of this relationship between the mobile phone and the user is the role the mobile phone plays in mediating communications and thus in mediating emotion. In their discussion of electronic emotion Fortunati and Vincent define mediated and electronic emotion as follows:
A mediated emotion is an emotion felt or narrated or showed, which is produced or consumed in a telephone or mobile conversation, in a film or a TV programme or in a website, in other words mediated by a computational electronic device. Electronic emotions are emotions lived, re-lived or discovered through machines. Through ICT, emotions are on one hand amplified, shaped, stereotyped, re-invented and on the other sacrificed, because they must submit themselves to the technological limits and languages of a machine. Mediated emotions are emotions which are expressed at a distance from the interlocutor or the broadcaster, and which consequently take place during the breakup of the unitary process which usually provides the formation of attitudes and which consists of cognition, emotion and behaviour. (Fortunati and Vincent 2009: 13-14)

They suggest that it is quite possible that the process of electronically mediating emotions in this way is asymmetrical, in that the effect of using the mobile phone might engender more emotions than the user actually transmits. For example the holding of emotion memories within the phone itself in the form of messages, images, voicemails, contacts or simply the thought of someone with whom a conversation might have taken place on the phone may lead to the electronic emotion being rarefied or amplified in some way.

Electronic emotions are mediated via ICT using more than just language to communicate. The mobile phone is used to convey an embodied communication much as one might shake hands, air kiss or hug to show contact and the degree of intimacy this involves. The concept of interaction facilitated by the mobile phone and other ICTs being more than simply face to face is a point of debate among sociologists some of whom (Contarello 2003, Fortunati 2005e; 2010 and Pertierra 2005) assert that the term face to face no longer reflects the ways that people are actually communicating. They prefer the term body to body to describe the level of interaction that is involved in using the portfolio of ICTs available today. The idea that a communication might be embodied (or disembodied) was discussed by Goffman who asserted that embodied messages could only be conveyed between people who were co-present as they involved ‘a message that the sender conveys by
his current bodily activity' (Goffman 1966: 14), however, he did accept that they did not necessarily need to be in direct communication with each other although the process might not be a reciprocal one.

An individual can, of course, receive embodied messages by means of his naked senses without much chance of communication roles being reversed, as when he spies on a person through a crack in the wall or overhears them through a thin partition. (Goffman 1966: 15)

With the advent of mobile phones the possibilities for social interaction in multiple ways became more possible. People could still talk but they could also text, send images and share memories stored on the phone such as photographs, special messages or simply through the association of that particular phone (Hjorth 2005b; Boneva et al 2006; Boberg 2008; Chayko 2008). This ability to conduct mobile phone communications almost anywhere raises some interesting points with regard to human interaction, not least that mobile phones appear to have social, physical and sensorial effects. The mobile phone requires the user to employ aural, oral, and tactile senses, as well as invoking smell and taste in the memory and conversational experiences they engender (Vincent 2005b; 2006). Building on the work of Maldonado, who discusses the body and how technology is developing ways to emulate it, it is as if the mobile phone is piercing the body with this assault on the senses demanding multiple reactions that over-ride other simultaneous actions (Vincent 2005a). As Maldonado says:

One very important point is usually overlooked. A person's natural sense of touch does not consist only of contact, touching is not just touching. Our sense of touch perceives multiple factors even without true direct contact with our skin. (Maldonado 2003: 20)

These multiple reactions that arise from contact, be it physical or merely a felt presence, contributes to the deepening and strengthening of the emotion engendered in the communications.
2.3 Always on Presence

A further concept, that of ‘always on, always connected’, adds a final component to the developing theories surrounding emotion in social practices with regard to mobile phones in broadband society.

This concept has been examined in research from the user perspective by Baron (2008) who explored the impact of an always on and thus always available communications technology on the development of language used in technology based communications. For example a new lexicon has emerged from the enforced brevity of text messaging that has transferred to other communications media such as social networking, and perhaps this on-line always connected facility is changing how we stay in touch. As she concludes however: ‘We can decide for ourselves whether to remain “always on”’. (Baron 2008: 236).

Although the choice of leaving the mobile phone switched on usually rests with its owner, there are some situations where the fact the mobile phone can be always on is a major factor for its user. In her account of her own mobile phone use, Turkle (2008) examines the effect of having a communications technology that permanently keeps one connected. She refers to the resulting change in her behaviour that enables an all-day cyber co–presence with her daughter via her mobile phone:

The presence of the cell phone, which has a special ring if my daughter calls, keeps me on the alert all day. Wherever I am, whatever I am doing, I am psychologically tuned to the connections that matter. (Turkle 2008: 122)

She explained that previously, whilst at work at University, she would not have had this extra dimension of connectivity running concurrently with her work. This is akin to ‘remote mothering’, a term coined by Rakov and Navaro (1993), and is a theme that emerges in other studies such as by Ling (2000b) and Rettie (2009) that explored the ways family members maintained an always available relationship with each other.
When thinking about how emotion occurs in this always on, everyday use of mobile phones I also consider here the possible effect this constant use might have on the strengthening of existing relationships and how these might be emotionally sustained with the mobile phone. In Ling and Yttri’s (2002) analysis of young Norwegians’ use of mobile phones they developed the concept of hyper-coordination. This is a situation in which the mobile phone becomes central to the organisation of the connectivity between a close group of friends who are in constant contact regarding social arrangements. In the discussion of the various studies in this chapter it can be seen that the enhanced connectivity enabled by the mobile phone has resulted in the micro-coordination of some people’s activities. In so doing they enable absent present interlocutors to be always connected, always on; this in turn adds weight to the strength of existing relationships, but not always with a positive outcome.

This intensive use of mobile phones to enable closer ties with friends and family also recognises that emotion had some part to play in the use of mobile phones such as in the studies of mobile phone users by Katz and Aakhus (2002); Lasén (2005); Rivière (2005); Sørensen (2006); Boase (2008); Wajcman et al (2008) and Crawford (2009) in which it was found that people tended to use them in this way. Further, it was found that contact with business colleagues, friends and family was mostly social. ‘Mobile devices do not enable more social relations but more intensive relations with already existing social contacts’ (Vincent and Harper 2003: 3).

This point is amplified by Krotz who, in his discussion of the use of mobile phones and the Internet, comments that the use of the mobile phone is ‘helpful for the maintenance of relations but not for the initiation of new ones’ (Krotz 2005: 455). In addition studies of Finnish children by Oksman and Rautiainen (2003) and Oksman and Turtiainen (2004) showed similar approaches to use, including increasing dependence on the phone to keep in contact. This constant and always on connectivity is for many people now necessary always. They use their mobile phone during life and to feel connected with those who have died as well to feel that they are never alone (Pertierra 2005; Katz 2006). Furthermore, interaction mediated by the mobile phone enables people to feel together wherever they are in the world,
whilst not necessarily feeling the need to actually speak or make physical contact in some way.

### 2.3.1 Absent presence and co-presence

According to Goffman, in normal circumstances the 'full conditions of copresence'\(^{15}\) determine that:

> persons must sense that when they are close enough to be perceived in whatever they are doing, including their experiencing of others, and close enough to be perceived in this sensing of being perceived.

(Goffman 1966: 17)

Although for Goffman this mostly requires people to be co-present he also recognised the effect of asymmetry in communications, not least from the point of view of the mutuality of interaction. Mobile phones do, of course, enable asynchronous communication in which there can be gaps and pauses in conversations conducted by text as was noted by Rettie in her study of mediated communications (Rettie 2009), and White and White (2008) who examined voice and texts made by tourists who constantly kept in touch with home. It has also been documented, particularly in Höflich’s studies (2003; 2005), that when observed using their mobile phone in a public place, people appeared to enter an electronic space, a ‘bubble’ in which they comported themselves while speaking on their phone. They appeared to be in the world in which they were speaking, having left the one in which they were physically located at that time.

The notion that people’s behaviours and feelings were affected by their inability to see and touch each other was examined in research on the use of the land-line telephone in the 1970s by Short et al. (1976). Their concept of social presence explored how communications between people could be affected by the intervention of a communications medium, in this instance fixed telephony and its inability ‘[...]to transmit information about facial expression, direction of looking, posture,

\(^{15}\) The italics are the author’s original emphasis
dress and non-verbal vocal clues' (Short et al. 1976: 65). They also referred to the work of Argyle and Dean (1965) on intimacy that explored the concept of the equilibrium that two people seek when they enter into a conversation. This equilibrium, they asserted, was upset by the intervention of a 'third party' communications medium, a point also made by Goffman when discussing the use of one's 'naked senses' such as sight and their importance in establishing mutuality. Looking to the future Goffman recognised that this visual contact could be achieved through using what are now called video telephones saying:

> When two-way television is added to telephones, the unique contingencies of direct interaction will finally be available for those who are widely separated (Goffman 1966: 16)

This purported need to see one another in face to face encounter was also discussed by Boden and Molotch who stated that:

> Eye contact itself signals a degree of intimacy and trust; copresent interactants continuously monitor the subtle movements of this most subtle body part. (Boden and Molotch 1994: 259)

The preference for sensory co-presence between interactants leads to Bodon and Molotch's notion of the 'compulsion of proximity': people want to be co-present and if this is not possible they seek the most appropriate alternative means of achieving it. This might be by a phone call, or an email, but as Boden and Molotch point out, alternatives to co-present communication are limited by temporal, organisational and spatial factors and that everyday life demands a 'delicate balance of copresence and absence' (Boden and Molotch 1994: 268).

This notion of absent presence has been brought to bear on the debate in mobile communications research such as by Gergen (2002) and Fortunati (2001). They examined the ways the mobile phone can appear to bring people together even when apart; it is as if they are in the same place, a place (the electronic space mentioned above) created when using the mobile phone. It would seem that regardless of the
distance or reason for separation the mobile phone now has a role in overcoming the absence of others developing what Gergen refers to as:

[...] the growing domain of diverted or divided consciousness invited by communications technology and most particularly the mobile telephone. One is physically present but absorbed by a technologically mediated world of elsewhere. (Gergen 2002: 227)

This concept of being subsumed by the process of interacting with absent others using the mobile phone (Krotz 2005; Schlote and Linke 2010) is powerfully represented in the lives of those who have migrated from their home but maintain strong familial ties and responsibilities from afar. As Pertierra writes in his research on Philippine Diasporas:

Mobile phones allow absent subjects to exercise a daily presence in their communities of origin. This absent presence generates virtual subjects interacting primarily via the mobile phone. (Pertierra 2005: 23)

In considering this compelling need to feel as if together when apart, there are some papers that examine the topic of presence in extremely emotion laden contexts. Lemish and Cohen (2005a, 2005b) refer to the importance of the mobile phone with regard to the emotion it invokes for family members in response to the special security needs in Israeli society:

The mobile thus provides an illusion of "protection" for both parents and their children, and in the worst case scenarios each person knows where the other is, knowledge that creates a sense, albeit imagined, of control over an otherwise incomprehensible anxiety. (Lemish and Cohen 2005b: 189)

It is this 'worst case scenario' that Dutton and Nainoa (2002), examined in their paper about the use of cell phones during the 9/11 attacks on the USA. They included in their analysis reference to the highly emotionally charged moments when mobile phones were used to communicate last messages to loved ones
reporting several examples of calls made from a hijacked plane. These powerful examples of the moments before their death when people used their mobile phones to be with their loved ones exemplifies how the mobile phone acts as the substitute for co-presence, and as Dutton and Nainoa noted: 'A striking feature of reported calls is the degree to which so many carried relatively little or no instrumental information exchange. Instead, people wanted to say goodbye, reassure, say their last words or convey their love to their family'. (Dutton and Nainoa 2002: 243).

Calls made from mobile phones during the 9/11 incident were well documented as was also the case for the 7/7 bombings in London where there were again examples of mobile phone use to reassure loved ones. The extent to which mobile phones became a vital emotional support at the time was demonstrated by the unprecedented high number of calls that led to the temporary collapse of the mobile phone network as it struggled to provide sufficient capacity (BBC News 2008).

The use of a mobile phone in these circumstances is not just a matter of being able to make contact with loved ones but rather it is about the intimacy of the shared space between interlocutors. This point is also highlighted by the research of Arminen and Weilenmann (2009) which explored how, through the continuous contact that can be maintained at any time and in any location, people are able to share their lives as if there is little physical separation between them.

The time-frame of common activity may establish a shared space-time that also overcomes the physical distance between them. In this way, the mobile phone allows for mobile intimacy and presence, in which the participants share seemingly small and insignificant pieces of information about their activities and whereabouts. Still, these things are the small things that the world is made up of, and the ability to share them as and when they happen allows people to maintain and strengthen bonds across physical distances, rather than driving them further apart. (Arminen and Weilenmann 2009: 1923)

Maintaining a continuing sense of co-presence is also discussed by Bassett (2005) who suggests that analysis should now move on from the concepts of absence and presence. It is as if constant co-presence is now assumed to be the situation given
the always on and always connected capacities of mobile phones. In many respects the mobile phone is now part of the 'scapes'\textsuperscript{16} (Urry 2000) that influence temporal and spatial aspects of society; using a mobile phone to maintain an always on connection whenever it is needed is no longer an extraordinary situation. In fact using a mobile phone, Bassett asserts, is a means of making one feel there is no sense of separation.

For the mobile phone user, travel no longer presumes a broken connection. There is no dislocation between the world of the train and the world beyond: not even the temporary dislocation the journey used to produce. Each world is shot through with the other. (Bassett 2005)

Thus as the mobile phone achieves an even greater role in many people's lives the concepts of absence and separation are constantly diminishing and absent presence is merely an assumed situation for all. Indeed over time people have begun to recognise that although there are always others they would like to be with (who are the absent present) they now can behave as if they are co-present because they can be quickly summoned via the mobile phone.

2.4 Towards the Analysis of Emotion and Social Practices

It is evident from this growing volume of research on the social practices of mobile phone users that this small electronic device appears to have developed an increasingly vital role in the everyday lives of people. What the exact role emotion might have in these developing social practices is less clear, however, because the literature specifically examining emotion and mobile phones is sparse. Nevertheless, in this present study, it has been possible to explore the research question through a combination of examining research on some other ICTs as well as on the experiences of mobile phone users. The themes that emerged from this review were

\textsuperscript{16} Urry (2000: 36) defines 'scapes' as 'the networks of machines, technologies, organisations, texts and actors that constitute various interconnected nodes' such as transport and communication infrastructures.
consistent across many studies and mostly referred to the interactionist theoretical approach in their analysis. These themes begin with the use of the mobile phone as a means of realising the presentation of the self and its effect on developing subjectivity. Explored following Goffman’s discourse (1959; 1967), the mobile phone has become integral to the development of the line people take in their relationship with others, and in the consequent face-work needed to maintain their social presence in relationships in both public and private space. What has been noted by many researchers is the close analogy between the behaviours of mobile phone users, particularly when using their mobile phone for private calls in a public place, and Goffman’s analysis of front and back stage behaviours. Although this dramaturgy metaphor was designed to explicate observed behaviours of co-present interlocutors, it would appear that it is equally applicable to mobile phone use when interlocutors are not co-present.

As a means of mediating communication between familiars rather than strangers the mobile phone has effectively enabled a sense of co-presence; the interlocutors are absent present but they behave as if they are co-present. This comfort with the mobile phone such that it is used in this way for the most intimate of conversations in the most public of places highlights the changing role of some communications media in everyday life. In the past a household would share a single landline phone, usually located in the hallway where all communications could be easily overheard. Now people are more likely to use their mobile phone, a completely individual and personal communications device that could be used virtually anywhere. Thus, following Silverstone’s (2006) domestication theory, whereas households had domesticated the use of landlines for communications and the telephone had taken on a meaning relevant to the household, the individual has now domesticated the mobile phone and taken on a meaning personal to that individual, regardless of their proximity to others. This meaning is relevant in any location and from the moment when the mobile phone user has the feeling they want to connect with another person who feels the same way too. Today this can be almost anywhere, or at least, anywhere a mobile phone will work. Thus by domesticating the mobile phone one is, as Morley (2006) asserts, effectively de-domesticating the landline phone and its meaning within the household environment.
The use of the mobile phone as a means of mediating emotion is now acknowledged with the notion that electronic emotions, emotions that are lived, re-lived or experienced for the first time through ICTs, now have a key role to play in the presentation of the self (Vincent and Fortunati 2009). Furthermore, people have moved on from the time when a device was perhaps a third party barrier to achieving intimacy, as suggested by Argyle and Dean (1965), to a situation in which the device is part of the emotion laden mediating experience. The mobile phone now has a positive (or negative) effect on the communication and indeed; it is central to achieving the emotion effect sought by the interlocutors. This is achieved, at least in part, through the always on always present feeling of having a mobile phone switched on to receive wanted (and unwanted) communications, often especially for certain family members (Rakov and Navaro 1993; Turkle 2008). This has the effect of strengthening social relations as well as enabling the constant changing coordination of plans and activities. The effect of this is that people feel a permanent and profound sense of connectivity and co-presence via their mobile phone such as was exemplified by the moments prior to death in which phone calls to loved ones were made (Dutton and Nainoa 2002). There appears to be an emotional investment in the mobile phone to such an extent that it seems to provide an unbroken and constant connection that negates the sense of being apart; people are physically apart but they feel the absent presence of each other as if they are together (Bassett 2005). They conduct their lives using their mobile phone to create a situation as if they are in a constant conversation in which pauses may be for minutes or days (Arminen and Weilenmann 2009). However, the moment can be quickly recalled as people summon each other via their mobile phone to pick up on the mundane or serious aspects of their daily lives.

This review of literature about mobile phone use has provided some understanding of the link between emotion and the presentation of the self that is mediated via the mobile phone. It does not, however, explain how the emotions that occur in relation to the self or to the use of mobile phones may have come to be associated with the mobile phone. In the next chapter aspects of the sociology of emotion are explored to attempt to explain reasons for the emotion that has, through discussion of the literature in this chapter, been shown to be associated with the mobile phone. It is clear that emotions are associated with owning and using a mobile phone but what
are these emotions and how do they fit in the broader context of the everyday lives of the respondents in this study?
3. THE STUDY OF EMOTIONS IN SOCIOLOGY

In the last chapter I examined literature that explored how emotion occurred in the everyday use of mobile phones, most particularly from the interactionist perspective of Goffman, and also through the research of others in the social practices of mobile phone users. In this chapter I now explore how this interactionist approach to the study of emotions has developed within sociology, through discussion of definitions of emotion, the examination of how emotion is situated socially with regards to its relationship with the body and the self, and through relationships with others.

The study of emotions in sociology has followed a diverse and broad approach spanning a century and half, during which time the topic of emotion has slowly been brought to the foreground of the work of some social interactionist authors in particular. Developments in the sociology of emotion that are explored in this chapter follow the work of some of these authors beginning in the 1970s, as well as examining the impact on present day emotion studies of the biological aspects of emotion first explored in 1870s. In order to explicate this I explore the topic from a chronological perspective looking firstly at early attempts to examine emotion using the Darwin’s (1872) biological organismic theory of human emotion and the James-Lange (James 1884) theory of emotion. I then explore the development of various classifications of emotions that extended the emotion repertoire beyond the biological to offer some explanation for the breadth of emotion experienced in social interaction (Barbalet 1998; Turner 2000; Hochschild 2003a; Hopkins et al 2009; Stets 2010). In so doing I also address some of the difficulties encountered in describing emotions (Davitz 1969; Derné 1994) when they have so many variations and meanings in different cultures and languages.

After discussing this biological background and the multiple classifications of emotions, the chapter continues by exploring Hochschild’s (2003a 2003b) studies towards a new social theory of emotion that combines the two models of emotion
she first described in her 1975 analysis of feelings\textsuperscript{17}. These models were the aforementioned ‘organismic’ studies of the nineteenth century and secondly the interactional model that builds on the biological by adding social and cultural interaction as factors in the process of generating and experiencing emotions. In Turner’s (2009) most recent analysis of the basic theoretical arguments with regard to the sociology of emotions he identifies in addition to these evolutionary/biological and interactionist approaches examined by Hochschild, several other approaches and their lead authors\textsuperscript{18} that are not specifically examined in this review. These approaches were developed contemporaneously with Hochschild’s studies and her work is among papers mutually cited within this broader literature, which has thus had some influence on the material in this review. However, I have used Hochshild’s approach as I believe it provides the closest link between this present research, the sociology of emotion and the studies reported in the literature review in Chapter 2.

3.1 The Emergence of Emotion as a Topic for Sociology

Although emotion has been a topic for sociology since the late 19th century, as Turner (2009) suggested in his analysis of the sociology of emotions, many of the early eminent sociologists did not develop a conceptualization of emotions: [...] ‘early sociology was not devoid of a concern for emotions, but perhaps with the exception of Cooley\textsuperscript{19}, these concerns were secondary, implicit, and under-theorized’ (Turner 2009: 340).

\textsuperscript{17} This article was republished in a The Commercialisation of Intimate Life (Hochschild 2003b) and the models were revisited and used to frame her seminal publication The Managed Heart first published in 1983 and (now in its twentieth anniversary edition (Hochschild 2003a).

\textsuperscript{18} These are: Psychoanalytic variants of symbolic interactionist theorising (Schef 1988); Interaction Ritual theorising on emotions (Collins 2004); Power and status theories of emotions (Kemper 1978); Stratification theories of emotion (Turner 2010) and Exchange theories of emotions (Lawler 2001).

\textsuperscript{19} This refers to Cooley’s 1902 work on Human Nature and Social Order in which he discusses pride and shame and the concept of ‘the looking glass self’.
Indeed, historical debate about emotion in sociology, mostly in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, had largely followed the traditional dualities of reason versus emotion in which emotion and rationality were placed at opposite poles (Bendelow and Williams 1998; Holland 2007; Loseke and Kusenbach 2008; Fortunati and Vincent 2009; Turner 2009). In sociology this duality not only limited the study on emotion it also prevailed to keep individual emotion apart from social interaction. Emotions were seen as purely biological traits: this approach to understanding emotion originally referred mostly to Darwin's (1872) organismic biological approach of the late nineteenth century that looked at bodily movements and which assumed that emotions were innate and naturally occurring. Darwin's studies that scrutinized bodily movements in some detail went beyond the simple biological description of his forbears such as Duchenne (1862) whose photographic record of the physical expression of emotions was achieved by using electrical probes to stimulate the faces of his patients. Instead, Darwin sought to record emotions as they occurred in their natural state. He found, however, that there was a desire by the observer to sympathise with the emotion being observed and to imagine one had seen what one had not. He thus argued that close observation of emotion was therefore not a worthwhile exercise (Darwin 1872:12) although he did partly resolve this problem by observing emotions only in particular situations that he believed could not affect the emotion behaviours20. Nevertheless, Darwin's research offered a sound foundation for future studies by others, not least in what he had not included in his observation of humans and animals such as the meaning of the emotional expression as later examined by Mead (1967 [1934]) and the symbolic interactionists Blumer (1969) and Goffman (1959).

An early biological theory of emotion, the James-Lange theory of emotion21, also developed at the same time as Darwin's work recognised the effects of autonomic activity similar to that explored more recently by neurologists. Publishing in the philosophy journal 'Mind' in 1884, James' article 'What is an Emotion?' was an

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20 For example he observed infants rather than adults as their emotion was 'unsullied; the insane giving vent to passion as they did not take account of others' emotion responses to them, and emotions in animals as they did not have human traits.

21 Attributed to both James and Lange as one theory, each had developed it independently of the other and it is explored here through the work of James.
important step away from the organismic studies of his contemporaries in that he believed bodily changes such as sweaty palms or shaking occurred as a result of emotions; hence for James, emotions were somatic (Barbalet 2004):

My thesis ... is that the bodily changes follow directly the perception of the exciting fact, and that our feeling of the same changes as they occur is the emotion. (James 1884: 190)\(^ {22} \)

Thus for James emotion was physically manifest in the individual experiencing it only after they recognised the cause of it – it became an emotion only once one had a perception of it. At this point the process of expressing the emotion continued to be felt internally within the individual experiencing it. Whether or not the emotion occurred after an event, and how an emotion might be expressed or felt, continued to be the subjects of much debate; although for a long period after James published his work, research on emotions was developed within psychology rather than in sociology where emotion was largely neglected as a research area. Harré, in his review of the traditional theories of human emotion, suggested that this:

[...] past lack of interest can be explained in part by the predominance, since the seventeenth century of a philosophical conception of emotions as simple, and not-cognitive phenomena, amongst the bodily perturbations (Harré 1988: 2)

Emotions were ‘conceived by philosophers as simple, involuntary and purely affective states’ and as such ‘not worthy of extensive study in their own right’ (Harré 1988: 2). These early attempts to understand emotions were intended to articulate how emotions were expressed in physical terms to understand the physiology, rather than to explore the effects on subjectivity. The biological approach today now extends also to the neurological studies that have been taken up by some sociologists to attempt to explain emotions (Turner 2000). Emotions occurring without conscious control, and that can affect the body in a way that cannot be controlled, are believed by some (Ekman and Freisen 1975; Franks 2010)

\(^ {22} \) Italics and capitals are the author’s original emphasis.
to be attributable to neurological activity rather than the effects of social interaction. It is perhaps this oft cited biological approach, derived from the common theoretical legacy of Darwin (1872) and James (1884) that, over time, has lead to some overlapping developments between disciplines - especially psychology and sociology. According to Cornelius (1996) the traditions of the psychology of emotion have moved through the Darwinian and Jamesian approaches to Arnold’s (1960) cognitive approach (Oatley and Johnson-Laird 1987; Smith and Lazerus 1993) and thence to social constructivism (Averill 1980). Arnold argued that emotions were not simply the recognition of bodily perturbations but that to recognise an emotion one had to appraise whether something was ‘desirable or undesirable, valuable or harmful for me, so that I am drawn toward it or repelled by it’ (Arnold 1960:171). In the social constructivist approach emotions are seen as social constructions that serve social purposes and here the psychology tradition would appear to intertwine with the emotion theories of other disciplines. However, as Strongman (2003) highlights (with reference to Lutz and White 1986) tensions remain between the psychologists - for whom emotion is seen to be within the person - and other disciplines, such as sociology, anthropology and history, for whom emotions are also part of society and culture and are thus also external to the person. Strongman’s analysis of the psychology of emotion further explores the history of the topic highlighting with reference to Stearns (1986) that ‘emotion is always in a state of change within society’ (Strongman 2003:265) and to Kemper that ‘the sociology of emotion […] is not reducible to anything else such as psychology’ (Strongman 2003:267). Thus any study of emotions must take account of external processes. Although there is little doubt considerable overlap of literature between the various disciplines will continue in the study of emotion the point of departure or separation between sociology and psychology is perhaps best summed up by Kemper:

[...] for the most part psychologists study emotions as a part of generic human beings, while sociologists study emotions as a property of socially specific people, alive in a particular time, living in a particular culture in particular circumstances. (Kemper 1991:301)
Clearly, there is much scientific debate about this point, and in the next section I move on to discuss the constructivist perspective as explored in the sociological literature that suggests biological and social (and cultural) interaction might not be mutually exclusive, but rather are intertwined.

3.1.1 Towards an Interactionist Approach to Emotion

In his analysis of emotions in sociology, Barbalet (1998) posits that it was the interactionist theorist Goffman’s 1956 paper on embarrassment that formed the turning point for this new discourse on emotion in sociology. The emotion of embarrassment was used by Goffman to investigate social situations in which dissonance had occurred, thereby placing emotion, rather than organisational or individual social practices, at the heart of social interaction. Goffman gave the example of the scenario at a Coca Cola machine in an organisation when an apprentice and a specialist worker arrived at the same time. Both had expectations of how the other would respond due to their organisational roles, but at a drinks machine they were not in this role. The usual way people overcame their embarrassment in these situations, Goffman asserted, was to joke about the matter. In so doing the individuals ‘sacrifice their identity for a moment’ in order to mitigate the situation (Goffman 1956: 271).

Whilst Goffman did not apparently plan for his research to lead this resurgence of new research in the sociology of emotion he has, indeed, been followed and cited by many in this regard. Initially taken up by American sociologists and followed by some in the UK and Australia (Barbalet 1998), most developments in the study of emotion in sociology have occurred since the 1970s. These included the work of Scheff (1977); Shott (1979); Denzin (2007), Harré (1986); Kemper (1987); Thoits (1989); Barbalet (1998) Hochschild (2003a); and Turner and Stets (2005) all of whom were influenced in some way by the studies of Goffman. This point was also noted by Stearns who, writing an analysis of the role of social history in the development of the sociology of emotion, asserted that:

The blossoming of research on the sociology of emotion since 1980,
based on the work of a diverse "post-Goffman" generation of scholars,
exemplifies an intriguing new research thrust in the social and
behavioral sciences generally, reflecting among other things a diversity of previous theoretical frameworks. (Note that many of the new emotions sociologists are Goffman students, or like him symbolic interactionists, though there are other currents as well). (Stearns 1989: 593)

This new interactionist led research in the latter part of the twentieth century (that was also influenced by other disciplines\(^{23}\)) contests the assertion that emotions can be completely accounted for by biological (or neurological activity); emotion was seen more as a consequence of social interaction and thus socially constructed. In more recent articles, Turner (2009) and Stets (2010) have revisited the debate highlighted by some including Hochschild (1979) and Wentworth and Ryan (1994), that there is a tendency for the sociological discussion of emotions to be dominated by the view that emotions are wholly socially constructed, thus excluding the idea \(^{1}\) that some emotions might be purely (or even partly) biological\(^{24}\).

Whether or not emotions can be attributed to innate biological activities, to social interaction (and to cultural norms), or to a combination of these remains the subject of much discussion among sociologists. Accordingly, the study of emotion has since moved forward to take account of the impact of society and interaction between humans as well as the biological origins, and subsequent psychological studies. This is exemplified by Hochschild who, in her analysis of Darwin’s theory, suggests it is missing: ‘a conception of emotion as subjective experience and a more subtle and complex notion of how social factors impinge’ (Hochschild 2003a: 218). It is this missing element of subjectivity that I address later in this chapter but firstly however, I want to examine how the study of emotion in sociology has attempted to define and name emotions because it is this work that has helped shape the study of emotions within sociology.

\(^{23}\) It was not until the work of neurophysiologists such as Damasio (1994; 1999) that it was suggested through scientific study that emotion was actually integral to human rationality rather than being opposed to it. Meanwhile the examination of emotion has continued across many disciplines with extensive research in psychology, linguistics, anthropology and neurophysiology (Averill 1980; Davitz 1969; Ekman and Friesen 1975; Heelas 1996; Damasio 1994; 1999; Goleman 2006).

\(^{24}\) For example Craib 1995 and Burkett 1997 have continued this discussion in their articles.
Many sociological studies of emotion do now acknowledge that biology as well as social construction is fundamental to examining emotions suggesting that the two approaches are in some ways complementary (Doyle-McCarthy 1994; Wentworth and Ryan 1994; Barbalet 1998; Hochschild 2003a). For example, in her exploration of how emotion links social and bodily processes, Lyon posits that ‘emotion is both embodied and socio-relational’, and that the sociology of emotion is an ideal domain in which to study the ‘complex interrelationships between social and biological being’ (Lyon 1994: 84).

Nevertheless there is still some tension with regard to the juxtaposition of social construction, cultural and biological studies, as exemplified by Stets who suggested that:

Constructionists might agree that the primary emotions are hard-wired25 but then argue that when and how these emotions are experienced and expressed is constrained by the expectations inherent in culture and social structures. (Stets 2010: 266)

The general view discussed here is that whilst emotions occur as a result of the particular values, cultural norms and interactive behaviours of particular social settings, biological processes are also prevalent in influencing the emotions. A point that is relevant to this present study when considering how emotion is engendered when using a mobile phone. For example, is using the mobile phone a consequence of an emotional response or is the emotion a result of interacting with the mobile phone? This debate regarding the balancing of biological, constructivist and cultural concepts in the sociology of emotion has continued in numerous articles by authors such as the aforementioned Lyon (1994), Wentworth and Ryan (1994), Hochschild (2003a), and Greco and Stenner (2008), Turner (2009), Stets (2010) and Stearns (2010). However, as will be shown in this chapter, there now appear to be some

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25 Stets is referring to emotions that are innate and occur naturally from internal stimuli
commonly held views within contemporary sociological analysis regarding the study of emotions from an interactionist perspective.26

Having reviewed some opposing and complementary views among the sociologists who have studied emotions over a period of more than a century, I now explore some of their approaches to classifying emotions. These taxonomies, which have been used to explain the variety and complexity of emotion studies, demonstrate the complementarities of the biological and the interactionist approaches to the study of emotions. In so doing they show how both approaches have come to be used in developing an understanding of emotion. This acknowledgement that interactionist analysis can embrace both viewpoints is important for this present study which has similar challenges in the source and interpretation of emotions that occur when using a mobile phone.

3.1.2 Classifying and Conceptualising Emotions in Interactionist Research

In the previous sections I discussed how emotion has emerged as a topic in sociology by examining the biological and the interactionist perspectives of emotion in human behaviours. These approaches identified that emotions could be attributed to innate, autonomic behaviour as well as to the outcome of social interaction and cultural differences. In this section I explore how some researchers have developed and used classifications of emotion by naming and using emotion words, to help in articulating and explaining these different emotions. I also address how this might apply to researching emotion in the social practices of mobile phone users.

There are numerous classifications of emotion words in multiple disciplines that have been derived as a result of research into the description and categorisation of emotions (Turner 2000). Furthermore, the language of emotion is so varied that although there are hundreds of different words used to describe emotions, the same emotion word can still have a different meaning in different cultures, even those

26 Such as those which resulted in the establishment of the International Society for Research on Emotions in 1984
using the same language (Davitz 1969). In addition, the emotion response to situations that occur in most people’s lives, for example bereavement or confrontation, may be expressed in different behaviours using different emotions. This might result in an observer or interviewer misunderstanding or interpreting them differently. These people may not be feeling the same thing, or expressing their love or grief in the same way, although they may call it by the same name. As Wentworth and Ryan explained in their examination of the ontology of human emotion:

> Emotions have names and reputations: Emotions are known by the stories a group constructs about them [...] Emotions have histories that are a part of the socializing environment of each social novice. (Wentworth and Ryan 1994: 7)

This suggested that an emotion is not simply a feeling translated into a word from which anyone will interpret the same meaning, but that what appears to be the same emotion may have multiple rather than single meanings. Recognising this point is important when interpreting the actual meaning of emotions and this applies to both the individual experiencing the emotion within the self, or externally in relationships with others, as well as the interpretations made by third parties. Considering the multiple facets of how an emotion might occur and how it might be perceived, it is hardly surprising that the meanings given to emotions may differ according to many factors, especially the cultural context of the emotion experienced. For example in her discussion on the culture of emotion, Hochschild (2003a) asserts that each culture has its own 'emotional dictionary' which shapes the way people interact with each other. However, it is apparent that interpreting and defining an emotion through the use of words of one language\(^\text{27}\) such as is contained in a particular taxonomy (Turner 2000) is not a straightforward task. Hochschild explores this with her analysis of emotion names associated with ‘the individual’s momentary focus’ (Hochschild 2003a: 240). The emotion, she asserts, is named as a result of the particular feelings and perceptions at that moment, as well as by cultural influences.

\(^{27}\) UK English is the language used in this present study, but with many of the references using US English
Naming an emotion, however, is not necessarily enough to explain the meaning of that emotion. These examples from Hochschild (1998) and Derne (1994) illustrate this point by highlighting the inconsistencies between different studies, and between research subjects that discuss the same emotion; in this instance it is love.

Love in say a New England farming village of the 1790s is not the same as love in upper class Beverley Hills California in 1995 or among working class catholic miners in Sarrbrucken Germany. (Hochschild, 1998: 7)

Thus there appears to be a difference in how the love is expressed, outwardly shown, or maybe what it means to the self for the people of these different cultures. Derne (1994), in his analysis of love in three different cultures, raises a similar point highlighting the emotional paradigms determined by cultures and the signals that influence expectations regarding the feelings of others and of the self in certain situations.

Davitz also refers to this point which he suggests is evidenced by the emotion lexicon of different languages. Davitz (1969) looked at Roget’s Thesaurus to search for emotion terms in English and found there were some 400 terms that could be classified as a word ‘that seemed at all likely to be used as the label of an emotional state’ (Davitz 1969:10). The analysis of emotion words in their cultural and social setting, however, does not necessarily extend to an understanding of the meaning of the emotion. As Crossley states in his discussion of this linguistic analysis of emotion words:

It only considers emotion in situations and not in the ways that they are acted out and provides us with an understanding of our understanding of emotions rather than an understanding of emotion. Crossley (1998: 20)

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28 Comparing this with Chinese (Taiwanese) there were some 750 words and for Malays only 230 (Boucher and Brandt 1981).
That all people have innate biological components to experiencing emotions as well as emotional responses to events, objects, other people and their self, now appears to be less contentious within sociology. It is also acknowledged that the meaning people give to their descriptions of these emotional states can differ between cultures as well as between individuals. Consequently any attempt to fathom an understanding of the actual meaning of an emotion being expressed or inwardly felt is a continual challenge for the sociologist without the benefit of further clues to the recorded emotion actions.

Taxonomies of emotion derived from sociological research (e.g. Fortunati and Manganelli 1998; Hochschild 2003a; Fortunati 2005d; 2009a; Turner 2010) provide an attempt to unwind this complex weave of emotion names and meanings by developing a common structure within which emotion words are categorized. The structure used most often refers to the terms primary, secondary and tertiary to classify emotions in a way that demonstrates their inter-relationships. The primary emotions are likened by Plutchik (1980) to primary colours, few in number and each unique. Secondary emotions are derived from a mix of primary emotions and these are further mixed to form tertiary emotions. Thus to extend the colour palette metaphor, emotions are apparently endless in their variety and hue. The primary emotions are acknowledged by many as being the biological, innate emotions and the intervention of human interaction in the secondary and tertiary emotions is thus suggestive of the social construction of emotion through interaction and cultural influences (Kemper 1987; 1991; Hochschild 2003a). In their analysis of the development of the sociology of emotion, Turner and Stets (2005: 14–15) refer to the earlier work of Turner (2000) in which he contrasted the classification of primary emotions by more than twenty authors from different disciplines, mostly compiled in the latter part of the twentieth century, but also including Darwin. The primary emotions most commonly described in these various taxonomies were anger, disgust, sadness, fear and happiness. These are the emotions that are observable and which appear to be visibly expressed with similar facial expressions,
regardless of culture and social interaction\textsuperscript{29} and are thus less likely to be misunderstood. However, as this repertoire of emotions rapidly expands, it does raise questions regarding how they are derived.

There are many other emotions in the human repertoire beyond the short list of primary emotions and their variants. To take just a handful, additional emotions like pride, shame and guilt, wonder, nostalgia, bitterness and dread exist, posing the question of whether these are socially constructed or outcomes of biological evolution. (Turner and Stets 2005: 13)

Classifying emotions according to emotion names and cultural influences (Hochschild 2003a) would appear to give the researcher the opportunity to question the motivation for that emotion, how it came about and how it might be expressed. Considering this in the context of the research on emotion and mobile phones, the experience of these other researchers (such as discussed by Turner 2000) is relevant, as it would appear they have found it difficult to apply any one of these conceptual frameworks to new studies without further adaptation. This would suggest, therefore, that none would be suited to this present study without adaptation although they might be used to inform the analysis. The difficulties of creating a common classification of emotions extend also to the development of emotion theory. This is exemplified by the variety of theoretical approaches that have developed within the sociology of emotion, a point highlighted by Denzin in his critique of the topic in which he argues that although there are now a great variety of theories, none leads to a satisfactory explanation of emotion and everyday life (2007). There is, indeed, no single classification and no single theory that can be applied to the interactionist sociological examination of emotion. Edited volumes by Ellis and Flaherty (1992) and Bendelow and Williams (1998), Turner and Stets (2005) and the volume by Hopkins et al (2009), also cover this wide ranging debate on emotion theory in some detail, and chapters within these volumes, such as by

\textsuperscript{29} Originally noted in the aforementioned work of Duchenne and Darwin, cross-cultural research by Ekman and colleagues carried out since the mid 1970s has shown that these primary emotions were expressed in the face in the same way for all participants (Turner and Stets 2005:12).
Denzin (1992; 2007) and Hochschild (1998; 2009) revisit seminal work on emotion and explore numerous conceptual themes. This continuing debate is illustrative of the tension with regard to the positioning of emotion as something that is either wholly socially and culturally constructed or something that might, even in part, be biological and thus naturally occurring. The outcome for some has been the suggestion that these are not opposing positions but rather they are complementary. In the introduction to a series of recent articles on the future of emotion research Barrett (2010) refers to the ‘social and natural worlds’, referring to those which emerge from social construction and those which are innate and natural occurring and she suggests that:

To understand what emotions are and how they work, investigation must situate emotions more clearly and unambiguously in the immediate social context, the broader cultural context, as well as the historical context. (Barrett 2010: 203)

Barrett also refers to ‘old debates that continue to rage on’ and indeed many authors revisit these issues in order to situate their research (e.g. Wentworth and Ryan 1994; Turner 2010; Hochschild 2003a), an approach that is followed in this review. Whilst these volumes attempt to move the discussion towards greater consensus they also serve to highlight the complexity of interpreting the meaning of emotion and subjectivity from an individual or societal perspective. Thus the crux of their arguments appears to focus on the point at which the emotion is given meaning by the person experiencing it and by the person observing it in another person. Biological emotions are seen as uncontrolled and not preconceived in any way; however, following James (1884), they may be given meaning by the person experiencing them when they are perceived as a sensation\(^{30}\). The outward appearance of this sensation, such as sweating, blushing or shaking, is the point at which the emotion is given a social and cultural meaning, a meaning that is carried forth into future situations. However, the cultural meaning could result in a

\(^{30}\) This is of interest to the present study because as explored earlier with regard to electronic emotions the mobile phone (and other ICTs) might be a means for the stimulation of this type of interaction between people and thus the emotion sensation they experience as they perceive the emotion.
misinterpretation of the original intent – is the person reacting in this way because they are nervous, excited, threatened or comforted? There are multiple possibilities.

Thus despite the criticism of some authors there do now appear to be some commonly held views taken by sociologists in their research on emotion which accommodates a general acceptance of the presence of some primary (biological) emotions and acknowledges the interplay of the body, society and relationships in the development and perception of emotions (Wentworth and Yardley 1994). This is important to this present study because it follows that an assumption can be made that there probably are a set of emotions that are the same regardless of culture and social interaction, but, as suggested by the concept of primary, secondary and tertiary emotions there are other emotions that can be ascribed to social and cultural effects and these can vary considerably in interpretation. However, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter, there are also a number of different theories of emotion that, although linked by some mutual citations, have developed from different classifications and interpretations of emotions. In the remainder of this chapter I now explore the interpretation of emotion in interactionist research through Hochschild’s studies of feeling rules and emotion management.

### 3.2 Feeling Rules and Emotion Management

Hochschild’s work on feeling rules and emotion management draws considerably on interactionist theorists and has close links to Goffmans’s concept of face-work. She also draws on Darwins’ organismic theory, and Freud’s work on signalling emotions, to frame her analysis. She explains the juxtaposition of the organismic and the interactional approaches as follows:

In the organismic model, social factors merely trigger biological reactions and help steer the expression of these reactions into customary channels. In the interactional model, social factors enter into the very formulation of emotions, through codification, management and expression. (Hochschild 2003a: 217)
Indeed, Hochschild posits that feelings are much more a result of social interaction than the organismic theorists had considered, and much more a result of bodily reactions than the interactionist theorists had considered (Hochschild 2003a). In elucidating these organismic and constructivist approaches Hochschild uses Freud’s (1926) work that explored anxiety as a ‘signal function’, to bring these two apparently opposing theories together. She uses this concept of signalling to refer to all emotions (not only anxiety) and to attempt to understand the feelings within the self, asserting that:

Every emotion does signal the “me” I put into seeing “you”. It signals the often unconscious perspective we apply when we go about seeing. Feeling signals that inner perspective. (Hochschild 2003a: 30)

This signalling of feelings is an indication of the expectation of an emotion and it provides the link between the organismic and interactionist approach. It is the combination of these three elements that form the basis for Hochschild’s analysis of emotion which she suggests might form the basis for a new social theory of emotion (Hochschild 2003a: 232). The part that signalling plays is complex and depends on the existence of the ‘prior self’ to whom an emotion, such as fear, is being signalled.

Most of us maintain a prior expectation of a continuous self, but the character of the self we expect to maintain is subject to profoundly social influence (Hochschild 2003a: 231)

Thus, she asserts, by the time people become adults they have established their own modus operandi for dealing with all types of events, responding to their feelings with emotions and actions elicited by social factors, as well as their prior experiences pertaining to these events. This concept of the prior self, and the unconscious ways that people go about their lives acting without apparently needing to think about it are reflective of the work of the symbolic interactionist Mead  

31 Her seminal work on the topic ‘The Managed Heart’, first published in 1983, was re-issued as a new 20th anniversary edition with an Afterword that explored developments over the 20 years. It is this 2003 edition that I refer to in this chapter.
(1967), to whom Hochschild (2003a) also refers. Mead’s work on interaction (that was later developed by Goffman (1959) and Blumer (1969) explored the interaction with the self, as well as interaction in social settings. In many ways the individual is determining their actions through this interaction with their self. This is illustrated by Mead’s concept of ‘I and me’ in which ‘I’ is the spontaneous innate behaviour that only happens without forethought, immediately becoming ‘me’ as a result of social interaction. This is the notion of the human being as an actor who interacts with her/himself.

I talk to myself and I remember what I said and perhaps the emotional content that went with it. The “I” of the moment is present in the “me” of the next moment. (Mead 1967: 174)

The awareness of the self that comes about as a result of this interaction provides an opportunity to understand more about the close connectivity between emotion, self and subjectivity, and also about the social mores that shape this understanding. The part that emotion plays in this process is less well explained in Mead’s work although it is implicit in the process and outcome of social interaction. This was illustrated by Goffman’s work on embarrassment (Goffman 1956; 1967) and on the presentation of self in which he asserted that whilst we see that the individual:

[...] projects a definition of the situation when he appears before others, we must also see that the others, however passive their role may seem to be, will themselves effectively project a definition of the situation by virtue of their response to the individual and by virtue of any lines of action they initiate to him. (Goffman 1959: 20)

These interactions between individuals are manifest in expressions of feelings appropriate to the ‘line’ they are following and they establish the form for the expected behaviour for that occasion. Hochschild’s studies take the work of Goffman and other interactionists a stage further to explore the emotions that are associated with these behaviours and especially how social interaction determines the actions of the inner self, that which is kept private.
Hochschild refers to these behaviours as 'surface acting' and 'deep acting'. The former is a forced expression or response to a particular situation and one which might be perceived by others to be false. Deep acting, on the other hand, is an emotion response that can be imagined but appears to others to be a completely natural and believable act (Hochschild 2003a: 102). Deep acting reflects the etiquettes and norms of society and how others might be expected to behave.

Although she began her research within an organisational and business environment, Hochschild also explored the private everyday lives of people to consider her findings with regard to deep acting. She asserted that people had become so accustomed to responding to situations with appropriate behaviours reflecting the way they ought to feel they did not even think about whether it was actually how they did feel. However, from time to time, a person's emotion response to a situation might surprise them: maybe they did not feel upset about a friend's illness, causing them to question their feelings and to have to do some surface acting to mitigate the situation. Furthermore when recounting a memory of a particularly emotional experience, such as a relationship breakdown, the feelings might have diminished such that the experience was not recalled in as strong emotional terms as was expected as 'the realness of a feeling wavers more through time' (Hochschild 2003a: 45).

Hochschild explains that these experiences of surface and deep acting are manifested in what she terms the 'feeling rules' that each person uses to manage their everyday life experiences. Thus, sometimes feelings might be shown that one is not actually experiencing at the time, perhaps because the cultural setting requires a particular response.

Given such feeling rules, we may then try to manage our feelings. We try to be happy at a party, or grief-stricken at a funeral. In short, it is through our perception of an interaction, our definition of feeling, our appraisal of feeling and our management of feeling that feeling is social. (Hochschild 2009: 3)
Thus, according to Hochschild, feeling rules show how social interaction in effect forces one to manage the feelings one shows to others, whether or not these feelings are a true representation; Hochschild (2003a) refers to these situations as ‘moments of pinch’. At times what is expected of them by perhaps an employer, another person or a social setting is more than they can emotionally manage at that moment and they simply pretend, expressing an emotion they feel appropriate for the occasion. However, there are some instances in which their own feelings must take priority and they draw on their deep acting to manage the situation. The example in Hochschild’s original study is that of the flight attendants who were required to smile and be polite regardless of their own feelings and the behaviours of their customers. This enforced ‘glad handling’ of customers meant that some staff spoke of their ‘smiles being “on” them, not “of” them’ (Hochschild 2003a: 8). They had learned to give bodily expression to emotions that they were not actually feeling but were expected of them. The outcome of this deep acting is that feeling rules are used to protect the self and as Hochschild asserts:

In the end it seems we make up an idea of our “real self” an inner jewel that remains our unique possession, no matter whose billboard is on our back or whose smile on our face we push this real self further inside making it more inaccessible. (Hochschild, 2003a: 34)

These feeling rules (following Goffman) are being used to manage front stage behaviours in people’s everyday lives, whilst protecting and maintaining the intimacy of their back stage individuality. Furthermore, feeling rules that govern the deep acting can also transgress national borders as people struggle to manage jobs in one country, such as those which involve caring for others, whilst managing their own feelings for loved ones left at home.

A growing number of care workers leave the young and elderly of their families and communities in the poor South to take up paid jobs “giving their hearts to” the young and elderly in families and communities in the affluent North. Such jobs often call on workers to manage grief, depression, and anguish vis-a-vis their own children, spouses, and parents, even as they genuinely feel—and try to feel—
joyful attachment to the children and elders they daily care for in the
North. (Hochschild 2009)

Although Hochschild does not specifically mention the use of mobile phones in her
research, in the last chapter there was a similar example of migrant workers who
maintained contact in these situations using mobile phones (Pertierra 2005).

Over a period of time, relationships such as these long distance family connections
are managed by feeling rules that allow for the understanding that there will be some
that are imagined or that are false, and that these can effectively be traded over time.
Accordingly, any imbalance of emotional debt, one to the other, will be repaid either
actually, or with intent to do so. 'We return a worked-up cheerfulness, a pretended
interest, or a suppressed frustration for something else that we both consider
equivalent over the long haul' (Hochschild 2003a: 84).

The feeling rules that people use in relationships help them to determine what an
appropriate emotional response to everyday situations might be. In so doing people
constantly attempt to resolve the conflicting demands of those involved in such a
way that the outcome is right for everyone. Hochschild posits that 'We put our
emotion to private use. Through deep acting we share it and offer it in exchange'
(Hochschild 2003a: 85). Furthermore if the signals people use to communicate the
depth acting are diluted or diminished, the relationship that is managed by these
mutually understood signals may start to fail. In private life she suggests it is
possible to renegotiate the feeling rules that apply to relationships and that relate to
these signals, whereas in a work situation this is not so practicable; thus there are
different rules for managing emotions in private and work lives, as well as in
different relationships.

Although Hochschild separates the management of feelings in private from work
life, she also notes that there is increasing evidence that people are introducing work
practices into their private lives (such as life coaches, party and wedding planners
who carry out tasks and take responsibility for jobs family members might
previously have done themselves). This is especially to manage their work-life
balance more efficiently (Hochschild 2003a; 2009). Commenting on her own earlier
work Hochschild (2003a) recognises that this dichotomy no longer prevails, positing
that there is now a third sector of social life that involves a mix of family and work
cultures which she names 'marketized private life' (Hochschild 2003a: 203). This
change in social practices has some analogies with the renegotiation of
domestication (Silverstone 2006) discussed in the last chapter, in which it was
suggested that the mobile phone has domesticated public space for private use with
respect to ICTs. Whereas feeling rules had been much more location specific with
work and home life being separate, current work practices allow for both work and
private lives to be managed at the same time and this has created a new realm that is
neither at home, nor at a place of work. The deep acting that is involved in
maintaining personal and work relationships can now happen anywhere, and feeling
rules must adapt to the changing location.

Controlling and managing feeling rules is not always in the gift of the person
experiencing them; for example, an employer may demand certain emotion
responses in return for a wage. This use of emotion to manage this continual process
of interaction twixt self and the world is the focus for Hochschild's treatise on
emotional labour.

This approach to feeling offers us a way of looking at all spheres of
life, including work. When paid to do certain jobs, we do what I call
"emotional labor"—the effort to seem to feel and to try to really feel
the "right" feeling for the job, and to try to induce the "right" feeling
in certain others. (Hochschild 2009: 3)

Hochschild's emotional labour explicates the layers of emotion and emotion
management being carried out by the individual as they first encounter their own
feelings, then their response to what others might expect from them, and then again
for how they are affected by this response and so on. Hochschild had noted that
people would manage their emotions in work situations such that a public display of
emotion—a smile or a particular stance for example—would be delivered as part of
their job. Her research into air stewardesses and debt collectors had recognised that
both these groups of workers were required to express emotions that they might not
be feeling at the time, and to respond to customers who were also expressing
emotions that might also be different from their own feelings (such as an angry air passenger upset by a family matter, or a distressed debtor) (Hochschild 2003a). However, although Hochschild’s work on emotional labour was developed to specifically address emotion work, it is applicable to other interactions between people such as shopping transactions and even to relationships between families and friends32.

Exploring the sociology of emotion through the concepts of feeling rules, emotion management and emotional labour has highlighted the complexities of managing emotion in human relations. The process of acquiring appropriate emotion responses over time leads people to respond to situations through deep acting as they and others expect. However, Hochschild acknowledges that the feeling rules people use to manage their emotions are not necessarily entirely the result of social (and cultural) interaction. Humans have innate emotion responses too that will, perhaps unexpectedly, emerge when their emotion response to a situation is not as they and others were expecting. There is also the situation ‘when the ‘real’ and the ‘acted’ self will be tested by an actual situation’ (Hochschild 2003a: 133). Although the examples Hochschild explores to illustrate this point refer to the trading of emotional labour in employment situations, it might also apply to a non-work situation, or to when there is no clear separation between work and home life such as might be enabled by ICTs like the mobile phone. Indeed she suggests that some people are better at deep acting than others and find separating their real self from the acted self less of a problem than others might.

The idea of a separation between the two selves is not only acceptable but welcome to them. […] They talk of their feelings not as spontaneous natural occurrences but as objects they have learned to govern and control. (Hochschild 2003a: 133)

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32 Duncombe and Marsden (1993) highlight the unexpected part that emotion labour plays in the relationship between couples as they examined the mismatch of expectations that appeared after only a few months of marriage.
Hochschild suggests that these are more likely to be the people who are older and more experienced in work and life, a point pertinent to this present study that is researching older and more experienced respondents. Hochschild's discussion of her social theory of emotions is apposite to the present study in other ways too. Her approach develops the studies of the interactionists that largely explored observed behaviours, extending their findings with regard to the presentation of the self to exploring the inner and more private self. In addition, her approach to emotion management would appear to be applicable to the peripatetic lifestyles of many mobile phone users who are able to be at work or at home in any location.

3.3 Summarising Emotion in Sociology

The various theoretical and conceptual approaches discussed in this chapter study and report upon how emotion is dealt with in sociology and how it has developed in recent times. The discourse is clearly complex, interchanging between the context of emotion and the individual and how they might embody and manage emotions within the self, as well as their subjectivity and emotions in social relations and interaction in society. It appears that the different theoretical approaches developed since the early biological theories heed their predecessors, but it is the interactionist approach that dominates in the more recent studies of emotion discussed here. The early Darwinian (1872) organismic model assumed that emotions were innate and naturally occurring. The interactionists, whilst not denying the innate human ability to express emotion, took the view that all human actions were the result of interaction with others and/or with the self and that emotions both contribute to and are an outcome of this process. This is exemplified by Goffman and Hochschild who have developed Mead's (1967) initial interactionist model that presented the human as an actor who interacts with him/herself. Goffman (1959) developed his dramaturgical metaphor in which human acts were seen as performances played out in the context of the moment and influenced by the co-present. Emotions for Goffman (1956; 1959; 1967), could be described as symptoms or effects of the performance. Hochschild (2003a), on the other hand, postulates that emotions are internalised into the inner self, and then managed by individuals using feeling rules.
for particular social settings as well as being traded between relationships in return for similar favours over the long term.

Alongside the discussions of the developing concepts and theories of emotion there is also the question of emotion names which has been shown to be an important factor in the analysis of emotion in sociology. The linguistic aspects of emotion are complex and, as Davitz (1969), Crossley (1998), and Hochschild (2003a) contend, the meaning of emotion words and the expression of emotions can be very different across cultures and in different contexts.

Emotion in sociology is thus at once to be explored both as part of the self and subjectivity, and also within the socio–relational environment of human interaction. This review has identified a large corpus of mostly interactionist studies that can be used to inform the analysis of emotion in mobile phone use. It would also appear there is scope for examining it in the context of both the biological and the interactionist theories as there are certainly some cross-historical and cross-cultural continuities in the literature; for example some types of emotion such as those described as ‘primary emotions’ (Turner 2000). The designation of emotions into categories does, however, suggest that some might be considered to be foundational and indeed the concept of primary, secondary and tertiary classification would appear to confirm this. However, theoretical discussion about the social meaning of emotion offers more than one approach to interpreting emotion, particularly when considered from the aspect of the subjectivity of the individual. This has raised questions about when the emotion is acquired or recognised: is it when the individual recognises a physical change in their demeanour, when an interaction takes place with the self or others or when it is observed by another person? In terms of mobile phone use the emotion might be the result of the physical or haptic interaction with the mobile phone, such as results from the touch of the ear or hand, or felt on the body through a pocket (as suggested in research on mobile phone use by Hjorth and Kim 2004; Lasén 2005; Vincent 2005a). However, emotions may also result from the mental stimulations that arise from the communications, such as with loved ones, mediated by the device and thus result from social interaction. Rather than there being a single solution it is likely that the explanation lies at least across both approaches and possibly more. The complexities of human relationships, as
well as the interactions with the self that are mediated by the mobile phone, would appear to create opportunities for multiple emotions simultaneously, and these emotions belong not only to the mobile phone user but also to the people with whom they are communicating as well. Understanding the subjectivities of mobile phone users in relation to their emotions requires an understanding of how and why they are using their mobile phone and the emotions it invokes. Identifying the moments when the mobile phone is mediating emotions and their effect on subjectivity is problematic, not least because it has been interwoven into so many aspects of everyday life. Accordingly this requires a form of research design that allows for the multiple perspectives of everyday life to be fully explored and it is to the research design and strategies for the collection of relevant data that I now turn to in the next chapter.
4. METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

My research topic of emotion in the social practices of mobile phone users aims to discover how emotion mediated through the mobile phone occurs in the everyday lives of the respondents in this present study. The research problem came about as a result of noting in the results of a study into the social practices of mobile phone users (Vincent and Harper 2003), that emotion was implicitly associated with the use of mobile phones. This has been further exemplified by research reported in the literature in the life of this present study, such as Sugiyama's research on Japanese youth and their attachment to their mobile phones (Sugiyama 2009).

The research question explored in this present study is based on the assumption that a body of knowledge exists both about emotions in sociology and about the social practices of mobile phone users that may include reference to emotion. These are the topics explored in the previous chapters that formed the literature review, and which also examined the theories that set out the framework for this present study and in which my research design is located. These are the interactionist theories of Goffman (1959; 1967), Silverstone and Hirsch (1992) and Hochschild (2003a; 2003b). Furthermore, the literature review also examined some aspects of how emotion has been researched in sociology (e.g. Barbalet 1998; Hochschild 2003a; Turner and Stets 2005; 2006) and also how it has been used to explicate the social practices of mobile phone users (e.g. Katz and Aakhus 2002; Ling 2004; Fortunati 2005a, 2005b; Arminen and Wielenmann 2009; Vincent and Fortunati 2009; Ling and Donner 2009; Höflich et al 2010).

It became apparent from this literature review that the interpretivist approach dominates the research on mobile phone studies; social practices of mobile phone users are seen as socially constructed activities, a view that I share. This approach to the research flows throughout the studies reported in the literature review, including research by others into mobile phone use in which a number of research methods,
mostly qualitative and interpretive, were used. The more favoured approaches for examining mobile phone users and their social practices were observational studies, questionnaires and/or self reported communication diaries, focus groups, biographical accounts and interviews, (for example Fortunati 2001; Plant 2002; Lasén 2004; Höflich 2005; Harper and Hamill 2005; Haddon 2007a; Hjorth 2007; Ling 2008; Turkle 2008). Although these studies were informative, as I began to design the research for this present study I was aware that there was limited sociological research on the topic of emotion and mobile phones, and very little that examined users who are in not an age group of predominantly teenagers and young adults.

The objectives for this present study were thus to explore the personal experiences of some mobile phone users in the UK through their stories of mobile phone use; to understand from this data how emotion occurs when they use mobile phones, and how this might impact on their subjectivity or affect their presentation of self. In order to explore mobile phone use by older people the research is based on a cross sectional study of forty mobile phone users aged over forty. As I aimed to contribute a new body of work to the international corpus of social research on mobile phones the study was designed to explore aspects of mobile phone use that complement, and add to, the contemporaneous research discussed in the review.

4.2 Research Design

The research design for the present study uses an interactionist theoretical framework and locating the research question within theories that explore three facets of social interaction: dramaturgy, domestication and emotion management provides the opportunity to interpret the social practices of mobile phone users from multiple perspectives. Following this constructivist approach I discuss in this section why I have chosen qualitative research methods for data collection that use open ended interviews (supplemented by observation in the interview) and thematic and narrative methods for analysis (Mason 2002; Silverman 2006; Alexander et al 2008). However, before exploring the qualitative methods used in this present study I first
examine some other research methods that have been used to look at the social practices of mobile phone users and comment on why these methods have not been used for exploring my research problem.

For many years large scale quantitative analyses of mobile phone users have been conducted within the communications industry\(^{33}\) which has access to many measurements of mobile phone use for their customers such as length of calls, location of use, volume of text messages, data usage and more. Although this research showed the speed and depth of the penetration of mobile phone ownership within society, as well as just how prolific some users were, it did not offer an answer as to why this might be the case. Indeed, the classification of mobile phone use according to numerical data regarding usage patterns, or the geographical location of the communications sent and received, is perhaps of even less value when considering emotion as a factor in the social practices of the users. This is largely because, apart from raising unanswered questions about why these usage patterns occur, these extensive quantitative data only inform us about frequency of use and location of use with no evidence about what this is for or why it is happening in these locations. A few studies that included investigation of the emotion response to various ICTs (not all included mobile phones) have been carried out, such as in Italy (Fortunati 1997; Fortunati and Manganelli 1998) and across Europe (Kant and Mante-Meijer 1998; Ling 2005). These used quantitative and qualitative mixed methods to identify and analyse, for example, the percentage of respondents who felt particular emotion responses (Fortunati 2009a) according to a classification of emotions used in a questionnaire. These studies showed that emotion was a factor in the use of ICTs, however, whilst providing an indication of the number of respondents who felt particular emotions, it still did not give a hint as to why this might be, or how the emotion might be situated with regard to the individual mobile phone user and their personal circumstances at the time they experienced the emotion.

\(^{33}\) Some of the data has been made available via company reports or through organisations such as OFCOM www.ofcom.org.uk or the Mobile Data Association www.themda.org.uk
Having obtained a classification of emotions such as from the Fortunati and Manganelli study it would, of course, be possible to introduce it into a further study and, using techniques such as Likert scaling (Likert 1932), determine how much someone might be affected by these particular emotions with regard to mobile phones. However, in so doing one would be assuming only the emotions obtained from this one particular study might be relevant to the participants in a different study. Further, this might overlook different emotions not included in the classification but experienced by the new participants. The numerous taxonomies that have been developed in the study of emotions in sociology are further demonstrative of the need to consider the emotion relevant to the participants and the context of each research study (Turner and Stets 2005; Turner 2010). These taxonomies of emotion can serve to inform and guide the understanding of the research problem, they can assist in formulating the research question, but they appear to be unsuited for the particular nuances of the data collection and analysis of a new study without further elaboration. Thus, in order to achieve this greater depth of understanding about emotion and mobile phone use by the participants in this present study I have considered in particular, how to obtain data that question, for example, why people used emotion words to talk about their mobile phone, how emotion was expressed and what were the meanings and effects of these emotions?

I therefore turn now to why research methods that are designed to obtain and interpret qualitative data are perhaps best used to explore emotions in the social practices of mobile phone users. There are a number of data collection methods such as interviews, focus groups, observation or document analysis that provide different ways of generating data (Cooper 2008; Alexander et al 2008). Similarly there are a number of qualitative analytic methods including conversation, narrative and thematic analysis that offer different ways to explain the data. What they have in common is the use of the interpretive approach to examine how social practices manifest in the day to day lives of the respondents. This interpretive approach has been in use for decades and, as explained in the introduction, has been used to good effect by many to examine the social practices of information communication technology users (including mobile phones). This apparent preference for qualitative methods in researching mobile phone users is possibly due to a number of factors, not least that it provides scope to obtain particular insights at a more
individual and personal level into why certain social practices associated with mobile phone use might occur in the personal lives of the respondents. The unit of research is usually the individual mobile phone user and this is particularly pertinent when considering that the mobile phone is also an individual item owned and used by one person. This is in contrast to the fixed telephone, and indeed other communications media such as desk top computers, that are often shared by people in the household or office.

Using qualitative methods assumes a constructivist perspective with regard to the social practices of the respondents, and thus one would expect to find inconsistencies, as well as patterns, to emerge in the results. In this present study I have used combined qualitative data collection and analysis methods\(^\text{34}\) to augment the complementarities that can be obtained out of the incongruities of the data (Mason 2002; Alexander et al 2008). Thus the validity of the research is improved by broadening the data source as well as the analysis.

The research strategy used in this present study aimed to draw out from the respondents data that was relevant to their every-day use of mobile phones, rather than what they might have been doing at the moment they completed a questionnaire or attended a focus group or on the day of the interview. Instead, the interviewees were asked to recall past experiences and favourite moments in which their mobile phone figured and in this way stories about experiences of mobile phone use could be obtained that extended throughout the period they had owned their mobile phone rather than only in the recent past. For example, it would appear from previous research (Dietmar 2005; Lasén 2005; Chayko 2008; Ling and Donner 2009) that each incidence of mobile phone use is not a series of separate periods but a continuous grazing or dropping in and out of contact, or simply the holding or thinking about the mobile phone. These are the kinds of behaviours that are not easily measured, but which are more likely to be found as a result of interpretive analysis of data obtained from the qualitative collection methods discussed here.

\(^\text{34}\) Open ended interviews with observation notes, reflexive interaction, and thematic and narrative analysis
Qualitative research methods do present some challenges for the researcher with regard to ensuring a reliable and valid outcome. This is a point of discussion within literature (Lofland 1971; Miles and Huberman 1994; Mason 2002; Denzin and Lincoln 2003; 2008) in which it is suggested that the lack of common method and an approach that allows for multiple interpretations of data can be problematic. However, on the contrary, it is probably this acknowledgement of the variety of interpretations that is at the heart of qualitative analysis and it is the lack of common method that allows for new evidence to emerge. As Denzin and Lincoln assert ‘There is no single interpretive truth...’ (2008: 35), but instead this approach allows the researcher to follow the interpretive route that is determined by the evidence in their study.

In the remainder of this chapter I will look first at the ways my research question can be addressed with reference to the sample selected, to the use of unstructured open-ended interviews and observation in these interviews (May 1983; 2001; Fielding and Thomas 2008; Gillham 2000; Mason 2002; Silverman 2006; Denzin and Lincoln 2008), and to thematic and narrative analysis (Boyatzis 1998; Plummer 2001; Czarniawska 2004; Gilbert 2008; Earthy and Cronin 2008), which are the methods that I have chosen to use in this study. I then examine ethical considerations surrounding the research problem and in which I set out my own beliefs and values that influence my interpretation of the data.

4.3 Data Collection

4.3.1 Selecting the Sample

In the review of the literature I had noted that most studies of mobile phone users tended to concentrate only on young people\textsuperscript{35} and that people, aged forty and older were not well researched. Accordingly I decided to investigate this older age group, and the respondents who participated in this study were aged from forty to eighty – most were aged between 45 and 65. Further details of these respondents are contained in Appendix 4. Overall I conducted forty interviews with an equal gender

\textsuperscript{35} Studies by Williamson (1994), Sørensen (2006) and in Haddon (1997) are exceptions.
split, and this sample was used to ensure that I had enough valid data on which to make meaningful comparisons, and that would also assist in challenging and avoiding assumptions derived from literature sources or my personal experiences (Mason 2002). In examining this older age group I was aware that they may (or may not) perceive the role of the mobile phone in their lives differently from that of the much younger users reported in the academic literature, (some of whom I had personally interviewed in the past, Vincent 2004). Indeed, following Hepworth’s discussion of ageing and emotions (Hepworth 1998), I was aware that there might be expectations (my own and the respondents’) of different behaviours for the life stage(s). However, as Hepworth’s study notes, this was a misconception and people of all ages often have similar feelings in response to certain situations. For example, as is explored by Davis in his study of nostalgia, it is people of all ages not just the old who have a yearning for the past (Davis 1979). It should be noted here that as I am within the age group of my sample, and I have used a mobile phone for 23 years, there is an added dimension of empathy to do with age, as well as the other reflexive factors discussed elsewhere in this chapter.

In seeking candidates for interview in this study, I made use of a variety of networking opportunities such as asking former work colleagues and friends to approach people, either directly or through others on my behalf, allowing the recruitment to snowball. The sources included on-line social and business networks such as Facebook.com and Linkedin.com, as well as my own professional and personal networks including business conferences and seminars, artists and crafts people, youth organisations, telecommunications professionals, allotment holders and local schools.

All interviewees were located in the UK, mainly in the South East. Selecting interviewees in this way meant that I have not sought a particular demographic segment of society and there was, of course, a risk that despite attempts to avoid similarities of background the interviewees might still have more in common than owning a mobile phone as they were, of course linked, however tenuously, with me, or with each other through the snowballing approach (Sturgis 2008). Indeed, it transpired that over half of the respondents did in fact have a common link, but it was with information communication technologies. This was mainly through their
employment history and it meant that they were more knowledgeable than the remainder of the respondents about the machinations of the communications technology in which they had a particular interest. These respondents were from a broad range of sources and could perhaps have been a self selected sample of willing participants due to their general interest in the research topic. What it has provided, however, is a rich and unexpected source of data from people, some of whom had a very close relationship with the design and build of mobile phones and ICT infrastructure over a period of up to forty years. The specialist knowledge of these respondents has enabled me to broaden my analysis as the emotion they expressed was particularly strong with regard to the mobile phone and the technology associated with it.

4.3.2 Managing the Interviews

The interviews were conducted in a quiet location set up for the interview. This was either a room at the University, a meeting room at the interviewee’s place of work or in their home, and was the location of choice for the interviewee. I decided that I would interview the respondents for an hour, or for as long as they were not discomfited by the experience36 (which in some instances shortened or lengthened this duration). The invitation letter and consent form in Appendices 2 and 3 were used to inform the respondents of the purpose of the interview, and the plan for the interview is shown in Appendix 1 (although only two questions were specifically asked of each interviewee). The interviews were very simply structured with an opening question that asked the interviewee for how long they had owned or used a mobile phone and why they bought it in the first place. This was intended to provide a common baseline for the data and on which to build the interview, and it also gave me an indication of how many years the interviewee had been using a mobile phone. It was also informed by previous research projects I had been involved with in which, without exception, the participants had been willing to talk freely about their mobile phone use in interviews and focus groups (Hamill et al 2004; Vincent and Haddon 2004). I conducted four pilot interviews before setting up the remainder of

36 From my preliminary enquiries it was clear that few people were willing to give up more than an hour of their time and, although their scepticism was not justified, they could not foresee what they would find to say for even an hour on the topic.
the meetings, but I did not find it necessary to make any changes to the interview plan as a direct result of the pilot interviews. What did happen, as might be expected from this interpretivist approach, was that as the interviews progressed I probably provided a greater indication of interest with regard to some discussions opened up by the interviewees if these built on emerging themes from previous interviews. Based on these emerging themes I obviously had some expectations of what might be covered in the interview. As one might expect, the interviewee also had their expectations regarding what may be discussed, or there could be something particular they wanted to talk about. Towards the end of the interview, I asked if there was anything they had wanted to say or had expected to be asked that we had not covered. This gave the respondent the opportunity to talk through their expectations and deal with any mismatches between these and what had actually happened. This also provided me with further insights into how they viewed their mobile phone, as well as to validate some of the material already gathered.

I used my own judgement and interview skills to ensure the reliability of the material gathered in the interview. Aspects of the interviews can be rechecked by recapping but in most instances, I was reliant on the interviewee being truthful and recalling events as accurately as they were able. It is known that people do not always admit to things that they do, nor do they have completely accurate recall (Cohen and Lemish 2002; Barnet et al 2006). However, giving respondents the opportunity to tell their stories about their own experiences with their mobile phone offered me greater depth of insight into their social practices, one that I could not assume would be obtained from a questionnaire, diary or structured interview. Other studies, for example using diaries with follow up interviews, have found that the interview is limited by the activities that occurred during the diary period (Haddon and Vincent 2007). By contrast, the respondents in the present study recalled how they felt about events and experiences that happened to them when using their mobile phone rather than when and where and for how long they used the device. These recalled events were part of the explanation for the feelings the respondent was expressing.

My aim was to allow the respondents to come up with their own experiences from a time within their own memories and not require them to recall it from a specific
period determined by the researcher. They may be prompted by, for example, a specific journey, the distance and time apart from a loved one or from work, or about a particular time in their child's life. In choosing to use the examples they gave the respondents were recounting experiences with the mobile phone that had created lasting memories for them and had an impact on them in some way. A snapshot from a diary or a questionnaire may provide data about mobile phone use, but this may not be as good an account of lasting memories, relationships and emotions as can be obtained from open-ended interviews, which might offer a closer link to understanding their subjectivity.

In order to minimise any negative impact of the interview experience, and to encourage the respondent to 'be themselves', I decided to only audio record the interviews with a table microphone and no video. By conducting each session as a conversation in which the topics and content were mostly led by the respondent and developed via elicitation techniques into expanding themes, I aimed to keep them at ease and thus not be intimidated by the experience.

Although the iterative and participatory role of the researcher in the interview and in the process of interpretation and analysis is intentional in this study, caution does have to be exercised regarding how much empathy exists between the researcher and their respondents, and how much they are affected by the content of the interviews. Holland (2007) examines this reflexive position of the researcher in the process of interviewing and analysis. Referring to research by Duncombe and Jessop (2002) Holland discusses whether there might be a special rapport between women in the interview situation enabled through the role of the researcher and their empathy and identification with the respondents. Holland highlights the tension that exists between using this approach to obtain good research material and the effects on the respondent, and perhaps the researcher, of the emotions generated in this way that may not otherwise have emerged. Thus, in researching emotions it might be difficult to keep separate both the interviewer's and respondent's emotions and their response to the discussion taking place for the particular study. Hochschild's (2003a) analysis of emotion management is pertinent here as one might question how much an interview is governed by the feeling rules of the participants. A further point of consideration is about determining how strongly respondents might feel, express and
share their emotions and indeed, whether strength of feeling is relevant to this study. Referring back to Hochschild’s feeling rules I would suggest that strength of feeling is certainly a factor. She referred to the different approaches of emotion management: deep acting used to convey trained, imagined feelings and surface acting that was a more superficial response (Hochschild 2003a: 37-39). On an individual basis the feeling rules used by respondents might indicate their strength of feeling with regard to the emphasis or importance given to the different stories told during the interview. This is an important point when considering the design of open-ended interviews. Therefore, in the next section I discuss how I planned to obtain the personal accounts of the participants through the use of open ended interviews, mindful that the interview is a social interaction in which one must expect the interlocutors to influence and be influenced by each other. The ways that my own beliefs and values might influence or be influenced is also considered and explored further in the later sections on interpretation and ethics.

4.4 Open Ended Interviews

Mason (2002: 56), in her discussion of qualitative research strategies, refers to the ‘highly interpretive’ biographical, life history and humanist approaches which focus on people as social actors. The stories the participants tell put across their views and convey a sense of their subjectivity through the telling of personal and often intimate experiences. Silverman (2006) discusses various methods for recording these personal accounts of social practices; such as through more structured interviews, focus groups and other guided methods, as well as whether to simply let the respondents lead by letting them speak or act freely with no guidance or prompting. This expression of self through accounts of life experiences is an additional source of literature on emotion (Davies 1992; Bondi 2003; Letherby and Reynolds 2009) that, like Hochschild’s work (1975; 2003a), has its foundations mainly in feminist literature but has also developed to be applicable in broader areas such as in ICTs research. An example of this approach is the concept of a ‘technobiography’ developed by Henwood et al (2001) and Kennedy (2003), which explores peoples’ social interaction with ICTs by examining personal encounters with technology.
Recounting narratives of their lived experiences first-hand, women and men have provided a subjective analysis of the effect of technologies on them and, of how their own social practices and those of their close family integrate with their everyday lives (Hochschild 1998; Turkle 2008; Letherby and Reynolds 2009). The author of a technobiography interprets their personal interaction with technology and the effects of it on their self. This approach complements other interpretive studies such as by Ling (2001), Palen and Salzman (2002) and Light (2009) whose work also explored the interaction of people with technologies (their mobile phone) but are the outcome of studying others, not themselves.

My aim in gathering material through in depth, open ended, face-to-face interviews was to obtain a self reported account of each respondent’s own mobile phone experiences in their own words, recording both the spoken word and noting some of their corresponding actions during the interview. These self-reported examples of how the respondent’s mobile phone fitted into their day to day life were influenced by the memories triggered during the interview experience and by the emotions the telling of their stories prompted. This provided a storyline about their mobile phone practices (not necessarily chronological) told to me in their own words, giving some examples of how they used it in their day to day lives. It also provided examples of what meanings could be attributed to the mobile with regard to its affective qualities and the respondent’s emotions by considering the ways they expressed or explained these experiences, as well as from the words they used. Finding out people’s stories and personal accounts of how mobile phones figure in their everyday lives, and their own mobile phone(s) in particular, required the respondents to be willing to share personal information about their lives. As has been previously discussed I planned that in the interview conversation the stories the interviewees told should be reactive to the topics they raised, rather than in response to particular questions. Some prompting questions to gently guide the conversation were therefore used if the interview faltered, or if they were talking about other peoples’ experiences more than their own. The specific exemplars given by the interviewees and used in the analysis often flowed from examples they had introduced rather than being offered in response to my asking them about that particular subject. Fielding and Thomas (2008) name the recording of personal accounts in unstructured interviews such as I was seeking to obtain as ‘non standardized’, referring to Lofland and Lofland’s
(1995) definition of it as a form of 'guided conversation'. They suggest that '...the non-standard approach is also valuable where the subject matter is sensitive or complicated' (Fielding and Thomas 2008: 248). I suggest both points apply to my research topic as the respondents are not only giving examples of their private behaviours and events that are personal to them, but the concept of emotion and mobile phones is indeed, a complicated subject. In terms of technique, their advice on probing in the interview is also pertinent to this present study in so far as intervention occurs only to expand upon topics raised by the respondent. 'The rule of thumb for when to probe is whenever you judge that the respondent's statement is ambiguous' (Fielding and Thomas 2008: 251). Making the interview seem an ordinary conversation is a positive outcome for the non-standardized interview, although caution is needed to avoid unintentionally influencing the outcome. Their discussion of the analytic stances towards interview data by symbolic interactionists is apposite to my approach:

These [open ended interviews] let respondents use their own way of defining the world, assume that no fixed sequence of questions is suitable to all respondents and allow respondents to raise considerations interviewers did not think of. (Fielding and Thomas 2008: 263)

Thus the open-ended interview provides the opportunity to gather a wealth of original material that can be analysed from an interactionist perspective. It is important, however, to acknowledge the special conditions of an interview, which, after all, no matter how much it is 'open-ended', is a stage-managed event. In Holland's (2007) analysis of emotion in research, she discusses the notion of memory and the reasons why people might give particular examples to explain their position, (this is similar to Hochschild's (2003a) concept of 'deep acting'). One must question whether the content of their conversation is perhaps drawing out an emotion that might have been stimulated by the conversation or the simple act of remembering. Further: 'It is expected that what is remembered is remembered because it is perhaps problematic, unfamiliar or in need of review' (Crawford et al., (1992) cited in Holland 2007). This does not necessarily mean that fewer examples
were given about positive experiences, or that the interview was in some way biased, rather one should be aware this might occur if left unchecked.

Interviewing is one way of achieving insights into the motivations and identity of the respondents and to explore their subjectivity; finding out what issues are important to them; how their identity might be shaped by the mobile phone device or if it may have become a symbol for who they are. Plummer (2001: 142) refers to the 'uniqueness of the person' as an important consideration when obtaining life stories, and thus each interview must relate to developing the relationship with the interviewee and not to other extraneous factors, or other interviewees. The interaction in the interview between the interviewer and respondent and by the respondent with him/herself provided the stimulus for the conversation that was recorded and transcribed, but it also involved bodily movement, gesture, facial expressions, change in tone and delivery of speech, and so on. In the literature review I commented on the differing benefits of observation records for my study (especially if there is no interaction with the people being observed). In these interviews I have augmented the verbal record by noting my observations of behaviours in the interviews to aid my analysis of the respondents' verbal accounts. For example, smiling and laughing, pauses in delivery and the way they handled their mobile phone all added to the emphasis of their accounts of mobile phone use. I was able to obtain an indication of their strength of feeling and some emotion responses from this data.

In this regard, when talking with the respondents about using a mobile phone I had to consider that sensitive and personal examples might be given by the interviewee to illustrate a point. In order to avoid the unintentional situation in which an interviewee might have felt coerced into talking about particular topics, I let them lead the conversation by prompting them to offer examples of their own experience to support the topics they raised. I was also mindful that they might become over-enthusiastic when talking about personal situations and perhaps divulge more than they intended. It was not my intention for the interview to become a 'therapeutic encounter' (Mason 2002: 47), but I did want the interviewee to feel comfortable and have an enjoyable experience. This was with both the interviewee and myself, the interviewer, in mind, as I was aware that I could also be affected by what was
discussed. I was conscious I did have some moral boundaries that might be different from the respondents’ regarding potential anecdotes they might choose to share. This highlights how the interactionist theoretical framework I am using for this study is also integral to and becomes embedded in the interview dialogue. The interview becomes influenced by the interaction between the participants, such as the expectations and management of embarrassment, or any other emotion, regarding the shared telling of intimate experiences or feelings, or the anticipation of what questions the interviewer may pose.

Although I have set out this chapter to discuss the collection and interpretation of the data separately, it is already clear from the discussion thus far that the process of analysis is an integral part of the actual interview event in that it begins as soon as the conversation with the interviewee begins. Nevertheless there remains a significant amount of interpretation still to be done after the interview and I will now discuss how the data that comprise the interview transcripts, the audio recordings and my observational notes are analysed further.

4.5 Interpreting the Data

The gathering of the qualitative data in interviews and observation to examine how emotions occur in the day to day use of mobile phones has allowed me to obtain ‘what Blaikie calls the “insider view” rather than imposing an “outsider view” ’ (Mason 2002:56). This aspect of the role of the researcher and how much they are part of the study itself is a recurring theme in the discussion of research methods. Denzin and Lincoln (2008) set out a research process for the collection and interpretation of qualitative material that begins by considering the role of the researcher in the process. This immediately acknowledges an earlier point, that of the reflexive position of the researcher as investigator and analyst in qualitative research, and how they are a part of the study. The impact of the researcher’s beliefs in this process clearly influences the outcome of the research. My own position with regard to this present study has been set out in Chapter 1 and in the introduction to
this chapter in which I explained my constructivist beliefs and values with regards to
my examination of the research problem.

Exploring and scrutinising the data enabled me to attain in depth knowledge and
understanding of this new material and provided the opportunity to categorise it
according to emerging themes by drawing on theory, other research, and keeping
close to the research question. Mason describes this process as ‘interpretive and
reflexive reading’ and that ‘whatever form of interpretive reading you adopt you will
be involved in reading “through or beyond the data” in some way’ (2002:149). This
process of reading and interpreting is a vital link with the final outcome of the
analysis as it is at this stage that decisions are made about what exactly the
respondent meant by what they said and how they acted at the time. An important
point of consideration is the meaning given by the researcher to words spoken by the
interviewee and the possible differences this may have from the intended meaning.
Denzin makes this point by stating ‘[a] story that is told is never the same story that
is heard’ (1989), highlighting that caution must be taken to avoid making meanings
from data that may not be intended. This reflexive role of the researcher in the
study is closely linked to the ethical considerations of the research. However, it is
important to note that reflexivity is a vital component of the interaction that takes
place during an interview, especially one that is open ended and mostly
unstructured. Interviews do not only enable interaction between the interviewer and
interviewee, but also enable interaction with the self (for both participants), such as
when an interviewee is recounting stories about their life experiences.

The presence of ‘story–like qualities’ (Earthy and Cronin 2008) in these accounts
being given by the respondents about their mobile phone experiences had become
apparent quite early on in the interviews. The interview allowed the respondent to
express their feelings about the subjects they raised, interacting with their own ideas
and developing their own story in the process. To some extent the stories had
developed from the ‘coaxing’ (Plummer 2001: 42) and encouragement of the
interviewer who has an interactive role within the interview. Rosenweld and
Ochberg (1992), highlight that these personal stories are also a way for the
respondents to fashion their identities. This social construction of identities is played
out in the telling of the story as well as being recalled in the memories of the stories
being told. Some of the identity of the respondent is being shared in the interview as they divulge information about their self through anecdotes of past experiences involving their mobile phone. I talked earlier about the interviews as symbolic interactions in which the interactions between the participants create a shared meaning; this particularly applies to the sharing of the stories by the respondents. Indeed, by allowing the respondents to talk freely some would recount long stories about their mobile phone experiences. As the interlocutor with the participant there was a process of co-construction of meaning and content as I encouraged or denied the progress of particular accounts. Accordingly, as more interviews were conducted and common themes began to occur, this further influenced the co-construction of meaning; although this point should not be over emphasised as this co-construction occurred more as a result of the coaxing, and less as a result of a dialogue. Thus, asking them to ‘tell me more about it’ would encourage elaboration of a story that was interesting to me as well as being one the respondent wanted to tell.

Although it is appropriate to consider a narrative analysis approach to the data there was also evidence of complementarities in the interview data that had already lead to a thematic approach to the analysis. This latter approach might suggest a more inductive approach to the analysis, one that builds and tests hypotheses with the intention of working towards theoretical development, whereas narrative analysis supports a more deductive approach in which the material is used to test the evidence from a story against existing theory (Gilbert 2008; Hodkinson 2008). In many respects these approaches are intertwined although in the present study the analytical themes are particularly influenced by the theoretical framework of the study leading to a stronger element of deduction in this approach. Earthy and Cronin (2008) point to Riessman’s (1993) discussion of the ‘trustworthiness’ of the narrative analysis in which a clear theoretical framework within which the analysis is conducted is important to ensure its validity. My own approach towards the analysis of the data for this present study was to analyse the transcriptions by reading and comparing the data and drawing on the existing theoretical framework from the literature; this also involved listening again to the interview tapes and referring to my observational notes. Drawing on the work of Goffman, Silverstone and Hochschild I began my analysis by looking for examples of face-work and of situations that demonstrated the respondents’ back and front stage behaviours.
explored the data for evidence of themes that might indicate how the respondents had appropriated their mobile phones and I also looked for examples of emotional labour, such as situations when people were describing emotions that were in conflict with their actions. In the iterative process of reading the transcripts and listening to the tapes I slowly arrived at the themed concepts that formed the basis for further collating and analysing the data.

The analysis of the data in this study has thus been both cross sectional and holistic (Earthy and Cronin 2008). In the former, themes were developed from an iterative process of analysis framed by the theories used in the research design. The data used was not only the narrative text from transcripts and my observation notes but was supplemented by the audio recordings that gave a further indication of meaning through tone and volume of voice. However, in the course of carrying out this analysis it became clear that there was some evidence that related to the research problem but which was inconsistent with the themes previously identified, and so I also carried out holistic, non-cross sectional analysis that explored the whole of the respondents' accounts. This highlighted for example the relationship between some interviewee's personal interests and knowledge of information and communications technologies and how this was intertwined with their emotions in relation to their mobile phone.

**4.6 Ethical Considerations**

There were a number of ethical considerations regarding the research design for this study and in this section I will discuss these and how they were addressed. In the most part they relate to the principles that govern qualitative research, but there were also some considerations regarding my own role as the researcher and interviewer. Particular guidance on this topic was obtained from the British Sociological Association's Statement of Ethical Practice and from Mason (2002), Silverman (2006) and Bulmer (2008).

The confidentiality and anonymity of the respondents and any of the topics they discussed is important in this study. I could not expect the respondents to be forthcoming in the interview unless I had obtained their informed consent and we had agreed the terms of confidentiality before they commenced. This formed a key point of trust between interviewer and interviewee. I was very careful to make sure the interviewees knew that I might use their actual words to illustrate a point within my research, but that their name and any location would be changed. I have also been mindful of proprietary information that may have been discussed with regard to their role in their organisation that might also identify them. Furthermore, a few respondents were well known experts in their industry and have a public presence in the media, which I have also been aware of when considering whether to use particular examples in the analysis. I was also aware that my research area was topical, and from time to time has attracted media attention. I have thus avoided using examples that might subsequently disturb any respondent were they to 'read about themselves' in a future publication (Mason 2002). Although some respondents offered to let me have copies of the texts or images on their mobile phones I declined to accept, as these involved third parties with whom I had no confidentiality agreement.

Talking about how one uses a mobile phone inevitably leads to examples that are about a third party rather than about the interviewee. In the interview I did not follow up the information about the third party and I have not used material that discusses personal details about third parties. I did interview two married couples, each separately, and with their knowledge have referred to their communications with each other. When necessary, I guided the interviewee away from conversations and anecdotes about third parties back to their own experiences.

In some interviews I was aware that interviewees had talked about something very personal to them (such as bereavement). When this occurred I checked that they were comfortable talking about it and, if they were, that they were aware I might refer to it in the thesis or associated publications. Although some interviewees commented on their own interview to say they had not thought about how they used their mobile phone before, and a few said they were a little embarrassed to admit to
some of the things they reported in the interview, none asked for these parts of their interview to be removed from the record.

A further point of consideration was to avoid the possibility of deception with regard to the exploration of emotion as the focus of my research topic. I had informed the respondents when setting up the interviews that the topic of my research doctorate was emotions and mobile phones but I did not specifically ask direct questions about emotion during the interview. I had an interview plan but I did not use it as checklist or questionnaire, or have it visible during the interview. I did have a note book and I explained I might make a few notes, but also explained that as the actual interview was being recorded I would transcribe the tape rather than make copious notes. This gave them the opportunity to ask about transcription, talk through the possibility that all their words would be written down, and discuss how they might be used. I also told the respondents that the tape lasted 45 minutes and then I would have to turn it over which appeared to put at ease the few interviewees who were under time pressure, or who were a little nervous about the interview experience. I also used a digital recorder as back up and this usually prompted a discussion about the mix of old and new recording techniques, and was a useful icebreaker as the interview was being set up.

Following my review of the various ethical considerations prior to the commencement of the interviews I confirmed that submission to the University Ethics Committee for approval was not required for this study as the research approach concurred with the criteria set out for projects that do not require approval. These criteria were covered by the following actions: data collected on cassette tape was transferred to electronic audio files; transcriptions, the record of participants and analysis files are stored electronically for my use only. Prospective interviewees were sent an information letter, and if they agreed to an interview they were sent a Consent Form that they were asked to read and sign before the interview took place. They retained a copy of this form. At the start of the interview I used the hand-over of the signed consent form to remind them of its contents and check they were happy with it. At the end of the interview I reminded them that I would change names and locations but that the material would be used in my PhD Thesis and in related publications - books and journals. I suggested that they contact me if on
reflection they had provided examples they would prefer I did not use. Only one interviewee asked me not to use a part of the interview which related to a private matter involving someone else and so I did not transcribe or use it.

4.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed the research strategy I developed for examining the topic of emotion in the social practices of mobile phone users that addresses the particular question: How does emotion occur in the everyday use of mobile phones? Most research on the social practices of mobile phone users has been published during the last eight years with studies typically investigating much younger respondents than those in this study. Furthermore, there has been limited sociological research on the affective aspects of mobile phone use and on emotion in particular. Accordingly the research strategy has had to find an approach that addresses these deficiencies in a way that is both trusted and credible. Firstly, a cross sectional sample was chosen that would provide insights and new data about mobile phone use that also explored the topic of emotion. Secondly a research method was designed that complemented existing studies so that this present study would add to the body of research and knowledge in way that would be considered comparable and beneficial. What had been important for this present study was firstly the three interactionist theories used to frame the analysis and secondly the literature on the social practices of mobile phone users and on the sociology of emotion which have provided a further set of assumptions against which to analyse the data.

There were some important considerations for setting up this study which was approached from an interpretive qualitative perspective. The reflexive role of the researcher was at the heart of the research design and has influenced the approach and the analysis throughout. This interactive approach to the interviews enabled my response to the interviewees and my interpretation of the discussion in the interview.

Although the biographical/life history approaches were influential in the data gathering, this study was not about the lives of its respondents per se. Rather, it was
an exploration of emotion in the cross sectional life incidents they recounted. Furthermore, the emotion was as much to do with the way they talked about their mobile phone experiences as it was about the emotion words and descriptions they used in their accounts. The actual method for collecting the data, open ended interviews supplemented by observation during the interviews, allowed the respondent to wander along whatever route their thought process followed during the interview, guided mostly by the opening question that focused on the mobile phone.

The sample of forty respondents allowed for a substantial amount of data to be gathered that was relevant to the research question. In deciding the number and the age of the respondents I had considered how best to obtain meaningful and appropriately focused data. The number of respondents meant that the interviews produced a large amount of material, but it also allowed me to find complementarities out of the similarities and incongruities of the data regarding emotion in social practices. These might not have been evident had the sample size been smaller. This volume of data was not intended to be quantified in any way but rather used to challenge my assumptions and to assist in the process of generating ideas during the analysis. This was particularly important given the reflexive role I was undertaking as well as ensuring my sample elicited material relevant to the research question. Discovering that over half of the respondents were well informed about ICTs and were in some instances the leading experts in their field was unexpected, but by introducing an holistic approach to the data analysis, as well as the thematic approach, I was able to obtain additional insights with regard to domestication in particular.

In the next three chapters I explain the analysis of the research problem using the themes developed from the interpretation of the data. The themes flow both from the theoretical framework of the research design, as well as from the complementarities of the data that pertain in particular to the ways the respondents expressed and mediated emotion and their subjectivities through their mobile phones.
5. FEELINGS ABOUT MOBILE PHONES

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I explore the respondents' feelings about mobile phones by examining the emotions they expressed when they talked about their mobile phone. These emotion responses are about the device itself, how they acquired it and what they used it for. In the chapter this topic is discussed with reference to the literature that conceptualises mobile phone use and in particular that which addresses the presentation of self (Goffman 1959) and the domestication of the mobile phone Silverstone and Hirsch (1992). As will be demonstrated the respondents have embraced and incorporated their mobile phone into their daily lives and for many it has become the hub for connectivity; this centrality shapes the emotional significance the device has for them.

Influencing the domestication of the mobile phone are the peer groups and societal pressures that contribute to the changing social practices and personal choices made when using the device. According to Goffman (1959), peoples' behaviour when dealing with face to face or mediated situations are determined by a number of factors that combine to form a response that is compatible with others' and that they all feel is appropriate. Goffman also refers to the ways in which people concentrate their attention on the positive image they wish to share with others and how their feelings become attached to this image (Goffman 1967: 6). Some of the respondents in the present study appeared to direct not only attention but much emotional energy into their feelings about their mobile phone, and, drawing on Goffman's analysis, this highlights the complex interweaving of feelings and emotional response in this regard. The mobile phone becomes desirable because it enables and perpetuates the contact with others, as well as with the device itself, and in so doing becomes an important facet of the presentation of self. The choice of make of the mobile phone, the intended use of it and so on, contributes to each mobile phone user feeling part of a group united by similarities and mutual influences. This is the establishment of
what Goffman refers to as the ‘line’ that people follow; this is a set of mutually understood common behaviours such as those friends or business colleagues tend to follow when they are together. Goffman explains that this line should not only be consistent but also:

[...] supported by judgements and evidence conveyed by other participants and [...] confirmed by evidence conveyed through impersonal agencies in the situation. (Goffman 1967: 6)

The line a person chooses to follow is thus influenced by more than personal contacts and there are probably multiple lines and faces\(^{38}\) that influence feelings about mobile phones. It is quite possible that these different lines may conflict forcing the mobile phone user to make decisions about which line to follow. Goffman refers to the process of managing these problems as ‘face-work’. As will be explored further throughout this chapter the mobile phone itself may be the locus for much more face-work than is manifest just in its desirability. In Hochschild’s (2003a) work on emotion management the strategies for managing face-work are termed ‘feeling rules’; the rules that people use to determine how to manage a particular situation when what one is expected to do and what one should do are decisive factors. There may be situations when even the potential implications of actions are used to determine behaviours if this results in actions that are consistent with face.

The respondents in this study talked about numerous scenarios in which they had positive or negative feelings about their mobile phone. They also talked about how much they relied on them and how they found it difficult to dispose of their old phones. In this chapter feelings about the mobile phone are predominantly to do with managing the public presentation of self and the front stage behaviours in which the mobile phone features. These aspects of the respondents’ mobile phone experiences are discussed here in four themes: desirability, disappointment; dependability and nostalgia.

\(^{38}\) As explained earlier in chapter 2, one maintains ‘face’ by keeping to the established line and face-work is required from time to time to adjust behaviours to keep to the line.
5.2 The Desirability of the Mobile Phone

In this section the extent to which the mobile phone featured in the lives of some of the respondents is discussed with particular reference to their feelings about their choice of mobile phone, as well as about mobile phones in general. The interviews with the respondents opened with a discussion about their mobile phone in response to the question: 'Do you know what mobile phone you have and how long have you had a mobile phone?' This elicited replies that quickly highlighted the strength of the respondent's feelings about their mobile phone as a technological gadget and how much it appealed them. It also identified those who were proud of their mobile phone (be it new or old) and those for whom it was simply a thing through which they communicated, or perhaps had been obliged to acquire.

The attractiveness of a mobile phone and its popularity amongst peer groups was an important factor for many respondents. The desirability of the mobile phone to its user was not only about their personal satisfaction but also about what owning - and being seen to use - a particular mobile phone means in how they perceive their self, and are perceived by others. This perceived worth of the mobile phone is an example of the respondent taking a particular line as regards his/her choice of phone. In the examples discussed in this section the respondents were very positive about their mobile phone. Their emotional focus on the phone appeared to be mainly determined by their immediate peer group and thus the line they had established enabled them to keep face with that group.

Mark and June, for example, were each enthusiastic about their mobile phones and delightedly shared their experiences and joy with the model they had acquired, how pleased they were with it and how it rated in relation to previous devices. Mark was about to embark on a new business venture and accordingly change to a new model of phone. The new type of mobile phone he chose was not only important to him as a display of his new company image but also about how he wanted to present himself both at work and socially.
I’m getting this full QWERTY keyboard, mega monster, because I think this new business will thrive on having that. And actually, one of the partners in it uses one as a habit, so it’s quite nice to parry these as a blow of one-upmanship, but I think actually the working methods do tend to revolve around being able to be in a bar and get your e-mails. (Mark)

This example from Mark illustrates how he wants to use this new mobile phone as a display of his professionalism and standing and one that is akin to his business partner’s. Mark’s affiliation (and the line he is following) was with his new company and his fellow director, with whom he shared a sense of one-upmanship with regards to the use and display in public of what he perceived to be his rather high-flying phone. Showing off his phone to others is, for Mark, a constituent of its desirability but there is also an element of play and pleasure in it. This could be considered, according to Veblen’s theory, as a display of ‘conspicuous consumption’ (1899), a public show of ostentatious behaviour to achieve higher status and to perhaps move into a new peer group. Ling in his discussion of domestication notes that Silverstone and Hirsch (1992) draw on Veblen to highlight that in the process of domestication an object has to be displayed publicly to demonstrate how it ‘becomes an element in others’ estimation of us’ (Ling 2004: 30). It would appear that for Mark, this use in public of his mobile phone is part of the renegotiation of his own ways of doing business as a result of his new position, as well as part of the process of domestication of his new mobile phone.

June had recently acquired a new mobile and she talked about her attachment to it and how she loved to play with it. Unlike Mark she felt no need to show it off, and instead found it a very attractive gadget for her own use.

To me, it’s a bit like a, it’s probably like a toy, as well. [...] I’m quite tactile with phones. I actually enjoy holding them and fiddling with them [...] I like to dip into things when I have pockets of time to do so. But that’s for me. I like the flexibility of having it with me at all times so I can just dip in and do whatever I need to do whenever I need to do it. (June)
June enjoys her phone by just trying it out and seeing what it can do. She worked in the mobile phone industry until she had her children and having the latest mobile phone helps maintain her knowledge and skills, keeping her up to date and in line with her former colleagues, especially now she is planning to return to work as her children have started school. She explained that she is careful who she gives her number to but that she certainly uses it for job searching contacts and she has kept the same number for some years.

I'm careful about who I release my details to. Um, from the recruitment side, I thought it was quite a good; it's quite, um, a bona fide use of my phone. [...] I've made a point of keeping my phone number with me always for quite some time now, and so therefore it becomes established. And even if you change companies or go and work somewhere and do whatever, it is still your main route of contact point. So I've kept that as a useful contact point for me. (June)

Keeping the same number was demonstrative of stability and consistency for June: it also established her business persona which was a separate and renewed identity for her while she transitioned from full-time motherhood to a part-time return to work. Keeping her old phone number helped her sustain confidence as she kept apace of changes in mobile communications through acquiring and using new models of mobile phones. Retaining one's mobile phone number was similarly important to several other respondents who had other reasons too for keeping it, as will be explored elsewhere in this analysis.

Karl had just received a new Blackberry on the day of the interview and was working through the functions that were different from the last model. He was very animated about it during the interview exploring what the phone could do and discovering differences from the previous model it was replacing as he demonstrated it. As the expert technology contact between the makers of the Blackberry and his employer, Karl was proud to demonstrate his acuity with the device, not in the same way as Mark, but rather as a clear statement of the line that linked him to various contacts within the industry. Karl needed to know about and use the total
functionality of his phone to carry out his job but he also used this knowledge in a more ludic way in his leisure time too.

I tend to like a mobile phone for all its functions. It’s not just a mobile phone – I like gadgets. It’s got GPS on it and I use that... and games. I just like to pass the time, destroy the wall. I don’t play it seriously, just if I’ve got half an hour to kill. (Karl)

Karl, who had worked for a mobile communications company for over twenty five years, had always owned the latest model of mobile phone and been involved with their development. Alongside some of the other respondents who were not as technically competent as Karl, or perhaps as interested as he was in its functionality, his use may appear to be ostentatious. However, for Karl it was completely embedded in his home and work life, an example of the renegotiation of the locus of domestication from within the home to being wherever the mobile phone was being used (Silverstone 2006).

Gregory had no particular work requirement for a mobile phone in his role as company accountant, but was nevertheless an enthusiastic user. His first mobile phone had been a present from his wife as she knew he ‘loved boy’s toys’ and chose it for him with the play element in mind rather than as a communications tool – she did not buy one herself for another two years. Whilst Gregory now used his phone mostly for keeping contact with his family, or for being contactable by his employer when not in the office, he still enjoyed its playful qualities. For example he was a member of a cooking club and he took pictures of the puddings he made to share with others; he also had a fun photo of a footballer as his screen wallpaper. He had chosen his mobile phone because it had a good camera, could do web browsing and also it was easy to access while driving.

[...] if I do want to use it hands free in the car, all I do is leave it sitting in a little bin[...] and I can just press the top button and I’m hands free. (Gregory)
The 'little bin', (a space in the dashboard), had not been designed for a mobile phone it just happened to hold his phone but Gregory, who smiled and gesticulated as he talked, was quite delighted with the coincidence that it just happened to fit his phone. Compared to Karl, Gregory hardly used his mobile phone but as with other respondents he obtained a lot of enjoyment and pleasure from the way it fitted into his life.

Some respondents were eager and excited about the prospect of buying a new phone, whereas others were more circumspect. Andrew had resisted becoming a regular mobile phone user for years, although his friends and work colleagues constantly pressed him to do so. He had surprised himself as, thinking it did not matter what type of phone he had, he recently bought 'a nice Star Trek, beam-me-up-Scotty flip-top phone'. As he went on to explain:

> Um, I hadn't gone to the shop specifically to buy that, but my previous one, the screen had packed up and I just wanted a simple pay-as-you-go phone, and I thought, well I quite like the beam-me-up-Scotty, flip-up one. I just wish it went [makes bleeping noise and laughs] as it opens up [laughs], and then I really would be happy.

(Andrew)

Andrew's purchase is demonstrative of a number of lines of influence: pressure from his friends to be more accessible and the excitement of his use of the phone being linked with futuristic ideas of science fiction literature and films that have come to influence choice within technology\(^{39}\) (Fortunati and Vincent 2009: 7). The idea that one might be imitating a role, in this case Captain Kirk in the StarTrek series of television and films, added a playful and fun element to the communications process, making it even more desirable. To some extent Andrew had turned around his attitude towards mobile phones from one of disinterest and resistance to his peers' expectations to one that embraced them. Further, it meant the line he now

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\(^{39}\) In some instances science fiction has also stimulated ideas in the research and development of new technologies such as the mobile phone as is acknowledged by its inventor, Dr Martin Cooper (Vincent 2009: 29).
followed was not just of the group who had encouraged him to buy it, but also other parts of his life in which he enjoyed science fiction and fantasy. Indeed this interplay twixt Andrew's science fiction interests and his acknowledged need for a mobile phone alludes to Weber's idea of enchantment. This is examined by both Griffith (1988) and Jenkins (2000), the latter of whom proffers the following definition, pertinent today to the use of the mobile phone, and especially to the scenario in which Andrew makes his purchase.

Enchantment conjures up, and is rooted in, understandings and experiences of the world in which there is more to life than the material, the visible or the explainable; in which the philosophies and principles of Reason or rationality cannot by definition dream of the totality of life; in which the quotidian norms and routines of linear time and space are only part of the story; and in which the collective sum of sociability and belonging is elusively greater than its individual parts. (Jenkins 2000: 29)

For these respondents the mobile phone is desirable for many reasons that extend beyond its design and technical capabilities. Their fascination in the mobile phone extends to its almost alchemical qualities that somehow enable it to transform their lives.

In these illustrations of the desirability of the mobile phone, various situations have been explored in which the respondent has followed a line attributable to a particular peer group, be it their work colleagues, their friends or their family. The line represents approval and acceptance of that person within a peer group, and to move outside of it could mean a loss of face for all concerned. It is notable that the respondents who spoke with most enthusiasm about the desirability of their mobile phone were those who had worked at some point within the ICT industries where perhaps their loss of face is greater when it involves a technological artefact. In discussing these examples the respondents showed a personal pride in their choice of mobile phone, as well as in how knowledgeable they were about it. The respondents were genuinely satisfied and felt pleased with their mobile phone choice and how they used it, and they were happy to share this pleasure in the interview. Although
the emotion of pride can also be one of arrogance or hubris, in the examples discussed here it was predominantly a display of justifiable pleasure (Scheff 2005).

The desirability of a mobile phone used for both work and leisure in unequal and variable amounts highlights some of the challenges of defining its use in terms of disenchantment, enchantment and re–enchantment. The mobile phone remains for some an intervention or intrusion (Höflich 2009) whereas for others it is a totally integrated and domesticated norm of everyday activity.

I've got to have my mobile phone; it's like you having your keys. You don't leave home without your keys and you don't leave home without your mobile phone. (John)

It is nevertheless an example of the democratization of a commodity and the mass consumption of a product that has multiple uses for subsistence as well as for leisure. On an individual basis it serves as a means of communication and a presentation of the self thus enabling the user to be a beneficiary of the merging of life activities such as with the intertwining of business and leisure. The mobile phone enables one to effectively browse through life accessing information and making contact wherever and whenever this might occur. This is what appears to make it so desirable, even to those for whom it is a disappointment as explored in the next section.

5.3 Disappointment with the Mobile Phone

As discussed above, the decision to acquire a mobile phone can be strongly influenced by one's social group and the line taken amongst one's peers. However, this following of a line, of not wanting to lose face, resulted in disappointment and frustration for some of the respondents, for whom the attraction of a particular mobile phone was expressed in less enthusiastic terms. There was not always a positive outcome when acquiring a mobile phone and some respondents felt pressured by circumstances they could not control, to take a particular line. For
others the emotional energy invested in mobile phones did not achieve expected outcomes. Some respondents were less enamoured with their mobile phones than others and expressed disappointment, speaking of the negative aspects of its functionality and the effects of this on them.

Maria, for example, had two phones but she could not transfer data between them due to their technical incompatibility. She said of one: 'I hate this phone and the reason is it’s the new Nokia interface and it’s very slow' (Maria). Maria, a skilled computer scientist, was adept at using her mobile phones, but found she was becoming increasingly frustrated by their lack of compatibility. She had two phones that she used in the UK and Italy. She wanted to have the same contacts on both phones but this was proving very difficult. She had resolved some of her difficulties with her incompatible mobile phones by using her information technology expertise to change some of the functionality of one of the phones, although she did have to 'spend a few hours on the Internet' to find out how to do it:

> I got so frustrated so I actually opted to lose my guarantee on my phone to flash out the old Orange operating system and put back the old Nokia system so I could use it in a better way. (Maria)

Maria is an expert in information technology and so does not expect to have difficulties with ICT that she cannot overcome; she follows the line determined by her expert peer group and is upset when this is frustrated by the technology. There are quite a number of emotions influencing Maria’s actions: her irritation with the way her mobile phones work; her annoyance at the effect of this incompatibility, and the pride in being able to find a way to fix it to her satisfaction. These actions are indicative of the renegotiation of the domestication of the mobile phone as she adapts the technology to her life needs.

Lynne, a mother of young children with a full time consultancy role in the ICT industry, was using a borrowed Nokia phone as she had ruined her own phone when she dropped it in the toilet the previous week. She borrowed one firstly from her husband, and then from her friend, while she found a suitable replacement. The friend’s phone was easier to use than the first replacement phone she had tried.
Already experiencing the disappointment of losing a favoured and desirable phone, she felt challenged when seeking an urgent and immediate substitute. She needed to use the phone for business and sent a lot of emails and text messages, as well as keeping in touch with her young son who had just started secondary school. She was very annoyed with the first phone she had been loaned:

Anyway, I borrowed that [her husband's phone] because I could email on it and I absolutely hated it, it just was totally horrible and unintuitive. You know, I was trying to look for the drafts folder because I lost... I was trying to text someone, I somehow lost it, couldn't find my drafts folder. I told this to a friend and she said you can borrow this for now, which is a very simple handset, a Nokia one, but it was more intuitive than this other one. (Lynne)

Lynne found herself at odds with the feelings she had when using her husband's phone. Changing to use her friend's phone meant that Lynne had to overcome the loss of face with her husband after finding herself unable to continue using his old phone. Lynne's situation when trying to deal with the emotions involved in the relationships and managing a new phone are similar to that described by Goffman thus:

It is plain that emotions play a part in these cycles of response, as when anguish is expressed because of what one has done to another's face, or anger because of what has been done to one's own. (Goffman 1967: 23)

Another example of managing this anxiety and at the same time anger is found with Belinda who had been a committed user of one particular manufacturer's phone as she had worked for that company, as a marketing and PR manager, for about ten years from the early 1990's. However, her current experience with this manufacturer's phone, replacing one that had worked really well for four years, had led her to move her loyalty to another supplier. This change from the line of her former employer to another was difficult for her, not least with regards to the
unfamiliarity of the new supplier - with whom she had no relationship - but also because of the break with the past.

The old phone, [...] which was the last really, really good phone they did, and I kept that for about four years, until my granddaughter ate it, which is why I’ve got this stupid thing. And it was brilliant, because it was very, very quick and probably because I used it for four years I could do [use] it in my sleep, because you do, and I used to text a lot on that one. (Belinda)

However, Belinda is so cross with the temporary replacement phone made by her old employer that she has to use (while she is learning how to use the new phone), that she says it will be ‘hurled away with great force’ - such is her annoyance with its ineffectiveness. For Belinda the appeal of the replacement mobile phone had been a consequence of loyalty to her previous employer and to the reliability of the consistency of the phones; she felt very let down by the failure of the latest model and how much it had inconvenienced her, and expressed her feelings on the matter very strongly. This loss of face for Belinda was dealt with through her anger, and her severing of a longstanding relationship, something which caused her distress as it meant disassociating herself from her former employer to whom she felt loyalty and an affinity.

Roger, a senior manager in a marketing company, experienced similar frustrations when he changed to a different phone manufacturer and he was still irritated by some aspects of his new phone. He had been involved in the design of mobile phones in previous jobs but had changed from using a phone designed and supplied by his previous employer to an iPhone. It was nothing like he had experienced before, as he explained his purchase:

Which I’m not sure is an entirely good choice ‘cos it’s got quite a decent interface but you can tell it’s made by a ...., it’s not a phone manufacturer’s phone. And I think you kind of realise that once you’ve got used to it. (Roger)
Roger, having moved his job from a mobile communications company where he was used to working with the technology, was now in an environment where the line was completely different. The face-work involved in making this change was considerable, but with a leadership role in the new organisation Roger was able to establish the new line with his team as he had changed his conventional mobile to the latest and more desirable iPhone, whilst at the same time asserting his position by insisting he retained his personal number. ‘It’s strange, [...] when I came here, [...] I wanted to keep my number and that was clear - if I ever left, I would take the number with me’ (Roger). Having used a mobile phone for nearly twenty years he explained there were a number of features on the iPhone that irritated him especially the inability to use it in the car. Roger became quite animated as he explained his annoyance.

Sorry to keep wittering on about features but, you know, it doesn’t do voice dialling. Hello...! I mean, what’s the... you’ve got it in the cradle in the car and you can’t touch the screen, and go so and so?

(Roger)

Roger was torn between his high expectations of a mobile phone borne out of his personal knowledge and experience, with his need to be in line with the demands of his current role that required him to reflect state of the art in design rather than technological capability. Although it did cause him some personal resentment and frustration he does now have more in common with his current work colleagues.

The respondents varied considerably in the knowledge they had about mobile phones, but they were mostly very experienced mobile phone users, especially those who worked in the ICT industries. Their frustration and disappointment with their phones was a reflection of their expectations of how the phone should be working, rather than because they were not able to understand how to use them. However, as in the example of Roger, the particular mobile phone they owned was not necessarily designed to do what they wanted and so their irritation could not be easily assuaged.
Some of the respondents who worked in the ICT industries had particular knowledge about how their mobile phones worked and used this to mitigate their anger. In these examples it is possible to see the diversity of responses to different makes and models of mobile phones, and to the differing emotional needs they must satisfy. These impacted on the personal and emotional reaction that these respondents had to the technological aspects of the mobile phone and how they used them. In contrast, some respondents were ambivalent to what type of device it was providing that it worked for them and delivered their quite simple requirements for voice and text, and perhaps email too - as will be explored in the following section.

5.4 Dependability of the Mobile Phone

In this section, discussion of the dependability of a mobile phone is about the respondent’s feelings with regard to the reliability of the phone and the assuredness of its use. When acquiring a mobile phone, this is an important facet of the decision. These respondents had come to rely on the dependability of their mobile phones, and needed to feel certain that it would always work when they wanted to use it; indeed for some respondents, this had led to their dependence on the phone to manage their own reliability. This was mainly because the most common motive for having a mobile phone, other than for business use, was about the safety of oneself and one’s family, and so having a reliable mobile phone was essential. There might be a need to be contacted by someone in distress, as well as needing it oneself for the same reason.

Martha, a retired teacher, had been using a mobile phone for about 15 years. Her family bought her first phone for her after they were concerned about her driving alone in remote areas travelling to work, and she has since bought various mobile phones herself, the latest being a tri–band model for use overseas. Since her retirement and being widowed, she continued to use it to reassure her family, and herself, of her personal safety - such as when she travels alone to visit her son in Australia, or to alleviate her own anxiety while looking after her grandchildren. Martha felt no particular excitement about her mobile phone, but nevertheless she
was quite clear about how much she was prepared to use it - such as when she might be late for school pick up:

To ring friends to say, you know, to get you to just keep an eye on the girls, I may or may not be back in time, and that's when I tend to use a mobile phone. (Martha)

A reliable mobile phone contributed to managing feelings of anxiety when separated from loved ones, or managing communications – expected or unexpected. Having the mobile phone with them at all times has thus meant for some respondents that their concerns meld with the mobile phone such that they are assuaged (this is discussed in more detail in the chapter 7). However, this does mean that the mobile phone must work, and is expected to work, when needed although this was not a worry for the respondents except with the 'benefit of hindsight.

Nina, like Martha, was an older widow who made sure she had her mobile phone in her car (but barely used it). Nina, who lived in a very remote area, had bought herself a mobile phone in case of emergency in the car or at home, but coverage was poor and the phone could not be relied on to work - and she knew this. In addition, Nina had kept her phone in her handbag fully charged and unused, unaware for some weeks that her pay as you go subscription had expired, rendering it unusable. Her son had discovered it might no longer be connected, and advised her to make occasional use of her new subscription. She was not perturbed by this experience; having the mobile phone with her meant that for most of the time she had the opportunity to use it, but she knew she could find another solution if it did not. Both Nina and Martha owned mobile phones at the behest of family members suggesting that, for them, the mobile phone had been acquired to allay their children’s anxiety more than their own.

Some of the respondents spoke of their frustration with family members who could not be relied upon to have a usable mobile phone, or who used it rarely, if at all. Their frustration was that should it be required, they may find it did not work or they
had forgotten how to use it. Simon, for example, did not try to reach his wife on her mobile phone - as he explained when asked about this,

Do you use the mobile to communicate with her very much or...?
(Jane)

No, because her’s is never on; she never answers, she’s got one and ... her £20 top up lasts about three years. So, she, ah, she very seldom has her mobile on. (Simon)

On the other hand some people were less worried about the mobile phone being a wholly dependable device, as this gave them the option to deny contact without actually having to refuse a call. For example, Sara had previously used a mobile phone at work, but since being at home with three young children she had not used a mobile phone quite as much. Her phone was a ‘cast off from my husband’ and she did not always have it with her or keep it fully charged; her children were still under nine and she did not need to use it to keep in touch with them. She had not yet got used to how long the battery charge lasted in her latest phone and so it was often discharged. She explained that her husband always expected her to be there when he called her and to always be contactable when she goes out in the event of needing to contact her in an emergency, although she does not often use her phone herself. She does not share his enthusiasm for the mobile phone preferring to deal with things as she wants to.

Ah, he just likes to know that, because he’s got into this attitude that, which a lot of people at work have, that you know, you have to be contactable, all the time, he expects now, that I should be contactable all the time. And, I’m saying, you know, you never ring me. It’s only in an emergency that you’re ringing me, um, but most of the time I’m at home anyway. I don’t need to be contactable in that way, but anyway it’s just his way. (Sara)

Although acknowledging that this approach probably gives him peace of mind about her and their children, Sara’s dilemma is that she does not ‘want to be at my
husband's beck and call for 24 hours a day'. In these situations the dependability of
the mobile phone, the length of time a fully charged battery lasts and the ease with
which it can be used, all became part of the complex negotiation of relationships and
the feeling rules that are employed to manage situations.

Conversely, there are situations when the mobile phone exactly delivers what is
needed without it ever needing to be used - such as in the earlier example of Nina.
Furthermore, in some situations where the mobile phone is a safety back up there is
no certainty that it would be usable in a crisis - such as in the case of Christine, who
planned she would use it summon help in the event of a bridge collapse. Christine, a
single journalist who travelled a great deal, had not bought her phone solely for
safety reasons, but she did keep it with her in the car in case it was needed. She
recalled how she used it to mitigate a risky route she took home, keeping it close to
hand in case she needed to call for help.

There was a bridge where I used to live where I would actually get my
phone out when I was crossing it late at night because I knew it wasn’t
safe, and I shouldn’t have been doing that but I did it anyway because
it was so much quicker. (Christine)

Christine spoke of ‘trusting’ her phone when she went on to talk about using it as an
alarm clock - ‘I mean – I do trust it as my alarm clock’. Although other respondents
did not use the term explicitly, they had also come to trust their mobile phone, to
rely on its dependability such as to help them if they got in a fix.

There were other examples of reliance on the dependability of the mobile phone
from the respondents. Keith and James both took their business phone with them on
walks or cycle rides if it might be needed for safety, but would otherwise keep it
turned off when not at work. Mike and Mary, Bart and Margaret used it to keep in
touch with their children while on holiday or on shopping trips, and Gregory, Simon
and John used it so they could be contacted by their (adult) daughters who might
need help. The type of mobile phone, keeping the battery charged and its overall
reliability were thus extremely important to these and other respondents. They
needed to feel confident that it would not let them down in an emergency, although
they acknowledged from experience that it did not always work at the moment you needed it most. For example, Margaret had gone shopping with her sons, and they separated in the knowledge that they would make contact again via their mobile phones and arrange to meet up. Unfortunately, within the shopping mall, mobile phone coverage was poor and they could not make contact.

I tried to ring and it was saying that the phone was switched off or something. Because that's the other thing, probably, that's irritating about phones: you're never quite sure whether it's no signal or something else because my phone had signal. And usually – I'm with T-Mobile and I think Colin's been on Orange or O2 and he usually has a better signal than me if he goes anywhere. So, I couldn't work out whether it was, you know, had he turned it off or had it, you know, sort of? um... and I spent ages trying to get through to them and, and started panicking because we were in Watford, which is massive. We'd made no contingency because I was so confident that I would be able to get them on the mobile. So, I thought, well, I know they were going to HMV and they might go to... so I had to start thinking about where they might be. And then I started panicking because I thought if I can't get them on his mobile, I don't quite know where we're going to meet in this massive, great big shopping centre. (Margaret)

Margaret and her sons expected their mobile phones to work and because they assumed they were completely reliable, it was as if they could not believe that their inability to make contact was due to poor mobile phone coverage. Margaret was imagining her son had turned off the phone, or (as in the earlier example of Sara) he had contrived a reason not be contacted. After they had found each other at the same shop in which she had left him and his brother, they both found a record of call attempts to reach each other.

I said, well, you know, what were you doing, what have done with the phone? He said, oh, I just haven't been able to get a signal. He, and then, when I eventually got, like, what I'd call a proper signal, you know, you have missed three calls from [laughs]... so, he had been
trying to get me. And, and he, you know, I think he'd got the same thing. [...] And I had, as I say, I hadn't even thought about a contingency, you know, the old contingency about: and if for some reason we can't get hold of each other then, you know, meet here. (Margaret)

This latter point highlights how the mobile phone has replaced other arrangements people used to make when they needed to meet up or might lose each other. However, today these arrangements are usually wholly dependent on all parties concerned having a reliable working mobile phone.

Although they spoke of having the phone in case of emergency, few respondents had encountered an emergency situation. Many had used their mobile phone to get them out of a fix such as a broken down car, letting people know they might be late, to pick up a child who called unexpectedly for a lift, or to call the emergency services to an incident they had encountered. The weak link for some was making sure their phone battery was charged so that should they need to use the phone they could, as with this example from John.

What do you do about making sure your phone's charged? Does it worry you? (Jane)

Yeah, yes, because it beeps and it invariably goes flat at the wrong time, so I've got a phone charger in the car - as well as at home, and I'll tend ... if it's gone down to one bar it will get stuck on the charger because I hate it when it runs down...because I know that the day it will...the day it...the day it goes flat is the day I break down in an obscure country lane again, and I've got to walk miles for help... (John)

Has that happened to you then? (Jane)

Before I had a phone yes, I've broken down. Since I've had the phone I've broken down in country lanes, it's just difficult then giving
directions to somebody to come and get you... At least they've got your phone number to ring you back. (John)

Owning the latest model or a particular type of phone was important for some but certainly not as important as having a mobile phone that was reliable, especially if taking out a contract for it. Roger had waited until the second version of the iPhone was released before he had acquired one.

I know somebody here who has got the first generation iPhone and I said to them, you're nuts [...] getting the first mobile phone, I wouldn't touch it with a barge pole. I waited until I think it was like version whatever had come out, the second one. But I was confident enough that everyone else would have ironed out the problems. Because I suppose, in a way the phone is quite important, so you don't want to get a dud if you're locked into it, in this case, for 18 months. (Roger)

The respondents tended to hold on to a phone that suited them and not upgrade even if the offer was made to them. The idea of changing their dependable mobile phone and all that it entailed was a difficult decision for some respondents and as discussed earlier, a new phone could lead to anger and frustration as well as to delight. It was not simply a matter of acquiring a mobile phone that could be replaced by any other mobile phone. The domestication of these respondents' mobile phones appeared to be phone specific, by which is meant that although the mobile phone as an object was well accepted and absorbed into the domestic scene the choice of make and model was special to each respondent. Ling (2004: 31) refers a young man discussing an intended purchase of a mobile phone, suggesting that the mobile phone has almost become part of this man's external identity as he yearns for a particular make and model. It appeared that some respondents had become so attached to their particular phone, the familiarity of it and how it worked, that this was a stronger feeling than the need to have a newer model. James who had kept his mobile phone for two years said:
I do actually want to upgrade it, but it's, I find it's just, you know, this does the job. There's no real reason why I want to change, other than I know it's a bit kind of old fashioned. (James)

Both James, and in the earlier example Belinda, showed that familiarity of use is at times more important than having the latest model of phone. In these instances although there was an emotional attachment to the phone, it was the manifestation of the desire to avoid the difficulties of having to familiarise oneself with a new model rather than being attached to the device as an object of desire (Norman 2004). These respondents had managed the potential loss of face of having an 'old' mobile phone by negotiating a new approach to their mobile phone. Moving from one line to another that followed their life stage (Hepworth 1998) meant that they felt comfortable with their decision.

Simon had kept the same mobile phone for a number of years and particularly liked the make and model of phone he owned. He overcame potential difficulties in reliability by stocking up with spare batteries and covers for his phone to ensure he could keep his favoured model for as long as possible.

The current mobile I've had, which I've had for four years, is a Nokia 6310i. Ah, this mobile, which has gone through several metamorphoses in terms of new covers, new battery and new keypad, is a mobile that I'm reluctant to give up. It's a business mobile. It's reliable. It does what I want, which is making and receiving voice calls and the odd text message. It doesn't have a camera and, more importantly, it fits into a proper custom-built hands-free unit for use in the car with an external aerial, external microphone and speaker. (Simon)

Again this was not only about the aesthetic of the outer appearance of the mobile phone. Simon complained about the poor quality of newer handsets and how they did not work as well as the older version - hence his desire to keep his robust older model working for as long as he could sustain it. The constancy of this particular
phone was important to Simon, who did also have a Blackberry for other business use. He had also kept constant the same phone number for many years.

These respondents were very clear in their explanation about keeping old phones and their reasons were mainly about reliability and familiarity. The former point related to their belief that older mobile phones were in some way more robust than current models, which they believed were mass produced for users who had a much less sophisticated demands on the phone than users with more experience and knowledge. They expressed their views on this with an indignant tone, as if their needs were not adequately met by modern mobile phones. This point was well articulated by Simon.

The reliability of modern phones is not very good. The battery life is often not very good. The keys are often too small and so you need glasses to read them. The displays are not... are more than you need. Often you can't get a simple ring-ring ringtone; they've got everything else except that. Why do I want a camera? Um, most of them aren't fit for purpose and every time I talk to Nokia, people in Nokia say you're the 15 millionth person that says that you should have a 6310i. I was at a university last week where one of the Visiting Professors showed one on the screen, saying this is probably the most popular mobile for business users and it was the 6250, it was the predecessor of that one. So, why would I want something that's not as good? New is not better, despite the marketing people. (Simon)

Other respondents, such as Scott and June, were the antithesis of this actively upgrading their phone and enjoying the challenge of the new. They did, however keep their last model to hand in the event of a problem. This had been quite fortuitous for Scott who on the morning of the interview was awaiting his latest upgrade - which had fortunately coincided with his current phone failing to work. He was using a back up phone in the meantime. However, anticipating difficulties that then manifest in reality left some respondents feeling strongly about not moving to a new phone unless circumstance necessitated it; a situation analogous to that
discussed by Goffman (1967) in which an action is not taken on the basis of what might be the outcome of that particular action.

Some respondents had developed strategies to mitigate problems that might have occurred in the past, but these did not always work as they expected and this could be a stressful experience. The transfer of contacts between phones was a real problem for some respondents. Helen now keeps a paper copy of all her contacts just in case - after the terrible experience of losing her entire contacts list when her son helped to transfer the data from one SIM to another.

...he put this SIM card reader in, and it wiped my SIM card. I went absolutely bananas. Completely and utterly bananas. Um, I shouted and screamed, and I then re-, I realised that it wasn't his fault. He'd done nothing wrong. There was obviously a problem, but I went loopy, because I lost everything. I lost all the phone numbers. And I did, absolutely, blow a gasket. Um. I felt, um, yeah, I, I just, my immediate thought was, how am I going to get all these numbers back? I then kind of calmed down a bit [...], and I realised actually that most people I would be able to get through somebody else. And, um, because they were friends as well, um, and I did have to rebuild it. Um. And thereafter, what I started doing was I'd make a manual...I'd make a handwritten list of, um, the people, people's phone numbers, and I do that periodically. I do not use any tech-, technology [laughing]. I literally write the numbers down, and I have lists of...ones that I've deleted, off the phone, so people's numbers who I didn't subsequently clean up, I just kept them, you never, never know, and then I have a list of what's currently on there. (Helen)

Helen's reaction to the loss of her numbers was very strong and emotionally expressed. She felt vulnerable because of her inability to manage the technicalities of saving the data, but empowered by her solution. Another respondent, Belinda, did maintain her contacts list on her mobile phone but rarely relied on it - preferring to write them down in 'her little black book'.

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So, with your phone, how many... do you use the phone directory in it, or is that the only place you’ve got those numbers, or...? (Jane)

Well, strangely no, I have them in a little black book, because I don’t trust the phone. And also the SIM card doesn’t hold enough numbers, so if I swap phones, I’ve then got to transfer them all via some clever [gadget] thing. So, I always... I mean the key numbers I know anyway... because you tend to, but the key contacts I always write them down. (Belinda)

Belinda acknowledges that this might be considered strange, as she had previously discussed how much she used her mobile phone and how much experience she had acquired while working for a mobile phone manufacturer. Whether or not it was her knowledge of the industry that influenced her unwillingness to rely on the technology, or if it was simply the act of ensuring that no data was lost in mobile phone transfers was not completely clear - but she was resolute that she would keep a paper copy.

Some of the respondents used email on their mobile phone and managed their work correspondence in this way. They relied wholly on the automatic synchronisation process between their mobile phone and personal or work computer mail box contacts list as a backup and had no record of these contacts or email elsewhere. They felt completely confident that their contact details were safe if held on their company mail server although both the mobile phone and the computer back up might be considered to be vulnerable to electronic failure. Ensuring back up of some kind was commonplace with respondents often keeping an old phone that would be reserved for use in the event that their mobile phone broke. Some respondents also retained more than one of their previous mobile phones and a few had quite a collection that they either kept as back up, for the chargers or, as will be discussed in the next section, for nostalgic reasons. In addition back up was achieved by owning more than one phone; this was commonplace amongst the respondents but their reasons for doing so were manifold. Maria had two phones because she lived part of the time in Italy, so she had UK and Italian phones which provided a mutual back up. Some, such as Margaret and Bart had a spare phone in
the house that was used as a backup by the household - and by one family member in particular who did not yet have his own mobile phone.

Whilst the frailties of the mobile phone caused by battery life (or forgetting to charge it), lack of coverage or perhaps the failure of the phone, are recognised (and occasionally used to manage one's availability), in most instances the reliability of the mobile phone is taken for granted. It is assumed it will work when needed and for these respondents any doubts can become a focus of anxiety and other emotions. The dependability of mobile phones is thus not simply a matter of having a reliable mobile phone that will work in an emergency. Instead it is about a complex inter-weaving of emotions that reflect the suitability of the mobile phone, and the safety of oneself and one's friends and family that arise out of being able to trust the phone to work in almost any situation or location.

5.5 Nostalgia for Mobile phones

Nostalgia as an emotion is inherently positive; it may be tinged with melancholy but it tends to relate to fond memories and not always to things in the past (Davis 1979). The feeling of nostalgia may be triggered by an emotion, an event, a thought about the future, but always about something that has a pleasant association. Hepworth, in his discourse on ageing and the emotions (Hepworth 1998), refers to the impact of the lifecycle on nostalgia, and questions if is it right to assume that nostalgia is the predisposition of the old - is this merely an assumption based on their having a shorter future than young people? The respondents in this study were all aged older than 40 and although many are barely halfway through their lifecycle they do have considerable experience of mobile phone use - which itself is only 25 years old. The respondents discussed in this section have often used a mobile phone for nearly all of this period - whereas others, who did not appear to feel nostalgic about their phones, or indeed had less strong feelings about the mobile phone device itself, had only used one for less than 15 years. Thus perhaps it is not the age of the respondent that is relevant here but more the combination of their life stage and the life stage of their mobile phone use. For the respondents in this present study it would appear
that the longer they had used mobile phones the more likely they were to feel nostalgia for them - perhaps heightened for some by their knowledge of mobile phones through their more specialist knowledge of ICTs.

Some respondents, such as James, suggested they might want to hold onto their current mobile phone as they think they will, or might want to, feel nostalgic about it in the future - and as will be explored some respondents have held on to many of their old mobile phones for over two decades. Davis (1977: 417) suggests that this imagining of future events is ‘a “looking back” feature of nostalgia that is retained in this forward projection of an as yet unrealized state of affairs’. Thus, nostalgia need not necessarily be related to the past although, as Davis postulates: ‘[it] is implicated importantly in the continuities and discontinuities we experience in our sense of self (Davis 1977: 419). This implies that nostalgia triggers are deeply seated in the subjectivities of people; these respondents may not even be aware that their behaviours in relation to their mobile phone are perhaps demonstrative of the feelings of comfort and familiarity associated with nostalgia. For example, Belinda talked in affectionate terms about the mobile phones she had kept, each of which represented a part of her life history and her identity at the time.

I mean, because I was working in the PR side, the publicity side in the ‘90s when everything was taking off, so when you see one... I mean I’ve got the, you know I’ve got the first tri-band phone; I’ve got the first dual band phone, all that kind of thing. And it’s just, you know... I mean they’re not worth, you know, they’re not worth keeping for any other reason than for their sentimental value. But, you know, you look at it and you think, I remember when they announced that in Cannes in 1990-something. The kids go – ‘but it looks like a brick!’ Yes, but it was very innovative then. (Belinda)

Michael possessed about thirty mobile phones that he could use, all of which he had been given by manufacturers in his role as a research consultant. Many of the phones had been put to use in various guises around the house by him and his two children (aged 15 and 10). He actually used only two actively as mobile phones and the rest were ‘hoarded and used as alarm clocks’. As he went on to explain, the remainder of
the phones had various other uses including music players, WiFi linked computer terminals and cameras. Michael was also experimenting with setting up a network using the computer capabilities on some of the phones. Talking about his old phones, Michael explained that they were not all stored neatly in boxes on display but he had kept the boxes in his loft. He said that the oldest one he had was an Ericsson T68, but because he received so many to trial he was selective about those he retained; he had some regrets he had not kept any of the older 1990s models.

We have recycled a couple of those, which I am disappointed about; some StarTACs\textsuperscript{40} and umm you know it's a shame we got rid of those. I quite like things like the StarTAC umm it was terrible to use, I hated it, but it was a big icon at the time that I had a professional interest in having them. (Michael)

Whilst Michael was exceptional in that he had such a large number of usable mobile phones he was not unusual in keeping his old phones, or in lamenting the loss of older phones not kept. Once the StarTAC phone had ceased to have a use Michael had not kept it, and looking back he now regretted this a little - as although he did not like the StarTAC, it was representative of pleasant memories during that period in time. Martin, on the other hand, had disposed of few of his old mobile phones since 1987, and now had about 40. Martin had been involved in the development of mobile communications for over 25 years and he thought his collection might end up in a museum. Both Michael and Martin had kept mobiles that were representative of their identity over the course of their careers as well as of the memories of the era that surrounded a particular type of phone such as the StarTAC. Being able to show that you had been one of the first to own a StarTAC today might demonstrate that one is part of the mobile phone cognoscenti, and they were proud of their involvement within the communications industry.

\textsuperscript{40} The StarTAC was manufactured by Motorola in 1996 and was the first clamshell handset. It was based on an earlier model from the 1980s the microTAC and was one of the most well known mobile phones renowned for having a similarity with the StarTrek communicator.
James and Scott had also been involved in the early development of mobile phones. James had a small collection of his old mobile phones displayed side by side on the front edge of the shelf in his study each of which he had kept because they represented a particular point in his career or in the history of the company in which he had previously been employed. The largest of these phones was developed by two former colleagues and he referred to it as 'their baby',

And, then the next one was the first mobile phone I had at [Manufacturer], so yeah, they've all got, yeah, so I suppose in a way that's one of the reasons why I'm keeping them. Um, and I quite like them because you know, you can see how they're getting smaller and smaller. (James)

Notably, James had also kept an old cine camera that had been used by his brother when they were children and this was displayed alongside the phones. He also intended to pass on his current mobile phone to his son thereby continuing this trend of keeping artefacts that had a special meaning for him.

Scott was an avid user of the Blackberry phone and he recalled the emotional upset he felt he when lost the first Blackberry he had owned and had retained as a keepsake.

My original Blackberry was a trial one, the ones that were so old that I can remember to this day peeling off the sticker that said BT Cellnet and sticking O2 on it. And that was this real Beta one; you had to stick the paperclip in the side to reboot it and things like that. And what happened was that my car was broken into... and, I'd put my briefcase in the boot ... someone nicked stuff from the boot, including [a friend's] suitcase and things. But... but the worst thing about it all was in that briefcase was my original Blackberry. So, definitely a sentimental attachment to that because that phone was different, I was so personally involved in its development and everything. (Scott)
Scott says he no longer has any attachment to his phones. Nevertheless, he says he 'takes a while to chuck them away' and he never goes out without them - 'they are very much a part of me'. He regularly upgrades them, and says although he no longer has any sentimental attachment to 'a device', he does 'have a sentimental attachment to Blackberry' - using one for Internet access, email and the calendar in particular. He is proud of his links with its development and likes the familiarity and comfort associated with using one.

James and Scott both spoke of their old phones with affection and sentiment but keeping old phones for sentimental reasons was not raised by most of the respondents. Some of those who kept a number of their old phones worked in the mobile communications industry, and those who kept a few did so for practical as well as sentimental reasons. They did not want to lose the data contained on it but had not got around to transferring it across - whilst at the same time, the knowledge that one had a phone that might still work, or a charger that could be used, also assuaged the anxiety of being without a phone at all.

For some of the respondents their feelings of nostalgia for the mobile phone extended beyond the device itself to the infrastructure that surrounded it, as they wondered at the almost magical properties of the possibilities to use their mobile phone to speak to people almost anywhere, and to take it to almost any country (Katz 2006). Keith, a mobile communications engineer, was not a great user of his mobile phone, but he loved technology - and had done so since he was a boy and had built a (toy) telephone system in his garden; he was quite wistful when he recounted these memories.

I do still think that (being an engineer) it is absolutely amazing, it still, it still excites me that I can pick up such a small instrument and talk to somebody very clearly, and talk to somebody on the other side of the world which you sometimes do. I think that it is absolutely magnificent; it's amazing even though I'm in the business [laughs]. (Keith)
Keith was not only nostalgic about mobile phones and his part in the technology that preceded them, but he was also nostalgic for the good feelings he could re-live by recalling past engineering experiences and achievements involving mobile phones.

As can be seen from the respondents who had kept old phones, the feelings of nostalgia respondents had for their mobile phones extended to experiences with previous phones as well as their current model. Many of the respondents, such as those discussed in the last section, had became attached to particular mobile phones and were reluctant to stop using them, preferring to continue with the familiar models even if they were out of date. There were also some respondents who kept all their old mobile phones, using some of them for alarm clocks, back up phones, as a camera or for games or they kept them simply for memories they held or for old time’s sake. Many of the respondents, particularly those who worked, or had worked, in mobile communications industries spoke of their mobile phones and the memories associated with them in affectionate terms. Some were proud of their involvement in its development, and in particular, there was nostalgia for the old mobile phones which they had kept or lost, and the memories they held or triggered.

5.6 Concluding Thoughts

In discussing feelings for the mobile phone, the subjectivity of the mobile phone user, and the ways they present themselves to others, has been examined in this chapter. Silverstone and Hirsch’s domestication theory and Goffman’s development of lines and face-work have been used to explicate the data. Among the respondents in this present study the mobile phone is perceived as a dependable machine that in turn augments the dependability of its user. This is an almost paradoxical situation as the amount of dependability of each is directly proportional to the other. As soon as the mobile phone fails to work for whatever reason it immediately loses some of its cachet - it is no longer the completely constant trusted device that will be there if its owner gets into trouble.
In addition, whilst there are similarities in use these are more about what the phone is being used for and the role it plays in the respondents' private and public presentations of their selves.

Factors involving family, work and personal commitments, and issues surrounding the self, all appear to influence the choice of mobile phone and how it is used. Thus whereas Ling and Yttri (2002) were able to argue that older users focussed on safety, and middle-aged users on micro-coordination, in the present study this separation is more blurred. Furthermore, because a respondent used their mobile phone for work or because they were knowledgeable about how it worked did not necessarily reflect in their social practices being similarly advanced and complex, or their use of the mobile phone being much more intense. The examples in this chapter from the respondents who worked in the ICT industry are notable as this group appeared to express stronger emotion responses than the other respondents about the type of phone they wanted and about why it was so important to them. Thus within this ‘ICT’ group there were some who used their knowledge to maintain old but, to them, perfect devices, as in the earlier example of Simon or some, such as Keith, for whom the mobile phone was connected only with work and so he did not use it when he was not at work.

How the mobile phone had been appropriated into the lives of these respondents varied, but was indicative of the domestication of the mobile phone into their lives rather than their household. There was no doubt that for all the respondents the mobile phone had become an indispensible facet of daily life, but one that was subject to constant renegotiation. It would appear that as the mobile phone and the individual become more closely associated and the location of the mobile phone user less important, the domestication becomes more dynamic to reflect the peripatetic lifestyle of the mobile phone user. In addition is the point regarding the cycle of disenchantment and re–enchantment caused by the role of machines in people’s lives and the enchantment with the mobile phone as defined by Jenkins (2000). This was also raised by Fortunati and Vincent (2009), who discussed Weber’s (1946) argument that disenchantment occurred because the machine, (in this case the mobile phone), required the user to exercise considerable intellectual effort and some imagination to make it work for them. This is the situation for Andrew who
has perpetuated the myth of the StarTrek communicator through his choice of mobile, or Scott who remains loyal to a Blackberry following his close association with its development. In the cycle of enchantment the respondents were content with their choice of mobile phone – until, perhaps, it failed to deliver to expectations and a period of disenchantment followed. It would appear that the desirability of a mobile phone is less about the aesthetic qualities of the device and much more about the role it plays in facilitating the lives of respondents and in their presentation of self among their peers. This is further exemplified by the nostalgia some respondents felt for the phones they had in past times and remembered with affection. The feelings respondents had for their mobile phones were expressed in ways that showed their delight and their disappointment with their mobile phone, and highlighted how dependent they were on it for maintaining relationships as well for safety and security. In the next chapter I will now examine aspects of mobile phone use that explore the inner self and the emotions that might be contained and hidden from view, albeit shared in some way via the mobile phone.
6. The Self and Emotion Mediated via the Mobile Phone

6.1 Introduction

In the last chapter I discussed how the respondents felt about their mobile phone in terms of the impact it had on their everyday lives, as well as how they used it as part of their presentation of self. It explored the face-work they used to manage their emotional response to the mobile phone, as well as the ways the mobile phone became a domesticated and familiar part of their everyday life. In this chapter the subjectivity of the mobile phone user is further explored by examining emotion mediated via the mobile phone that enables the user to interact with their self, such as through the personalisation of the device and the memories and emotions it evokes in them. The examples explored in this chapter are about the mobile phone user investing the phone with a sense of their self by interacting with the information held on the phone, the memories it holds and the experiences associated with it, rather than using it talk to, text or email others.

In chapter 3 the behaviours that arise out of the interaction with the self were explored through Hochschild's (2003a) work in which she refers to the real inner self that is often hidden from others and the feeling rules that are used to manage emotions that one might not want to share with others. These inner emotions that might be re-lived in private moments through memories that are associated with (or even stored on) the mobile phone are discussed in this chapter. It begins by exploring how the mobile phone comes to be imbued with the capabilities that enable moments of privacy with the self by firstly examining the ways that respondents have appropriated the mobile phone to fit with their lives (following Silverstone et al 1992 on the process of domestication). Secondly, drawing on Hepworth (1998), it discusses the ways that the mobile is used to sustain life stage experiences, particularly special memories from times past. In the last section, the subjectivities of the respondents are explored through the emotions that are enabled
by using their mobile phone (following Fortunati and Vincent's concept of electronic emotions 2009).

6.2 Personalising the Mobile Phone

The personalisation of the mobile phone and its incorporation into the daily life of the respondents explored in this section builds on the concept of domestication discussed in the previous chapter. The use of domestication to explicate mobile phone use, such as that by Haddon (1997), Nafus and Tracey, (2002) Ling (2004) and Berker et al (2006), draws on Silverstone and Hirsch's (1992) article that examined the process of domesticating technology within households. In this article Silverstone and Hirsch described domestication as occurring in a number of stages that included the initial appropriation - in which an object such as a telephone or television is first imagined as a thing that a person might want - and is then taken possession of so that 'the commodity becomes an object and achieves significance' (Silverstone and Hirsch 1992: 21). Applying this to the mobile phone, it is at this point that the phone starts to be imbued with material that is personal to the user and mostly private to their life. This is what Silverstone and Hirsch (1992) refer to as the objectification and incorporation stages, and these are exemplified by this quote from June who is explaining how, over time, she changes functions on the mobile phone to make them personal to her.

The thing with mobile phones is, you know, you get it out of the box when you first get it, and with me I end up, I'm a bit, bit of a techie nerd, so I get the phone out the box and I tend to flick through the manual and discover all the things that it can do. And then once you've got that you start personalising it a little bit, and you change the backdrop and you change this and you change that, and then over the course of a period of time you end up personalising it quite a bit. You change the ringtone, you change the way it works, you change all the different settings, and you get it just how you want it, so that takes quite a lot of time. (June)
However, it is not only the phone itself that becomes objectified; Silverstone and Hirsch (1992) suggest that it is not only material objects (such as a telephone) that can be objectified, but that non-material or semi-material artefacts such as 'the stuff of telephone conversations' can also become part of the domestication process - and in so doing 'provide a basis for identification and self-representation' (Silverstone and Hirsch 1992: 24). In later articles (2006; 2007) Silverstone further explored these non-material aspects and how they had become an important and central aspect of mediating everyday life.

Although their original work is about domestication as it occurred within the household, most particularly with respect to the television and the telephone, Silverstone and Hirsch's approach is now applied to other digital technologies of the twenty-first century, including the mobile phone:

'[...] they provide for instant communication and information finding, and [are] central too in their capacity to provide the symbolic resources and tools for making sense of the complexities of the everyday. (Silverstone 2007: 109)

In addition to the seminal work on domestication which I have used in this analysis the work of Lupton (1998) is also pertinent to understanding more about the effect of the mobile phone on the subjectivity of the respondents. In her examination of the relationship people have with material possessions Lupton explores the effects of acquiring and using objects on the subjectivity of the user. She contends that the 'emotions that we feel about these objects are generated in different ways' (Lupton 1998: 144). For example in her study of computer users she gives examples of how respondents anthropomorphise their computers such as patting them when they are slow to respond or by giving them names; or, as in Nippert-Eng's (1996) research on people's activities at home and work, the ways that people appropriate objects from the home for use at work creating what can be described as 'territories of the self'. Lupton's work does not include examination of mobile phone use, but her findings from her own research and that of others exemplifies why people might feel this 'comfort of things' (Miller 2008) with regard to their phone. There is a comfort
in the familiar object that a person travels with wherever they go, and that signifies or stores biographical information that is personal to the user. Thus, the mobile phone, a highly commoditised electronic computational communications device has been appropriated and objectified by its user to have a greater, and emotional, meaning than merely as a tool for communications - a meaning that combines emotions and feelings about many other aspects of the user's life.

There is no evidence in this study, however, of anthropomorphism of the mobile phone; instead it would appear that the device has become a substitute for the presence of 'real' others, rather than being given a persona as an additional 'virtual' other. Anthropomorphism attributes human characteristics to non-human things; but the mobile phone is not like the computer in Lupton's study which was given a name, or patted by its user when it was working too slowly: the mobile phone is actually representing real others as well as the self, and it has been appropriated for this purpose, albeit implicitly. As was noted by Silverstone, the instant contact and sight of other people via media is like a real life experience and presence.

The immediacy and the liveness of so much of what is seen on television, on the Internet, or in the voices and images instantly transmitted via the mobile phone are easily mistaken for life itself.

(Silverstone 2007: 114)

It would appear that it is not the mobile phone that dominates or influences the need for people to interact with each other, but rather it is the desire to be constantly aware of being in touch and connected that actually decides the interaction, and the mobile phone has become one means to achieve this. This desire may be satisfied by the mere holding or thinking of the device or what it contains rather than actively using it to communicate (Lasén 2005; Vincent 2010a).

The respondents' mobile phones appeared to be very personal and private to them, becoming very closely intertwined with their daily lives and their subjectivity. This was shown by several of the respondents who referred specifically to their mobile phone being 'mine' - and they clutched it to their chest, or grasped it in their hand as they talked about this point.
It's entirely personal to me. Um, and I think text, particularly, can be quite personal as well, because it’s messages and it can be quite personal to you. And I wouldn’t, like, pick up my husband’s mobile phone and look at his texts, and I wouldn’t expect him to look at mine either. So I feel quite, it is kind of like your possession; you’re quite possessive of it, almost. And I, I couldn’t see it as a shared device, no. It’s just so specific to you personally. (June)

June makes a point here of the privacy of the content of text messages that are personal to her alone, and her abhorrence at the very thought of someone else wanting to access them, or for her to access someone else’s. Roger, who had owned a mobile phone since 1992, commented on how he felt more comfortable using it as opposed to the fixed line phone, or even a lap-top.

I give it [mobile phone number] out fairly regularly because I don’t mind people reaching me. So if I don’t want to speak to them, I’ll just switch it off or ignore the call... I think I’m better at answering the mobile than I am a landline or returning a call. I don’t know why. It’s just I’m more comfortable with this kind of phone than I am with a landline or something. (Roger)

Just because...? (Jane)

I feel this is mine, somehow, whereas with a desk phone, it’s kind of, I don’t know. It’s somehow easier to ignore a desk phone or not, you know, you have to go through the hassle of picking up messages and all that. Well, I know it’s not... I suppose not as different from a mobile, but maybe it’s just because of my mobile industry background, you just feel that that’s a sort of extension of you whereas the desk phone isn’t, like a laptop too. (Roger)

The idea that the mobile phone was an extension of himself - and thus very personal to him - is significant. Although both Roger and June have worked in ICT industries
and are aware that this might make them more familiar with the use of the mobile phone their comfort with the phone had continued after they left their ICT roles and moved into less technology-focussed positions. June always made sure she had her mobile phone with her at all times.

I always check in my handbag that it's there. It's very rare I haven’t got it with me. If I go to the gym, because I literally take my keys and my phone and that's it, so I put the phone along with my keys, which I have to obviously have for the car and the house; the next thing is the mobile phone. I'd leave a purse quite happily but I wouldn't leave my phone behind, strangely enough. (June)

June comments that she thinks it is in some way extraordinary that the phone and keys are her priority even over money, but she does not dwell on the point as it is now an everyday occurrence for her. The mobile phone has been completely appropriated into her routine for the gym, as it has with Roger and his routine for managing communications. Other respondents explained how they would go back for their phone if they had forgotten it as they could not imagine how they could manage their day without it.

I think it would feel very strange now [...] occasionally I forgot it, I’ve gone out in the morning and I’ve forgotten it, and I do feel [...] how am I going to get through the day, how am I going to...? I panic really because I know that people are going to be trying to contact me, and I know that, um, I can’t contact other people. You suddenly feel a bit sort of... oh, I’ve had to come back for it before now, when I’ve been walking down to the railway station and realised I’ve forgotten it. (Mike)

For these respondents there is a sense of vulnerability about not having their mobile phone. They do not know if they will certainly need to use it, or if they will be contacted by someone, they just have to have the phone with them or else they feel uncomfortable and strange, even isolated.
The decision about leaving or not leaving the phone behind had been noted in an earlier study in which the emotional paradox of the phone being too valuable to lose was raised (Vincent and Harper 2003). If there was a possibility that the phone might be lost or stolen, then it was left at home rather than take the risk - such as with school children on gym days when changing rooms were known to be a danger, or adults going to a night club where it could be lost. Contrary to the findings of this earlier research, none of the respondents in this study gave the reason for not taking their phone with them as one of risk of losing it. Rather they made sure their spouse had their phone with them or they consciously chose not to take it as they did not think they would need it or might lose it 41. An example of this is when the respondents did not have their children with them, or there was someone else at home to deal with possible household emergencies. Their adult experience of managing without a mobile phone (before they had one) might have also been a factor in the decision process. Although they could imagine the mitigating actions they might take if they did not have their mobile phone with them, this did not assuage their feelings of strangeness or panic when they realised they had forgotten the phone. There was an immediate emotional response that was strong enough to cause them to turn around and go home for their mobile phone.

The respondents in this study had all experienced adult life before mobile phones and therefore had experience of what to do if they did not have a mobile phone - as articulated here by Belinda when talking about how she might cope without a mobile phone.

I think, I mean, I think that the attitude that I have is going to be different because I kind of, if you like, I saw it all happen, um, and I also had a time up until I was 32 where I'd never used a mobile phone, or even seen one. (Belinda)

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41 Moore (2005) had found a similar situation with regard to some of her younger respondents who chose not to take their phone with them to a night club because they did not have anywhere safe to keep it while dancing.
This did not diminish the effect of the loss of their phone, however temporary, which was the cause of considerable distress to some. Even the thought of losing the phone caused anxiety, such as for Belinda who had her bags stolen on an overseas business trip at which she was organising an event, but her phone had been on her lap in a work folder at the time.

[...] they got away with my posh frock [...], and, you know, my credit cards which we stopped, so it wasn’t, you know, a life threatening moment. But I think, had they stolen the phone, I would have been really, really stressed, because everything for that event, you know, is on it; my work revolves around being able to be in touch with people and contacts and all that. (Belinda)

This feeling of the mobile phone being so essential and important did not pertain for all situations - for as Belinda went on to comment, she would not have felt the same had she not been abroad, as she would simply have renewed the mobile phone and used her paper record back up. Thus for Belinda the incorporation of her mobile phone into her life related closely to how she was using it at that time, and to some extent the line she was expected to follow in that situation. Not having a mobile phone for a short while when it was the focus for her job and her activity was inconceivable, but not having one when she was at home and could manage with alternative arrangements was perfectly acceptable to her and her peer group.

Both John and Scott commented that they felt naked without their mobile phone and suggested that it was part of their daily attire.

If I haven’t got the phone with me at all, if I go out without it, I get a bit...I feel a bit lost, naked, without it... (John)

John went on to qualify his comment by suggesting that maybe he would not feel this way if his wife or someone else he was with had their mobile phone with them. It was unusual for Scott to be without his mobile phone, as he used it so much for keeping in touch with his hundreds of contacts.
So have you ever left it behind? Lost it or, not had it with you? (Jane)

Yeah, yeah, I did feel... I did feel naked without it. (Scott)

Laura talked about how ridiculous it was to feel you had to have your phone with you when at the same time you knew you would be unlikely to need it:

We went out for a walk yesterday afternoon and I actually left it at home. And it felt quite uncomfortable for a, for a few minutes, knowing that it wasn’t there. But it wouldn’t have rung; I wouldn’t have needed to use it. (Laura)

So, is the discomfort just the fact that you didn’t have it with you, or the fact that something might happen because you didn’t have it with you? (Jane)

Sort of a mixture of... yeah, it could be either/or. There’s just the feeling, um, well, yeah, I... well if anything does happen I’ve got... I’ve not got the reassurance of having it there to do anything. Which is, as I say, probably quite ridiculous, but, yeah. (Laura)

Lydia also found herself in a dilemma - not with regards to leaving her phone behind, as she admits she feels lost without it - but, on the contrary, to having it with her. She explained why she makes sure she has her mobile phone with her at all times:

And if I’m going..., it’s just that worry of, if something happened to the car, or breaking down, or being caught up in traffic; it’s, it’s the fact that you think you can contact somebody else. So, for me, yes, I’m, I, I always like to make sure I’ve got it, and if I found myself out without it, I would feel quite lost. So, although I don’t use it all the time as a means of communication, I think if I didn’t have it I’d miss it. Yes, I could cope without it. (Lydia)
And, have you ever left it behind? (Jane)

Yeah – and worried about it. (Lydia)

Did you? (Jane)

Yeah, yeah, I missed that I didn’t have it, but [laughing] this is so stupid; but if I’ve got it and I’m out and it rings, it drives me mad [laughter]. I don’t really want it then; you know, if I’m in the shops… (Lydia)

Jeremy was very clear about how and when he wanted to use his mobile phone - and although he was very happy to use it, especially to keep in contact with his wife while he was abroad, he was also irritated by some aspects of it - as is illustrated by his decision to use a gentle ring tone.

I deliberately choose a ring tone that’s nice and mellow; I don’t like one of these, BAH! BAH!, so it’s sort of a mellow tune, … I’ve just been reading a book, it’s the Book of Silence, it’s called, by Sarah Maitland and she’s describing her experience of silence, but she has a bit of a rage about mobile phones at one point, and always calls them evil devices and that, because they so intrude on people’s lives, and I thought, I can relate to that. (Jeremy)

In a similar situation to that of Jeremy, for Lydia the mobile phone is a potential intrusion into her personal time - such as when she is shopping. George, however, would not be without his mobile phone and when he lost it on a business trip, he surprised himself by how much he missed it, and really could not cope away from home without it. He explained how he came to lose it while at a social event in his hotel:

I realised that I didn’t have my phone but thought oh I’ve left that as well [as my wallet] so I didn’t worry about it. But when I got back it wasn’t in my room, so then I thought I must have left it in the
restaurant beforehand, so went back to the restaurant and it wasn't there either. I went back and I had been to 2 different events in the hotel - 'no it's not here sir', 'no it's not here sir'. So I thought oh, I've lost my phone and the next morning I phoned all the places again and went over to the restaurant personally, I went up to the hospitality suite where the first event that I went to was - no phone, I was leaving that day. So I left the hotel that day about half past twelve without a phone. And flew down to [the next venue] where I could get onto some wifi in the hotel and get some email but felt completely bereft. And I went onto Facebook having been away a week at this time and I updated my profile to say: "George is missing his wife and family but at this moment he is actually missing his mobile more." (George)

The mobile phone was found in the first hotel and returned to him after he arrived home in the UK.

Yes it was all still intact, nothing was wrong with it, everything was there but yeah it did feel very strange just not to be able to phone home. (George)

The mobile phone for these respondents was more than merely a tool for communications - it had come to represent much more. It elicited positive and negative emotion responses, irritating some with its ringing presence, whilst at the same time causing them distress and anxiety if they forgot or lost it.

George could make contact with his family from his hotel room, but only with a voice call - and this was not a substitute for a late night text message, or the feeling that he could be instantly in contact using his familiar mobile with all its contacts and short cuts for communication, as well as the special ring tones for family members and other aspects of the phone he had personalised. For example, he kept the last text from many of his contact list and replied to that, rather than looking up their number.
Every now and again I go through and I keep one message from my wife, my daughters, from my son, people that I text with relatively frequently, I'll keep one text from them in there and delete everything else. And the only reason that I do that is that I open up text and go to their message and hit reply and then I don't have to think about, and not use the contacts book. (George)

George was surprised at his own emotional response when he lost his phone and the length to which he went to retrieve it. He was especially aggrieved to find the phone had been lost in one of the places he had revisited twice because if the hotel staff had looked for it when he asked he would not have become so 'bereft' without it. He was also a little embarrassed about his Facebook comment which although posted as a joke, actually reflected his feelings at the time. He was not only embarrassed about having those feelings about his mobile phone, but also the realisation that it did mean so much more to him than he thought it would.

In these illustrations, both June and George commented on the strangeness of their feelings, as if they were encountering emotions that were unexpected and unfamiliar in these situations. To feel so emotional about not having a mobile phone was not a behaviour they anticipated and so it was difficult to deal with. Following Hochschild (2003a), the 'deep acting' they used to manage their emotions had proved inadequate, and there was a conflict between their real and their acted selves, especially for George when he lost his phone. This could be because he was encountering an emotional situation for the first time and had not learned how to manage it according to the social interaction expected of him by others; an example perhaps, of the inner real emotions taking over because a socially constructed response for that particular occasion was not yet available to him in that moment.

Not all of the respondents felt this way, or perhaps they were unwilling to consider their use of mobile phones in these terms. Martin carried two mobiles and used them a great deal - and although he did not want to turn them off, he did put them on silent at night because otherwise 'my wife would kill me!' However, despite his desire to keep it switched on at all times he was clear about the role it played in his own life.
It shouldn't be viewed as much more than a tool. It's not part of my body, it might be in my pocket but it's not, well, part of my body. (Martin)

The idea of a mobile phone being so close that it would be part of the body was unacceptable to Martin, who was referring to the use of affective technologies or artificial intelligence in machines to incorporate the machine into the body. The degree to which the mobile phone does become part of the body is a moot point for, as will be discussed in the next section, by not turning off a mobile phone and keeping it near to or on you one is maintaining a form of constant body to body contact.

These examples do illustrate however, that the respondents who view their mobile phone as 'mine' and for their personal use only, are using it to represent their self. It is as if the mobile phone is imbued with the syntheses of mutual awareness (from the relationships with interlocutors) and the inter-subjective accord (and discord) that arises from the communications occurring in their day to day lives, as mediated by the mobile phone. These respondents know that most people now have a mobile phone and the domestication of the device within society has enabled it to be appropriated at a personal level of singularity (Kopytoff 1986)⁴².

Before these respondents had a mobile phone communications were conducted mostly via shared devices such as telephones, computers and fax machines, located in communal areas. The process of the mobile phone becoming personalised and its almost uninhibited use has highlighted the transition of the focus of communication from being within a household to being located almost anywhere. It would appear that there is a comfort with the mobile phone that has developed from its acceptance within society as a suitable means for business and personal communication. The

⁴² The word singularity was used by Kopytoff (1986) to describe an object that did not conform to the usual process of commoditisation but remained identified separated – it was somehow singular. Thus although it is one of many information and communication technologies the mobile phone somehow appears to be kept separate from other ICTs through its individual ownership and particular way of being used.
mobile phone is personal to the user and is most usually attached to the user in some way when in use - even if this is via a Bluetooth earpiece or a loudspeaker function (although more normally it is held in the hand). The mobile phone has achieved, through objectification and personalisation, a singularity of its use that is identified with the mobile phone owner rather than the household, or office with which they are associated.

The discussion in this section has thus far explored the emotional responses and feelings engendered through the use (and loss) of the mobile phone that were reflected within the self of the respondent. In discussing how a mobile phone has been domesticated by the user the emphasis thus far in this analysis has been on emotion and the feelings imbued in the device. These inner feelings, such as sadness caused by missing a loved one when apart from them, were ameliorated using the mobile phone such as by handling the device, looking at text messages or images or simply by knowing the device was available to use at any time. However, for some respondents, these feelings were contrasted by the effect of not having the phone because it had been left at home or lost. These experiences heightened negative feelings such as panic, or feeling naked and the respondents would go out of their way to retrieve their phone such as turning back on a journey. The interactions between respondents and the mobile phones that did not involve others appeared to be entirely about their own feelings; in these situations they used feeling rules to manage only their own feelings. This particular emphasis on the self is examined further in the next section, which explores the respondents' life experiences and how the mobile phone helps sustain the memories and feelings associated with them.

6.3 Sustaining Life Experiences

It is clear from the analysis thus far that the mobile phone has gained a hold on many of the respondents' day to day lives, and that they find it difficult, although not impossible, to conduct their work and personal lives without knowing their mobile phone is to hand. In this section I now examine how this constant availability through the mobile phone has also come to have significance in
sustaining life experiences by enabling the respondents to use it to recall particular moments in their life as well as considering the use of the mobile phone to signify a rite of passage from one life stage to the next. Some of the respondents felt particular emotion responses to memories associated with the features of their mobile phones they had personalised - such their phone number, their SIM card or ring tone. The significance of these for the respondents was to do with the particular life stage they were experiencing when they chose or were given their phone number or their SIM card, or the time of their life they recall through their ring tone[s]. This is examined throughout this section by looking at specific examples from some respondents’ life experiences, and how the emotions mediated via the mobile phone appeared to have an affect their sense of their self.

Some aspects of research into life stage and age are examined here first as the events that respondents recalled in this section appeared to hold significance for them according to when they had occurred. Most studies of mobile phone users referred to in the review of literature are about younger users than were interviewed in this present study, or may have had only a few older participants in the sample. It would appear from these studies that there are similarities of mobile phone use regardless of age, but that age in terms of the life stage of the respondents might be a factor in explaining some of the emotions mediated via their use of mobile phones. Life stages, which are the significant phases during a life time such as adolescence, marriage, and so on, do not necessarily occur at the same age for everyone. It has already been noted (in chapter 5) that the respondents in this present study have used mobile phones for longer than many of the younger respondents in other studies, and that they have experienced adult life before mobile phones were used. Being able to remember this time (before the mass consumer take up of mobile phones) does not mean they might be expected to behave as if they still live in that time, or that social networking, mobile phones and other advancements in communications are only for younger persons. As one respondent put it: ‘I can remember pocket calculators the size of fridges but it doesn’t mean that I have to live in that period’ (Christine). However, what it does mean is that the social interactions which have shaped their use of communications technologies, such as mobile phones, have developed and been refined over a longer period of time.
The idea that older people might have a sanguine approach to managing emotion due to their life stage, or life experience, was discussed by Hochschild (2003a: 133) with regard to the ability to do deep acting to manage the different selves required for the different situations one might encounter in work and home life. She found that emotional labour appeared to be more easily managed by older, married and more experienced workers, who had learned to balance their own mood with the sometimes conflicting expectations of their employers. This management of emotion and the self is also referred to by Hepworth (1998: 177) in his discussion of ageing and the emotions, in which the process of ageing is described in terms of the subjectivities of the inner emotions and the more social, outer, emotions. This is akin to the interactionist perspective articulated by Mead (1967) and Hochschild (2003a) in which the subjective, inner, emotions are the 'I' which become - social, outer - emotions, the 'me', as a result of social interaction. Hepworth refers to the tensions that exist for some older people with regards to their age as they try to manage other people's expectations of their outer self, which can be different from their own inner self.

Emotions in ageing are seen by some as part of separate life stages (adolescence, adulthood, marriage, children etc.) between which there is a transition that, following Gennep (1960), might be seen as a rite of passage, or by Glaser and Strauss (1971), as status changes. However, although these life events are common to many, as Hepworth posits, emotions and ageing do not necessarily directly correlate with these life stage events in a unilinear course.

The experience of 'becoming old' is not unidirectional, nor distinctive of people who are old but intergenerational and reflexive: the individual moves, [...] through a spectrum of emotions in which the past, present and future are in essentially unstable combination. (Hepworth 1998: 183)

What has been highlighted by this discussion of age that is important for considering mobile phone use is that using the phone as a means of managing the presentation of the self, and the emotions engendered by it, would not appear to differ because of age. Feeling rules for older mobile phone users, such as those in this present study,
may be different perhaps because of their older age, and/or perhaps because they have used a mobile phone for longer. Nevertheless, it would appear that older people can expect to have some different emotion responses as a result of accruing more experiences from social interaction involving mobile phone use.

The respondents in this study recalled experiences of using their mobile phone over a period of up to twenty five years, and thus some of these recollections were about long held memories and associated emotions. The process of using the mobile phone to recall memories and details is as if, following Hochschild (2003a), the mobile phone user is unlocking their prior self - this is the part of the self on which the feeling rules for deep or surface acting have been built. This suggests that the mobile phone is being used to provide the connection between the subjective experience of the self and the outside world in ways that are socially and culturally acceptable to the mobile phone user. These might be the manifestation of a particular line they had chosen to follow during a life stage with which they had some sentimental or nostalgic attachment.

Some of the respondents would keep the same number when changing phones and their reasons for this varied from attachment to a particular number because of how it was first acquired, to avoiding the hassle of informing everyone you had a new number. Indeed some respondents kept constant the same number on one phone (usually their personal phone) that they updated less frequently, and then were less bothered about having number changes on their other phone; the latter was usually a newer phone and used for work. This enabled them to maintain links with friends and colleagues who they might no longer be in touch with regularly. For example a few of the respondents had acquired their phone number at a particular turning point in the technological development of mobile communications43 such as in the

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43 The first five digits of a mobile phone number originally related to the particular network operator and telecommunications switch where the data about that number is stored. In Cellnet in 1993 the 07860 numbers were used for a transition experiment to find out if numbers could be transferred from the old analogue TACS network that had this number group onto the new digital GSM service. As this was successful these numbers were retained. Similarly the GSM 07802 numbers were used to test the robustness of the GSM network before it became a public service. Source: Interview K England, O2, 22 October 2009.
transition from the old analogue TACS network to the new digital GSM system when a mobile phone number prefix was of particular significance. It placed this group within the elite early adopter trialists who had retained their personal number since that date in the early 1990s, and these respondents had maintained their contacts list from that time as well. In addition, some had chosen to have special memorable numbers, or had been part of a group of colleagues who were given sequential numbers and who are still in touch with each other:

So it’s just we have this bizarre little group of people that we knew.

(Scott)

Roger had not only kept his original phone number but also, until very recently, his first SIM card - which had to be updated to work in his newly acquired iPhone. He laughed when he recounted the reaction in the phone shop.

I went to the shop and they upgraded my SIM card, and they were like, I haven’t seen one of these before. [laughter]. It was really funny. I said do you want to keep it in the museum? It’s the first generation SIM card. (Roger)

He went to considerable trouble to transfer his contacts from his old phone onto the SIM card so they could in turn be moved to the new SIM by the iPhone supplier. He explained with bemusement that when the listing appeared on the new iPhone the first and last names had been transposed so he could not easily find anyone now:

...and that was hilarious because they switched surnames and first names. So my listing was all completely back to front and still is!

(Roger)

He went on to say that he has used this same phone number for all calls, personal and business - he had it on his business card and had an agreement with his employer that if he ever left he would take the number with him. Roger felt the association with the number was part of his personal history and he liked to know other people with whom he was associated were also keeping their numbers. He
used the mobile phone number and his ownership of it as continuity about himself as he moved between jobs.

Roger had decided he must retain his original mobile phone number and had gone to some lengths to ensure he could also retain it in the future. Being linked with a particular number was thus for some respondents a part of their identity. The mobile phone number represented continuity with the past, and it enabled the respondents to maintain a line with past groups of colleagues, many of whom they might never again contact. The number also represented the peer group within which they had emerged as an expert, and they held strong nostalgic feelings for this emblem of their life progression. Furthermore, its link with the retention of numbers on their contacts lists, and the knowledge that others on these lists had also kept their number, was valuable to them.

Many of the respondents described evocative scenarios involving their mobile phone, be it the type of device, the number or as in this example from Christine, the ring tone she uses for incoming calls. She had asked a friend to help her download a new ring tone and she played one in the interview to demonstrate her choice. She was very excited as she described how she came to choose this one:

I’ve got these ringtones. And one of them was Public Image going ‘hello, hello, hello, hello’ like that. And the other was this one [the Undertones] and I was going like, oh my God, I have to have that one. And he was one of those people that changed his ringtone, you know, faddishly – probably every month or something. But I have never changed it because it’s kind of, quite emotional. Even though it’s actually a really obscure ringtone, I’d be much better with something... but it’s very distinctive because I’ve not met anybody else who uses this one. And also because it’s an instant sort of, burst of something old-new, if you know what I mean. (Christine)

When you say it’s emotional, is that because it’s... what it makes you think of when you first heard it way back in whenever? (Jane)
Is it nostalgia? It's that amazing sense of time having passed and having once been young and it once had been really important to me, and it once having been somebody who listened to music like that, and just a sort of, sense of... it's not even nostalgia. It's almost legacy or history or heritage or time was or something about it. But also, the song is quite sad, you know. It's kind of, like... basically, it's kind of, begging someone to ring. So there's a sort of, extra... there's a poignancy in the tune or the song and you know, The Undertones... well they haven't been listed for years so it's just a sort of, moment in time. [...] Yes, the Undertones. But you know, 'you've got my number, why don't you use it? If you want to, want to, want to, want to have somebody to talk to'. (Christine)

Christine is excited by the layers of appropriateness that relate to her ring tone. It conjures up memories and affection for times passed whilst also holding a sadness - which is sometimes associated with negative feelings towards the present - that accompanies nostalgia. It also highlights the multiple roles that the mobile phone is playing in eliciting reminiscences which can be an intensely personal experience. By contrast with Christine who is happy to use an old tune, one associated with her youth for her ringtone, Mark is using a modern tune - having bowed to peer pressure and dispensed with the memory from his youth:

My ring tone, in case you wondered, er, is from that famous Sheffield band, whose name just gone from my head ... The Arctic Monkeys...So, so every time I have a voice call coming through, The Arctic Monkeys play. I used to have Eric Clapton, Layla, but then everybody said, oh, come on, it's a bit outdated, so I changed to The Arctic Monkeys. (Mark)

Despite his obvious nostalgic feeling for his old music favourite Mark has been unable to resist the line suggested by his current peer group and has maintained face with them by changing to something more current. Christine on the other hand is so strongly attached to the memories associated with the ring tone she has chosen she is not concerned other considerations.
In this section I have explored how the respondents have used ring tones and phone numbers to maintain a continuity of their self that has continued regardless of their life stage or changing mobile phones. It has also explored how both their age and the length of time they had been using a mobile phone might have an impact on their subjectivity, as well as on other people’s perceptions of them. However, it would appear that the social practices of this group of respondents is not necessarily any different from those who are much younger, although some do appear to manage their emotions differently due to a combination of longer life experience and/or longer usage of the mobile phone. In this section the emotions evoked by mobile phone use have been explored by looking at how some respondents had personalised and objectified particular capabilities of the device (ring tone and numbers). In the next section I will examine emotions evoked by mobile phone use that arise out of personal experiences that are recalled because they were mediated via the mobile phone and have in some way been imbued in the device by the respondent.

### 6.4 Emotions Evoked by the Mobile Phone

Emotions evoked by the mobile phone refer to the ways the respondents reconciled and managed some of their inner, personal emotions via their mobile phone. These emotions reflect their self, how they were feeling at the time or would like to feel. Although these feelings and emotions were often the result of interaction with others, these emotional responses only involved the respondent and their own mobile phone(s), and were thus an interaction between the self and the mobile phone device. In other words, the respondent was not co-present or communicating by text or voice with any other person.

Electronically mediated emotion experienced through the mobile phone has already been hinted at in so far as the comfort of having the mobile phone is to do with it being the repository of the emotional biography of the user. This is a biography that contains information, memories, and experiences that have impacted on the user’s subjectivity; many involve others and include events which are not necessarily
always positive. The involvement of the mobile phone in managing emotions highlights the significance of interaction in this analysis – interaction with the self, with the mobile phone and with others. In the last chapter, the use of face-work (Goffman 1967) was explored - how the mobile phone user would follow a line to maintain their face with others. It is this link with others that is imbued in the mobile phone and which in turn has become an element of the subjectivity of the user. Scheff (2005), in his discourse on a taxonomy of emotion names refers to the concept of mutual awareness in Goffman’s work and how two people are united in ‘their feelings and emotions’. He explicates his point with reference to intersubjectivity and the work by Stern on attunement:

Attunement is Stern’s (1977) term for intersubjective accord, (in Goffman’s language, “mutual awareness.”) [...] Attunement implies that momentarily at least, two or more persons may become united in thoughts and feelings. (Scheff 2005)

Through their use of the mobile phone the individual can become the beneficiary of the outcome of this ‘intersubjective accord’. The mobile phone is able to provide a conduit to some form of interactional repository, personal to the user, through which the syntheses of more than one person’s emotions are conveyed. These emotions traverse the mobile phone in many ways. In her analysis of the use of ICT Vershinskaya (2010) refers to the interactions involved with ICTs as the e–activities of human e–actors that in turn lead to the development of e–portraits. These electronic (e) aspects of people’s lives have become fully integrated into their daily communications and everyday activities. In this respect every action linked to the mobile phone is an e–activity, even if the phone is being hand held to view images and text messages. These e–activities are the progenitor for the concept of electronic emotion posited by Vincent and Fortunati (2009), emotion that is expressed or mediated through an electronic computational device such as a mobile phone. This is the emotion that ‘is lived, re–lived or discovered through machines’ (Fortunati & Vincent 2009: 13). This exploration of electronically mediated emotion is also informed by Krotz’s (2005) work on mediatization in which he examines the combined effects of the use of all types of ICT on relationships and the self.
The most powerful examples of electronically mediated emotion given by some respondents in this study were with regard to death and how their strong feelings of love were expressed in terms of grief and happiness 'lived' via their mobile phone. The emotion of grief is intensely personal and managed differently according to the individual and the circumstances of the particular death they are mourning. The mobile phone contains emotion memory as well as the raw data about friends and family and some respondents talked about how they managed the contacts information as part of their grieving process following the death of a loved one. Lupton suggests the emotion response that comes from the interaction of human beings is 'part of the process of making sense of the world' (Lupton 1998: 146) and in this instance the respondents were indeed trying to make sense of how to deal with what for them was an unprecedented situation. Some respondents used their mobile phones to wipe clean the clutter of unwanted memories and had made the positive decision not to keep old texts and pictures as if 'once they started this they would not be able to delete them.

Some captured the data held on the mobile phone by downloading them onto their personal computer (PC), or they intended to but simply stored them on old mobiles, knowing they could find them again (albeit with some difficulty). As time passed the necessity to recall those moments passed, but disposing of old mobile phones was another matter for some. As discussed in chapter 5, keeping an old phone was a nostalgic activity, one associated with pleasant memories - and as will be explored here, some phones are retained for very private and emotional reasons.

Scott recounted how he had dealt with the death of his mother and some friends as regards his contacts list, which contains many hundreds of people, the vast majority of which are business contacts. He commented that he did not know if some of the business contacts (that go back many years) were dead or alive, but if he did know that they had died he would take them off his phone - as he had done with his close family and friends.

I'd take it off. My mother being a recent example, which I took off.

Yeah, I had a friend... a friend... I had a friend who died from cancer. Well, two friends who separately died from cancer about
eight months apart, and that was... I took them off, because I didn’t want to kind of... Yeah, I still remembered them, but I didn’t want that to become a flash... you know, as I’m scrolling through Outlook or something, as if they were... – to pretend that they weren’t dead. So I did take them off. If I knew they were dead, I’d take them off, yeah. (Scott)

Did you do that quite quickly, or did you...? (Jane)

That’s an interesting question. One... one I did straight away, and then the other one took a little bit longer, because I was just trying to separate... I wasn’t quite sure if her husband, whether he was separately on the contacts list. (Scott)

In this example the act of scrolling through the contacts list and accidently seeing the name of a recently deceased close friend or family member was not acceptable for Scott who feared an emotion response to the flashing up of the name and the memories it triggered. He explained that although his mother’s death was not unexpected, there was still a moment that caught him unawares when it got close to Christmas and he realised she would not be around, and he wanted to prevent a repeat of this. Loss of emotional control when looking for a business number was something he wanted to avoid. He felt uncomfortable at the thought that he might break down or not be able to control his emotions in a business meeting or some inappropriate moment.

Karl had quickly deleted contact details of his Aunt after she died because he did not want to accidently telephone her number as he would feel embarrassed if a relative, who was checking her phone, saw he had rung knowing she had died.

I didn’t want to do it the same day, it was indecent to do it the same day ... I’d leave it a decent period and then do it. (Karl)

In both the instances of Scott and Karl, apart from their own feelings they wanted to avoid a loss of face, of being embarrassed in front of strangers, or people with whom
it was not appropriate to share their sense of loss, or family who might be offended by a careless mistake.

George, on the other hand had not been able to bring himself to delete the details of a very close friend who had died two years previously. He was still listed along with his wife, and although George had taken him off his computer contacts list his friend’s details remained on his mobile phone. He talked very slowly as he expressed his thoughts and explained the circumstances of why he still had his friend’s contact details and text messages on his mobile phone. His friend is listed as a joint entry with his wife.

Yes, and erm, the address book still says [their names] [pause]. And I can’t alter that [pause], so that’s in my contacts here. And it’s on my phone because the two of them are [pause] I can’t alter that contact entry to take [his] name out. No – that’s never going to happen. [pause and reflects]

Well it’s just, well why is that? It’s not logical; there’s no logical reason why, it’s almost like he’s still here if he is in my address book. Weird [pause]. Funnily enough I’ve got his wife in separately, just her mobile number, but the address and home number is still under [their joint names]. His mobile number is there and I haven’t deleted that either within that entry. (George)

Don’t you worry that you might accidentally phone it? (Jane)

No, no, I’d be shit scared if it rang me! [laughs softly] (George)

Recounting the story so slowly, it was as if George was trying to work out his actions, even referring to himself and the situation as ‘weird’ and ending on a self deprecating note to relieve the tension of the telling. When he says ‘I can’t alter that’, he is not speaking of the technology (as it is a simple task to edit a contact). he is referring to his unwillingness to deal with deleting his friend from his contacts because to do so might be tantamount to deleting him from his life or his memory.
He can keep the feeling he had when his friend was alive (and just one of his contacts) in a way that is unique and personal to him, and in a way that does not offend others. This is the opposite of the situation with Scott who feared a loss of emotional control by leaving the details on his phone, instead George took comfort from it still being there.

Another respondent, Lynne, who had rendered her mobile phone useless, explained how she had wanted to keep some of the messages it held. She did not offer any explanation until the end of the interview, when she mentioned their connection with the unexpected death of her brother in law.

Yeah, so on the phone that I lost there were two or three that I’d kept for years, you know [laughing]. So yeah, I don’t know why, but you know, it’s nice messages so, you know, you’ve got to keep them I guess. (Lynne)

So are going... have you thrown the phone away? (Jane)

No, it’s here somewhere. And the guy in the shop has said that if you get a data cable you might be able to work it through so, yeah, I’ll just see if I can. (Lynne)

Perhaps when it’s completely dried out, there might be something in there. Would you keep it anyway though? (Jane)

No. If it really has gone then I’ll bin it because it will make me cross if I look at it. I’ll just think, I was so stupid [laughing], I need to get rid of that. My husband’s brother died suddenly and that was one of the emails, a text that I’d saved was around that time. (Lynne)

The loss of her phone was strongly associated with a number of emotion responses - anger at her own stupidity when the phone was ruined, annoyance at the inconvenience of not recovering the data it contained - as well as the realisation that it also held particular memories which, together with the phone, had been destroyed
when she ignominiously dropped it in a toilet. The manner in which she had lost the data was the final insult to her sensibility on the matter of wanting to keep the memories.

Another respondent had similar reasons for wanting to avoid wiping memory from her old mobile phone when she upgraded it for a new model. She talked about how she had felt panicky when she realised some of the messages she had tried to keep might have been lost, such as one from a close relative who had been undergoing hospital treatment,

At one stage I thought that she wasn't going to be around for very long, so I kept messages from her. [...] I suppose I haven't panicked too much because they're sitting on this other phone that's still at the house. And, in some ways, I suppose, a lot of the time I've felt, oh, you're just being silly, you know, sort of, keeping these things on there. Um, but I did have a, sort of, a mild panic. But, as I say, the panic isn't, sort of, there, ultimately, because I know at the moment they're still sitting on this phone at home. (Margaret)

Margaret commented that since this experience of not wanting to lose these messages she keeps a closer control of new messages she receives on her present mobile phone and does not keep more than a couple at a time. She does not want to experience similar feelings of loss and anxiety as she had with these previous messages that she had not disposed of.

These examples were offered by the respondents to illustrate how they managed their contacts lists and whether they kept old messages. They are not only examples of electronically mediated emotion, but also, examples of how, as Rimé (2009) asserts, an emotion elicits the sharing of emotion, with the interview presenting an opportunity to share a strong, deeply held emotion - that of the grief and anguish surrounding the loss or severe illness of friends and family.

In contrast to the strong feelings expressed in the examples of dealing with illness and death, there were also examples of fun and happiness that respondents
associated with the memories triggered by their use of the mobile phone. Roger had originally kept some special ‘sweet’ text messages from his wife from when they first got together but these had been lost when he bought his iPhone and had to upgrade his SIM card. He could have saved them but he decided he had kept them long enough. Roger explained how he had tried to download pictures from his last phone but that they were not good enough quality to keep. He had, however, gone to some trouble to save and transfer a sound clip of his daughter’s laughter, and he was still using his old mobile phone on which this was recorded but only as an alarm clock.

But um, yes, so I’ll take them [images] on the phone and transfer them to the PC – or a sound clip. Like on the last one [phone]; she left me a voice message, which was hilarious, on my phone, um, because she was giggling all the way through it: you know how kids have that belly laugh? So I then played it back on voice mail and recorded it on the [new] phone and then uploaded the voice, tagging it into my PC. So it’s on my PC now. (Roger)

Then, did you then dispose of it on your mobile or did you keep it on there until it you changed phones? (Jane)

Uh, it’s on my old phone still, probably, which I’ve still got, which I use as an alarm funnily enough [laugh]. It’s ridiculous, isn’t it? (Roger)

This is another example of the respondent being self deprecating about their behaviour as regards old mobiles and what they use them for. It is not completely clear if Roger is keeping the mobile because of the association with the memories it contains, or because it is, following Nippert-Eng (1996), part of the territory of his self and so the retention of texts and images is an indistinguishable part of his incorporation of the mobile phone into his everyday life.
Helen used the wallpaper on her screen as a trigger for happy memories. She used pictures taken on the mobile phone and had kept them only on her mobile phone to look at from time to time:

I've got Chichester Cathedral at the moment, on the wallpaper, which is nice, because that's when we got engaged, and we went to Chichester for the weekend. And that's quite nice. And previous to that it's a photograph that [my daughter] had taken of a flower, and I actually really like those photos on the front. Um, and I have snapped, a couple of times, when I haven't had a camera with me, although I'm not really a, I'm not really a photo taking person, I don't think. But I have got a couple, and I do actually, every so often I do look through it, actually, but I've never, and probably never will, download them, download the photos to the computer. (Helen)

Lydia scrolled through her text messages in the interview to have a look for a particular message from her daughter that she had kept and explained how she decided what to delete ('tick off'). She read out the messages as she went along.

So I've got those going right back to November, October; I tick off, that was after Christmas, I 'tick off' a lot from, from [my daughter], but I kept one, I kept one. [she reads it out] I thought I'd kept her happy Christmas one. So I do tend to, as a sentimental fool, I do tend to keep a few from her. I'll tend to keep them, like we were arranging to go out, so that I can know what time and things like that, so I'll keep those, and then once I've done that they've gone; the ones at the moment are all the Bank ones... I'm very slow like this; where is that from; ha, [reads out another loving text from her daughter] so that's nice to have; when was that? - August. (Lydia)

Was she away then, or was she? (Jane)

Yeah, she'd gone on holiday. That one is, yeah, because I don't know what I've asked her, [reads out a long text with news and information
and answering a question] it ends with Text back - that’s TB isn’t it? - and a million kisses. Oh yeah, Chris and Nick, the neighbours, I’ve kept that so I can remember what date their baby was born. (Lydia)

Lydia goes on to explain how she likes to keep the special texts from her daughter, the love you messages, that she likes to look at - such as when she is away, or her daughter is staying with her father (Lydia is divorced).

George, although he had some grim experiences to recount, also had some happy encounters with his mobile phone - such as the ring tone he has for when he wife rings him. He only has two ring tones:

My standard ring tone is the test cricket theme, the calypso type sound, and if my wife rings it’s the Pearl & Dean music from the cinema, [Laughs] (George)

She doesn’t by any chance have the same one for you on her phone when you ring her? (Jane)

No – she has the Counting Crows.

Now with her it’s fun time; fun time I see her at the cinema so I’ve got a fun ring tone. I have to say that rather than it’s the person who is spending all the money is now ringing you and it’s the advertising jingle! [laughs]. (George)

There is a shared joke between George and his wife about their ring tones, and for George it is associated with fun and laughter, making jokes about alternative meanings of the ring tones and knowing that a call from her will not be about work but something that will make him happy - even recalling the story makes him laugh and smile. This has a great significance for him and perhaps contributed to his great sense of loss when he lost the mobile phone on his business trip - he would not have been able to hear this tune and its happy associations if his wife called him. The happy electronic emotion elicited by the Pearl & Dean melody was, even in the interview, reproduced by the mere thought of it without his wife needing to call him.
John also has happy associations with the ring tones he has created for his wife and his daughter that are evocative of his feelings, and are associated with special memories about them. For example, John and his wife participate in 17th century re-enactments, hence he uses the 17th century music:

I’ve got my personalised ring tones for people, which I’ve created myself from...by files and downloads onto the phone. (John)

So what would be a typical ring tone that you’ve got for different people? (Jane)

Oh well I’ve got a piece of early 17th century music that I use for [my wife]. And at the moment [my daughter] ...when [she] rings me it comes up with Stravinsky’s Rites of Spring. And then everyone else gets Smoke on the Water. (John)

The ring tones the respondents have personalised for their spouses or family members; the sentimental messages and audio recordings that have been kept - even if transferred to another ICT machine, or kept on an old mobile phone - are all representative of the electronic emotions that have been experienced through their mobile phone. The fact they choose to keep these memories, that they know where they are if they want to call upon them, adds to the depth of feeling and emotion they elicit. Notably, some of the memories are not happy, like the messages from a sick relative that Margaret thought might be their last. For these respondents, the mobile phone has become a means for the electronic mediation of emotion -- the feelings about loved ones, the joy of a child’s laughter, the sadness of bereavement, the caring and love between family members when one is ill, are all examples of electronic emotions that are lived and re-lived through the mobile phone.
6.5 Concluding Thoughts

In this chapter it was found that the respondents had great sentimental feelings for their own mobile phone and had become greatly attached to having them with them at all times. This was not simply as a means of contact, but also to store memories and to manage their own feelings, and in some way support and maintain their inner self. This continual presence of the mobile phone was a key element in the maintenance of being able to re-live emotions at any time and in any location. The mobile phone had come to provide a means of enabling the emotion management of this inner self - such as keeping the memories of friends and family alive on the mobile phone - even when the time since it had been recorded had long passed (and in some instances the friend or family member had died). Feeling rules that governed how they behaved with regard to their mobile phone and to others when using it meant that their deep acting was occasionally exposed and overtaken such as by strong inner emotions of loss. For example, the deep acting used to manage relationships is also continued to be used to deal with the sense of loss after the death of a friend or family member. In this way the mobile phone enabled the imagined continuation of friendship, even though the friend had died. The mobile phone became complicit in the process of acting, of delivering an imagined situation, but because the interaction was only between the mobile phone and the user, they were able to re-live the emotions privately and without others knowing.

The circumstances in which emotion that is particular to the self occurs are manifold, and it is, of course, a uniquely personal record of an individual’s feelings that is being explored in the case of each respondent in this study. The intervention of the mobile phone does, however, add a particular property to the development of these emotions resulting in an intersubjectivity that involves not only the people communicating with each other but, in some ways, the mobile phone as well. Whilst there is much written on the intervention of technology in human relationships it is not the technology, nor even the device itself, which is the source of the emotional intervention in this discourse. Rather it is the contact with all the emotion (the electronic emotions) that traverses the mobile phone, that is stored in it, that has been associated with it (or even with a previous mobile phone) that comes
to the fore. Thus it is a layering and intertwining of emotion - which is the reflection of the self through the touching, seeing or even thinking about the mobile phone - which is at the heart of the themes developed in this chapter. As was illustrated in this chapter, there may be reasons why emotion responses occur - such as with the death of a friend, or the intervention of emotional discord - from which the mobile phone user might wish to retreat. Indeed the emotion and the feelings associated with the mobile phone occur because it mediates, intervenes or catalyses the emotion event in some way. Thus although the emotion is felt by the self, by the individual mobile phone user, the emotion that is explored here is stimulated, prompted, generated or in some way related to the mobile phone.
7. EMOTION IN RELATIONSHIPS MEDIATED VIA MOBILE PHONES

7.1 Introduction

Whereas the last chapter discussed emotion mediated between the respondent and the mobile phone, in this chapter I examine the use of the mobile phone as a mediator for emotion in relationships. It is explored here from the perspective of the communications with third parties such as friends, family members and business contacts. In Chapter 2 I reviewed how other studies of mobile phone users (Cooper et al 2002; Katz and Aakhus 2002, Vincent and Harper 2003; Lasén 2005; Krotz 2005, Wajcman et al 2008) had found that people tended to strengthen existing relationships rather than create new contacts via their mobile phone. In this chapter I will expand upon some of this literature to further explicate the ways that telephones have been used to strengthen relationships and the emotions invested in them, and how this is evident in the use of mobile phones by some of the respondents in this present study. The effects of relationships as mediated by the mobile phone are then examined through three themes that have emerged from the analysis of this data - constant presence; emotional dissonance and strengthening emotional contact.

A few studies, especially of teenagers and young people, (Ling 1997; 2001; De Gournay 2002; Green 2002; Harper and Hamill 2005), have found that managing emotional relationships was an integral part of mobile phone use, and indeed a reason for their frequent use. These studies did not set out to examine emotion in relation to mobile phone use, but nevertheless, their findings do inform the ways that people, especially those new to mobile phones, are using them to mediate their relationships. This strengthening and deepening of relationships was also evident in past research on the use of fixed telephones. For example, Aronson highlighted the

44 Business contacts could mean the respondent's employer and work colleagues as well as clients. In addition commercial relationships respondents have with regard to their personal life such as purchasing goods, with trades people and so on is also included as business.
development of small social networks of friends or family members into 'psychological neighbourhoods' such as in this example in his research:

...a group of elderly widows living alone who maintain scheduled daily telephone contacts as a means of insuring the safety, health, and emotional security of the group's members. (Aronson 1971: 162).

These social networks linked by telephone were also explored by LaRose who asserted that:

In particular, the instrumental function of the telephone has social significance in helping us to manage our social relationships more effectively. Indeed the maintenance of close social relationships would appear to be a motivating factor in the majority of all phone calls. (La Rose 1998: 9)

Findings such as these from research on fixed telephone (landline) uses align closely with those of mobile phone use in this study as regards maintaining social relationships between groups of people who already know each other. This transition from the familiarity of using the fixed telephone to the possibilities of what the use of mobile phones might offer to people was discussed by Green in her study of teenage mobile phone users.

If individuals can access emotional companionship without spatial limitations when mobile, they have even further opportunities to effect the development of what some have called 'psychological neighbourhoods', rather than being bounded by communities that exist in particular space and co–presence. (Green 2002)

These boundlessly mobile social networks of interlocutors run concurrently with their territories of the self (Nippert–Eng 1996) allowing respondents to participate in

45 For example Williamson (1994) who researched older people's use of the telephone to keep in social contact.
the environs of their chosen, familial social contacts when they are solitary or amongst others. As a result of using their mobile phone, the respondents continued to feel part of their social group, even when they were not in face to face contact with them. Arminen and Weilenmann further noted the effect of location on this relationship in their analysis of mobile phone conversations between a group of friends, highlighting that the mobile phone call is imbued with a sense of where the caller is actually located at the time, such as on the beach.

Mobile communication that makes all mundane activities shareable becomes inescapably interwoven into the personalities and the relationships of those who communicate. The call made or received at the beach involves the connotations of “beach” as a part of the message. Mobile technology does not “free” us from places, spaces and practices, but makes them resources for communication, leading to a new, hybrid symbolic texture of everyday life. (Arminen and Weilenmann 2006)

These findings pertain for the respondents in this study and extend to their relationships with business contacts regarding personal matters, such as when managing short term projects. Andrew was having building work done on his house which involved frequent communication to keep in touch with events and progress. He talks about how he uses the phone, explaining it in a hurried tone as if to impress the urgency of these communications. The pressure of the builder’s calls caused him anxiety as he is keen to accommodate his requests to ensure the work is completed.

My builder at the moment rings me at all hours of the day and night, what about so-and-so? What about this? What do you want to do about… he says, oh, where’s this got to go, where has that go to…? Well, how wide has that got to be? How tall has that got to be? So that’s really useful, because, of course, he’ll get me on my mobile phone, but he might not get me on the office phone because I’m on that phone. You know, then the mobile phone goes off when you’re on the phone, and you say, oh hang on a minute, you know, can I ring you back in a couple of minutes, my builder’s trying to reach
me, and everybody sort of, understands that sort of scenario.

(Andrew)

The conversation between Andrew and his builder provides an exemplar of the way that feeling rules are used by all the people involved to manage an unexpected call received on the mobile phone – ‘everybody understands’ means that all the interlocutors are deep acting – responding according the expected response to that situation. The builder has called Andrew at a moment convenient to builder, but not necessarily to Andrew, who is speaking to another person: Andrew must respond in a way that is appropriate and will not cause offence to the builder or his other caller. Communication between people, such as Andrew and his builder, who needed regular and frequent contact, was considerably eased by the use of the mobile phone. These uses are constantly being renegotiated as the mobile phone becomes increasingly domesticated as a means of familial communication, even when this involves people other than family members. Although business relationships differ in their emotional intensity from those with friends and family as regards love, affection, disaffection or anxiety, they nevertheless involve an emotion response. This is augmented by the interleaving of business and personal life via the mobile so that emotions from different communications might impinge upon the other. It is this emotion involved in any of the relationships mediated via the mobile phone that is explored in the three themes in this chapter.

Rimé (2009), in his exposition of how emotion elicits the social sharing of emotions, offers an explanation for how the need to mediate these emotions via the mobile phone might come about. He uses the example of a street accident to which there are many onlookers using mobile phones.

They are reporting the scene to a close person. This anecdotal observation illustrates the fact that people who experience an emotion then evidence an imperious need to share it, and to talk about it. Before the advent of cellular phones, this need was first expressed on-site. Witnesses talked to one another, and when back home, they again talked about the scene with their intimates. (Rimé 2009: 65)
This scenario shows how the mobile phone has come to supplant face to face talk between co-present individuals (who may not know each other) with the ability to have immediate contact with the chosen interlocutor via the mobile phone – most often a close friend or family member. This contact thus involves not only the emotions of the person experienced at that moment but, through the mobile phone, it conveys in some way all the physical and social conditions that might be involved in the situation. Licoppe (2004) refers to this as ‘connected presence’, a form of always on connectivity. The notion that communications mediated via ICTs such as the mobile phone might involve more than a simple face to face interaction was also discussed by both Contarello and Fortunati. They refer to this holistic communication as being ‘body to body’ and different from face to face contact in that it refers to interpersonal communication that involves bodily expression and interaction via any of the senses (Contarello 2003; Fortunati 2005c). This body to body interaction builds on and is the summation of a continuation of the intersubjectivity of the relationships mediated (in this instance) by the mobile phone - and, as discussed in the previous chapter, the presentation of the self via the mobile phone.

There is a point at which the emotion response to a situation cannot be contained by the individual and they feel the need to share it, to narrate it in the form of a story perhaps, (Bruner 1990) or to share the way they feel. Not only to report on street scenes but sightings of famous people or other moments they choose to share. However, although the mobile phone provides an opportunity for direct (person to person) connectivity with others, it is not always possible to be connected, nor is the person with whom the individual wants to share the emotion necessarily available. Thus, as discussed above, the mobile phone can become a substitute for both real time conversations to share feelings and emotions about a situation as well as the co-location of the interlocutors. This notion is developed in the discussion of co-presence and absent presence in the first theme below.

The use of mobile phones by the respondents flows from the expectation that it will be always on, permitting a constant presence of the phone and through it a continual link to anyone they might wish to contact. This links to the earlier discussion on
dependability in so far as achieving a constant presence relies on the mobile phone always working when you need it - a situation that some respondents have discovered is not necessarily a certainty. The emotional impact of relationships mediated via the mobile phone as a result of this constant presence is discussed in the first theme in this chapter. The second theme explores the effect on the respondents of the emotional dissonance that flows from their relationships with others via the phone. The final theme examines the emotions that arise from the strengthening and deepening of social relations mediated by mobile phones.

7.2 Constant Presence

Although the mobile phone is but one means of communication amongst a plethora of ICTs, there seems to be something that makes it appear more personal, more intimate than the fixed phone, the lap top, or the desktop computer. There is virtually nowhere you cannot take a mobile phone now. It may be that etiquette and courtesy, or regulations forbid its use in certain places (such as in places of worship, in most airplanes and so on), but even when this occurs the mobile phone is often still in a trouser or jacket pocket, handbag or briefcase, placed on silent or airplane mode and ready to be turned back on in an instant. The effect of this is to maintain a constant presence not only of the mobile phone itself but, more pertinently, of the communications, images and other personalised information that is sent, received and stored on it. At any moment this can be reached through the stimulation of the touch of the device, the thought of it, or the actual receipt of a communication from a third party.

The idea that the mobile phone creates a form of connected presence between people has been examined by some researching mobile phone use (Licoppe 2004; 2009; Ling 2004; Schroeder 2006; Wajcman et al 2008; Bittman et al 2009; Rettie 2009). They have found that continuous mediated interactions through the mobile phone enable an intimate social presence between mainly small groups of people. The interactions may be through any of the communications capabilities of the mobile
phone, allowing for the asymmetry of text or voice messaging playing a part as well as conversations.

Connected presence is the enabler for the constancy that this presence involves and which is achieved by the always on capability of twenty first century mobile communications like the mobile phone and personal computer. The concept of ‘always on’ has been used for many years within mobile phone advertising, and what started as an aspiration to provide voice and data services ‘anytime, anywhere and any way they choose’\textsuperscript{46} or ‘always on, always connected’\textsuperscript{47} now virtually guarantees instant connectivity via the mobile phone. Being in some way tethered to your mobile phone is a concept noted by Ling who referred to it as a ‘digital leash’ (Ling 1997) in his study of teenagers’ use of mobile phones, or Qui (2007)\textsuperscript{48} who referred to the more negative aspects of social control via messaging as a ‘wireless leash’, and for Turkle (2008) the situation is effectively a new state of the self in which one is permanently tethered to others, such as her daughter, thereby creating a sense of permanent co–presence.

This sense of constant presence is the experience that George and others discussed with regard to the ring tones that they use for their spouse or other family members. The fact that mobile phones can now be ‘always on’ presented challenges for the respondents in this study, some of whom made full use of the ability to always be contactable, whereas others preferred to exercise some control over their accessibility. This was reflected in the way they had domesticated their mobile phone (such as the different ring tones) and to some extent this enabled them to manage other people’s expectations as regards when and how often they could be contacted. The idea of constant presence extends to include the sense of co–presence, the idea that even though the interlocutors may be thousands of miles apart

\textsuperscript{46} [http://www.timewarner.com/corp/newsroom/pr/0,20812,668288,00.html](http://www.timewarner.com/corp/newsroom/pr/0,20812,668288,00.html) accessed 2 May 2010


\textsuperscript{48} Qui’s study examined some of the ways that SMS has come to be used in a panoptical society in which employer or state surveillance is prosecuted via unsolicited SMS creating a wireless leash between mobile phone user and the source of the social control (Qui 2007).
they are still able to feel as if they are together, reflecting the 'compulsion of proximity' (Boden and Molotch 1994) - the desire to be together. The concepts of absent presence and co-presence with regards to the mobile phone were by Gergen in his analysis of mobile phone use (Gergen 2002; 2003) in which he identified the strengthening of social ties that it enabled whilst at the same time delivering perpetual contact.

The mobile phone has lent itself to the pervasive state of an absent presence49 the continuous presence at hand of family, friends and colleagues who are physically absent. (Gergen 2003: 105)

This state of continuous presence is enabling social groups of perhaps neighbours, friends and family to maintain a constant presence in what Gergen refers to as 'floating worlds', a similar concept to the psychological neighbourhoods articulated by Aronson thirty years earlier. However, with the mobile phone there is an endogenous link to the self (Gergen 2003) that is not realised among a social group that is using a household landline. As discussed in chapter 6, the mobile phone becomes imbued with the personal emotional biography of its user. Thus, the establishment of contact invokes this repository of the self in a way that shared devices like the fixed phone, or perhaps the television that was included in LaRose's (1998) aforementioned research, cannot. Gergen develops this point, referring to the mobile phone being a techno-umbilical connection, in much the same way that Ling refers to it being a digital leash.

Within moments a floating relationship can be realized. And, seldom is one without the material symbol of one's relational ties. As a material object, the mobile phone functions as an icon of relationship, of techno-umbilical connection. (Gergen 2003: 111)

Gergen uses the metaphor of floating worlds to describe the new community of the mobile phone in which he describes the location of the mobile phone user as

49 Italics are the author's emphasis
‘approaching geographical irrelevance’ because they could be anywhere. Hjorth (2005a) develops this further arguing that it is not simply a matter of presence, of feeling whether you are together or apart, but that through the use of the mobile phone locality is now dynamic, transient and less relevant to the communication. This alludes to Meyrowitz (1985) who in his seminal work, No Sense of Place, asserted that people had lost their sense of where they were due to the intervention of media and the blurring of private and public space, a topic he developed with regard to mobile communications in his paper on the rise of glocality (Meyrowitz 2005).

The suggestion of constant presence was played out in numerous ways by the respondents, and it is notable that the earlier theme of dependability examined in chapter 5 is a significant factor here. Having a mobile phone that one can rely on was most important if one also expected to be always connected to friends. Karl explained how he used his mobile phone to participate in a direction finding contest – a form of digital orienteering to find a target person who hides in an obscure place. He recalled how anxious he became when with his battery running low he became completely lost in the dark in a wood. After his attempts to find his way out failed he realised he needed help and tried phoning a friend who was in the contest (and so was located nearby) but his phone was not on so Karl surmised he must have finished ‘and was already in the pub’. Instead he decided to phone a friend whom he considered to be quite resourceful.

I called my friend and said ‘help’. I gave him my coordinates and he looked them up on google maps and was guiding me out of the wood. It was a relief to talk to someone who could help me. It was pretty stressful at the time, bats flying everywhere, my batteries were low… I can laugh now but I wasn’t laughing at the time. (Karl)

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Kruse and Ström-Carlsson (2003) refer to this as the ‘third place’, Rhiengold (2003) as ‘buddy space’, and Katz (2006) as the ‘ghost place’ highlighting the variations in description and possible interpretations that include Gergen’s ‘floating worlds’.
Karl would normally have done this contest with the friend he phoned, but he could not make it on the night. In obtaining his assistance in extricating himself from the wood it was almost as if they were together, and Karl obtained considerable comfort from the experience of someone he trusted, his friend, supporting him in his hour of need.

Several of the respondents who had adult children kept their mobile phones with them just in case their children needed to contact them, similar to the experience of being tethered by a mobile phone and to the concept of remote mothering of Rakov and Navaro (1993). Gregory had found he could not manage without having his mobile phone with him most of the time, in fact he sounded annoyed with himself when he responded to the question ‘does your mobile phone go everywhere with you?’ with: ‘it does – sadly’. He explained how this related to needing to be available for his children and that once you are a father you never release yourself from the link with your children: ‘[...] there’s also the safety blanket of knowing that, if they had a disaster and they needed me, they could actually get hold of me’ (Gregory).

Jeremy talked about the effect on his life of being able to use his mobile phone anywhere and at any time, and how before he had his mobile phone a holiday to somewhere as close as France might involve a two day journey and no telephone contact once he had left home. He recounted how he had been on a business trip to Chile where he was ‘sitting on the beach at Valparaiso watching the Pacific breakers coming in and ringing Susan at home’ using his mobile phone. As with the earlier quote from Arminen and Weilenmann (2009), and the floating world of Gergen (2003), he found it almost magical that he could share the beach scene with his wife, whilst at the same time being mutually reassured by her presence via the mobile phone. He compared his ability to have the instant presence of his wife via his phone with the situation of people in times past.

And I’d just been reading one of the, um, Patrick O’Brien books, about sort of naval stuff in the turn of the, you know, the 19th century type stuff, and they would have travelled for two years to get there, and no communications at all, life and death, and there I am just
pushing one button, and chatting to someone, can you hear the Pacific breakers type stuff. And so one gets used to it [the mobile phone]. (Jeremy)

Some respondents used their mobile phone to keep in contact with old friends. Maria had recently moved house and job, and she missed the easygoing after work contact she used to have with her colleagues, when they would meet up for a drink and conversation. Now they all do busy jobs and use their mobile phones to keep in contact. They talk on the phone and as Maria says:

We have this pattern of talking, when I leave from work I usually speak to one of them talking to them as I walk to the station and one of them is doing the same thing. We have that walking together [smiles as she says this] moving through the city and chatting.

(Maria)

She liked the idea of winding down and relaxing by talking and walking, whereas in the past she would have achieved the same effect by having a drink with friends. Maria is clearly unworried by being in a public place when she is calling friends but by using her mobile phone on the move she is in her floating world, one that only she and her friends occupy. This is a good example of the connected presence explained above; a situation in which a person feels as if they are in the same place as the absent person they are talking to although physically they are not. Höflich (2003) and Bassett (2005) explored this talking on a mobile phone and walking in the streets identifying how the mobile phone users remain in their personal bubble oblivious of others. ‘If the space of the city is often indifferent and I am anonymous and lost in the crowd, on my phone, in my own space, I matter’ (Bassett 2005: 7).

In his observational research conducted in Italy, Höflich (2005) also commented on the role of the absent present interlocutor when walking and talking as if oblivious of one’s surroundings, affirming that: ‘...they are only temporarily stepping out of the here and now of the immediate environment and will be available again after the telephone call’ (Höflich 2005: 168). Höflich highlights here the relationship issues of proximity and location whereas Bassett is commenting more on the subjective
aspects of the effect of this ability to be in the bubble. Instead of just being one of
the crowd in a public place the phone call has the effect of making the mobile phone
user feel a sense of their self and of their relevance amongst their friendship group.

This concept of absent presence refers to the sense of co-presence that using a
mobile phone gives to people who are apart but connected telephonically – ‘meaning
that they are both here and not here simultaneously’ (Höflich 2005: 159) - and these
special moments of absent presence are facilitated by the mobile phone. However, it
is not simply a matter of the mobile phone mediating the successful communication
through conversation or text, but of physical body movements and the use of other
senses, such as touch, also forming part of this experience. When people are apart
and communicating via a mobile phone it is not only mediating the conversation. It
somehow provides a sense of actually being together - such as for Jeremy - by acting
as a substitute for physical proximity and touch, not least supporting the co-presence
with the often intimately located position of the mobile phone or wireless headset
about the body. Karl’s experience of finding his way out of a wood is a good
exemplar, as is Maria’s chatting with her friends. Knowing that the person with
whom you are talking is holding a phone, or has a wireless earpiece would appear to
be sufficient to manage the exchanges, the inferences and demurs that go with a face
to face conversation. For Maria this would appear to be influencing how much she
relies on the mobile phone to keep in touch with her friends, and she also thinks that
she has more intense relationships as a result of talking with them on the mobile
phone, mostly because they talk for longer with each other with no distractions.

It’s intensifying [my relationships] because... because we are far
away we spend more time talking than maybe what we would do
when if we were living together because basically we don’t have the
opportunity to DO things. (Maria)

This constant and always on connectivity is, for many people, now necessary
always, both within and beyond life, to never be separated or alone (Katz 2006;
Pertierra 2005; Rettie 2009; Vincent 2010b). Furthermore, this interaction mediated
by the mobile phone enables people to feel together wherever they are in the world
whilst not necessarily feeling the need to actually speak or make physical contact in
some way. The omnipresence of the mobile phone enables an almost telepathic-like quality that gives a constant and dependent presence (Townsend 2007). In Martin’s working life he deals with people from all over the world and he enjoys the feeling of their constant presence. He talked about why he chooses to use his mobile and not switch it off.

Do I want to switch it off? No. And, and that’s not because I want to feel wanted, I think it’s, it’s I like to stay in touch with what’s going on. And, like I get some really interesting things that come through in the course of the day anyway. You know, maybe from all parts of the world, which are not on my time zone, you know. Say, ah, Bill Smith from the States or so and so from India, so, so actually, it’s, it’s a kind of... It’s a great feeling to receive e-mails [on my mobile phone] from all over the world wherever you are. (Martin)

Whereas Martin might once have conducted his business in offices in the same city, now he operates globally via the mobile phone, which has great significance in enabling him to behave as if he is still in the office. It make him feel good, and he gets pleasure from keeping in touch with people via the mobile phone that he might not otherwise have time to communicate with. Social networks, psychological neighbourhoods or floating worlds – these communities of social interaction are being facilitated by the use of the mobile phone to achieve the constant presence of others. However, there are some situations in which this constant presence can cause discord and this is examined in the next theme in this chapter.

7.3 Emotional Dissonance

Emotional dissonance is a situation that occurs when there is an inconsistency between the expectations of the user of the mobile phone and those with whom they are communicating via the device: a situation which causes an emotional reaction. For example, using a mobile phone creates situations such as wanting to be cross with your callers and having to be nice to them, or of being constantly on your guard
for unwanted or much desired calls or texts that demand one to be alert to respond in the appropriate way. In her work on emotion management, Hochschild (2003a) explores the ways people manage these situations by using 'feeling rules'. These are the rules that people impose upon themselves which they use to help respond to the milieu in which they find themselves, especially when their emotions are in conflict. Hochschild's feeling rules and her concept of emotional labour are prescient with regards to mobile phone use. Building on Goffman's concept of face-work and the front a person presents to others, Hochschild found that in employment situations some people, such as the air stewards and the debt collectors she researched, would be required to present an emotional demeanour that was not in harmony with the way they actually felt. This, I assert, pertains for some mobile phone users who feel obliged to follow their chosen line even if it does not feel right to do so.

The respondents gave a number of examples of experiencing this dilemma such as Maria, who anxiously holds her mobile phones so she never misses contact with her boyfriend or her mother, or Elizabeth, who took calls when it troubled her to do so. The range of emotions expressed by the respondents in this regard that were mediated via the mobile phone varied from pleasure, love, fun, and enjoyment to anxiety, frustration, anger and grief. In effect, the emotion was that which related to the reason for and the essence of the communication. For example, the anticipation of a phone call or text from a family member who was late home generated several emotions, concern at showing one's anxiety, worry that they should have made contact sooner and did not; pleasure at hearing from them, anger at their lack of consideration, and annoyance at having to go out in the car to collect them without adequate notice. John talked about how he tried to get his teenage daughter to use her mobile phone to let him know whether he might be needed for a lift.

I send her a little text saying, when are you coming home? – or something, without trying to sound like a worried parent. You can remind them, as they'll probably want a lift home that they could give you a bit of warning. (John)

Last minute arrangements using the mobile phone have become acceptable and have replaced arrangements that would have been made in advance and understood by all.
These are not emotions that are unique to being mediated via the mobile phone, but
being able to communicate using the mobile phone gives vent to them. These
emotions run the gamut of those described in the discourse on classification of
emotions in chapter 2. The mobile phone mediates the emotion by enabling
conversation in spoken word, by text messaging, and email but it can also be the
cause of discord when waiting for anticipated contact, as well as when people make
contact at inappropriate times.

When the mobile phone is used as both a work and a personal phone there can be a
tension arising from work intervening into home life unless the mobile is switched
off when not at work (some of the respondents did do this). This tension does not
appear to be as negative when personal calls intervene into work life, although the
conflicting emotional responses this demands still prevail, as the tenor of work
activity will influence reactions to calls. This emotional dissonance is also
exacerbated by the balancing of work and home life, such as when Elizabeth is at
work and her husband is at home. She compared her own use of her mobile with her
husband’s saying that he only uses it as an emergency device that he keeps for safety
and security, whereas she mixes the use of her mobile phone between client
emergency calls, friends and family calls, and texts - and can therefore never be sure
who might call and what it might be about. Some families are dominated by work
routines – such as the shift work of Elizabeth and her husband, or Keith living away
from home four days a week, or June and her friends who are working mums and
keep in touch with each other by text messaging.

Maria complained of a time when a relative whom she does not choose to call
herself, interrupted her at work when she was feeling very stressed - she angrily
emphasised some of her words (shown italicised in this quote), jabbing her finger as
she spoke.

I have two cousins in Italy I never call but they just call me and I have
to call them back and if I don’t call them back immediately they
continue doing that [calling me] I might be busy or might be doing
something [...] lately they’ve been better but actually once I just
flipped out because I was very busy and she was just ringing me and
ringing me and in the end I rang her back and she wanted to say something stupid. I was so stressed at the moment that if I actually did care about what she telling me I would have just gone into pieces. It was very inconsiderate of her what she was saying the whole phone call wasn’t considerate. *She was insisting to make me talk with her at that point.* (Maria)

Elizabeth works as a senior nurse in a hospital and she uses her mobile phone for personal and work use, but she does not use her mobile phone while at work on the ward (as it is not allowed by the hospital). However, when she is ‘off duty’, she has given her mobile number to a group of clients who can call her in an emergency. One client had misused this to seek non-urgent help and it annoyed her; he called her when she was in a supermarket and she felt she had to take the call in case it warranted emergency action, which it did not. This call had caused her more stress when she realised the patient did not have an emergency need.

In these instances Maria and Elizabeth had used deep acting to manage the calls; they knew their callers expected them to answer. Although they would not necessarily know it was inconvenient for them to take the call, when Maria and Elizabeth discovered the calls were not urgent they could not contain their annoyance when talking about the calls, although they had managed the situation at the time. The callers had effectively gone beyond the point of the implicit agreement between them and, following Hochschild (2003a), it had created a situation in which they had to use surface and deep acting to manage the feelings that were conflicting with their inner self. This is when the relationship between these interlocutors becomes one governed by feeling rules and the ‘moments of pinch’ (Hochschild 1979) that occur when there is a mismatch between how one is expected to feel and how one actually feels. However, this might not be permanently associated with particular callers for at other times communications may be welcome from the same people or a call may be made to them.

On the same shopping trip during which she received the unwanted call from a client Elizabeth answered the phone to a friend while she was at the checkout. Although she said she hates it when others do it, she knew that this call was only being made
because of a crisis and she judged it appropriate to take but she still felt guilty about the contradiction of her feelings on the matter and said:

I kept apologizing to the check out girl and my husband was really annoyed. (Elizabeth)

Elizabeth manages the relationship with her friend and her client using the feeling rules she, and the others involved in interaction, had determined appropriate at the time. Her friend had failed her degree course and Elizabeth knew that she was calling because she needed her support at that moment; she could not ignore the call because of the prior relationship with that friend whereas the call from the client could be terminated as soon as she had established it was not an emergency.

Although Hochschild’s research was originally based on separate work and home lives, in more recent studies she recognised the more transient and peripatetic lives that many people now lead (Hochschild 2000; 2003b). The ability to conduct work and family matters almost anywhere means that they interact and overlap each other to create what Hochschild has termed the ‘marketized private life’ (2003a) such as in the example of Elizabeth. Additionally, a number of the other respondents who used their mobile phones for work would continue to use them when at home and this considerably mitigated the stress of juggling work and home life for them. It reduced their anxiety about how they would manage the volume of emails if they waited until the morning to deal with them, and also meant they did not have to stay in the office to deal with calls.

Mike had to participate in work related international conference calls while at home, sometimes lasting over two hours. His full attention was not always required on the call and so he would take part in the family meal or organising the children as well as staying on the call.

51 Hochschild developed this concept for the twentieth anniversary edition of her book The Managed Heart (2003a) in which she reflects on the impact of changing society and communications that no longer separate work and home life into distinct parts of the day.
So I used to sit there with the phone on mute, or headset on, having my tea, or getting the kids off to piano lessons or whatever, and just join in when required, and they knew that if I told them to ssh, not to talk, I'd take the phone off mute and just do the call. (Mike)

Although this solution worked well for Mike, his wife, Mary (who was also interviewed) found the intrusion of his always on mobile phone a real bind. She explained in quite an angry and exasperated tone:

He just has it glued to him almost... in his pocket. Checking it day and night...he's thinking of work, constantly. (Mary)

Examples of emotional dissonance and how the respondents had found ways to mitigate it ran as an undercurrent throughout the interviews. Situations were recounted in which the respondents felt compelled to answer calls in inappropriate locations or at times when they were not emotionally equipped to deal with the caller, or other instances of wishing someone would call when they did not. Nevertheless, in most instances, they did answer their mobile phone regardless of who was calling, and also admitted to making a call to someone on their mobile phone even when it might be a problem for them to answer. This was the situation for Lucy, whose husband plays the organ at funerals. She knows he feels stressed if he accidently does not switch off his phone and so she is anxious about ringing at the wrong moment.

At least if I send him a text, I know that he will get it, because he plays the organ at the crematorium so he can't always be phoned, but you can text him. He can be phoned, but he doesn't... as a rule it's just switched off, so he doesn't get stressed in the middle of someone's funeral to have a phone going. (Lucy)

Has it ever gone off when he's been playing when you've rung him...? (Jane)
Yeah. He's got a quite sort of melodious ring tone, which is quite useful, but... yeah, so I always feel a bit nervous about phoning him there. (Lucy)

This example from Lucy demonstrates how people in close relationships use the mobile phone as a conduit for the continuation of their relationship as if they are together. The absent presence is not necessarily a yearned-for scenario but is rather completely integrated into their everyday lives. If they think of something they want to ask their spouse, partner, boyfriend, girlfriend, they just do it immediately, as if they were in the same room, a situation that might cause emotional upset.

Maria found herself in a situation whereby her boyfriend became upset if he could not immediately reach her when he called. He had not visited her in London where she lived and so did not know that her mobile phone did not work on the underground trains - nor did he appreciate that she could not easily answer it when rushing for a train. Recently, she had lost weight, and so had not felt the vibration of the mobile phone ring when he called her.

So um he says – Why aren’t you answering your phone? – Because I didn’t hear it and I was walking – But you had it in your pocket! – Yes but my trousers are loose what do you want me to do? Hold it in my hand all the time? – YES I want you to hold it in your hand! I know that the breakdown in communication frustrates him but I get frustrated when he gets frustrated. I get annoyed because when he gets frustrated he switches off his phone and doesn’t speak to me and then I have the big space, no, a void, of not being able to communicate with him and then I get frustrated and so I’d rather hold my phone and check it every single moment all the time rather than go through that roller coaster of him being annoyed, switching his phone off, me trying to contact him, then ending up just having a fight for some stupid reason. (Maria)

Maria confirmed that she does now hold the phone in her hand most of the time and in this instance the feeling of absent presence is wanted so much that when it does
not happen, particularly because the mobile phone has failed to work, it causes considerable emotional upset. This behaviour by Maria is, following Hochschild (2003a), both a display of bodily emotion work and a display of cognitive emotion. The bodily display is when she uses hand held touch to ensure she does not miss a call instead of having the mobile in her handbag; the cognitive emotion as she prepares herself to manage the expectations of her callers such as to mitigate a situation whereby she might have an argument about why she did not take a call.

In the first two sections of this chapter the emotions pertaining to the relationship between the respondents and their contacts has been examined from the perspective of constant presence and emotional dissonance. The respondents’ use of mobile phones to maintain existing relationships has highlighted the emotional effect of following what amounts to a separate line for each contact and the face-work that this entails. Furthermore, the use of emotion labour by the respondents to mitigate the conflicting and intensifying emotions that this constant presence elicits is evident in the day to day management of the mobile communications received and made on their mobile phones.

7.4 Strengthening Emotional Contact

In previous chapters, face-work and the lines people adopt that determines many of their actions regarding their mobile phone was examined (following Goffman). Stepping aside from these lines and then managing the conflicting internal emotions that arise from not being able to maintain one’s face, were causes of emotional dissonance. For example, the line a parent takes with their child to ensure a lift home, or the different lines that converge and contradict in the home, give rise to a developing intersubjectivity between the respondents and their contacts that is being mediated by the mobile phone. In this section I explore how these intersubjectivities are the basis for strengthening social contacts and the emotions these incur.
Maintaining social relations entails communications that with the use of a mobile phone can happen anywhere and at any time in private or public space. Goffman refers to front stage and back stage behaviours, the things people say and do front stage – in public, or in the company of others, might be different from their actions in their private, back stage. Fortunati (2005c) suggests that there is a blurring of these behaviours when using the mobile phone, and indeed there were examples from the respondents of situations when they had dealt with quite private matters in public, such as when Elizabeth spoke to her friend at the checkout. This is indicative of the constant renegotiation and domestication of the role of the mobile phone within the emotional cache of the respondents. Situations that might have been managed face to face and in private in the past are now dealt with in a more public space via the mobile phone.

Scott had used his mobile phone to communicate a daily bulletin about a close relative after she had a serious accident. He needed to communicate what was happening to a number of people but he was finding the experience very emotional and hard to manage. He had to say the same thing to many people every day, some of whom he did not know (although they were personal friends of the sick relative). He explained how he came up with a solution to his dilemma.

I'd stumbled upon this idea of sending a daily text message out, which is very, very powerful indeed...I thought they've only got 160 characters, so it's a very good discipline, at the end of each day. It's quite cathartic at the end of each day: sort of what's today been about?...I was sending, in the end, to about... I think it was about 78 people, a day. And I think I ended up doing about... I think it was about 220 of those, or something. (Scott)

These text messages were eventually made available via a web site after Scott had copied them into a word document from his Blackberry, but for the duration of the period of crisis they were only sent to specific recipients. These were family members, close friends and work colleagues, and included people he knew only via the sick relative. Scott took great comfort from knowing that people were thinking of him, supporting him and his sick relative in a time of great need. The text
messages ceased when the relative was sufficiently recovered to be out of danger, by which time she was aware and approving of what he had done. Although he does not choose to look back at the messages, Scott did take the trouble of copying them into a more lasting document and transferring them to his computer and a web site. His action of using his mobile phone to mediate his emotions in this way is indicative of the feeling rules he imposed to manage the multiplicity of callers and well wishers; instead of having to use deep acting repetitively he only needed to express his feelings about the situation once via the text message. In this way they remained true to the situation and were not exhausted or diminished by repetition; he also did not have to interact and deal with other people’s emotions during this trying period. He commented that he took great strength from the support his daily communications engendered, and commented that one recipient whom he met for the first time about a year later ‘said, I feel I know you from your messages’ (Scott). Thus the mobile phone became the means for managing and overcoming the emotional difficulty of uncontrolled multiple communications about the same topic, through Scott establishing the new line of one communication to multiple recipients, mediated via the mobile phone. Sending one message simultaneously in this way meant that the emotion of the situation was not exacerbated or diluted by the constant re-telling of news.

Another respondent found that when her daughter left home to go to university they both missed their everyday passing contact, being around each other and being available for support at all times. Shelagh was able to maintain a constant presence with her daughter using text messaging. They had not planned to do this before her daughter went to university but the sending and receiving of reassuring text messages, or receiving phone calls from her daughter while she was walking home alone, had become part of their new routine. Shelagh makes sure she is not always available on her mobile phone as she knows her daughter needs to be independent of her, and so she does turn her phone off at night, but checks for texts in the morning.

So do you leave your phone on all night, or do you…? (Jane)

I turn it off at 11 o clock now. The last text I send is to my daughter, night-night, love you. And then she texts me back when she gets in,
anytime between two and five in the morning – being a student; and then I check in the morning, and turn it on, and it goes beep, and then I see oh, night-night mummy, love you. And I think, oh she got in at three o clock [laughter], so it’s quite a good way to see what time she got in. (Shelagh)

She likes to be reassured that her daughter has got home and will send her a text to check she is alright if she does not hear from her. She also does not like her daughter using the phone when walking home in the dark as she thinks it is a distraction or might actually cause an incident. For this reason she does not answer incoming calls from her late at night, but instead lets her daughter leave '10 minute voice mails' and checks all is well with a text message. Shelagh finds that although she wants to be reassured that her daughter is safe, she is more anxious at the prospect of perhaps creating an unsafe environment if she was to speak to her when she was walking home at night.

In a similar situation to Shelagh, Belinda’s daughter has left home for college but she is only seventeen and Belinda feels she must check she is alright quite frequently. She finds that the mobile phone has a significant impact on her anxiety levels.

But I’m thinking, you know, this school was a 10 minute walk, and they finish at half past six, so she has to walk, and it’s... if you’re in London, Chiswick is the safest place to be, let’s face it, but I still panic, and I phone her at seven. Not every night, but, you know, and she never answers, and then it gets to eight o’clock and then I text her and there’s no response, and then at half past nine, I’m sorry we were in the cinema. And I’ve spent an hour and a half thinking she’s been mugged, she’s been kidnapped. And it’s simply because you have this mechanism to get in touch and you can’t. (Belinda)

The emotional reassurance that Scott, Belinda and Shelagh were seeking from these communications is prompted and heightened by their love and concern for their close family. The mobile phone had the effect of strengthening and focussing their
emotions, both in the anticipation of the communication and when it actually happened. Hochschild (2003a: 30) has explained in her work that emotions signal how people respond to particular situations and they give expression to, the unconscious feelings within the self. In these examples, the feelings are given expression through the mobile phone.

It is interesting to note the strength of emotion described by some respondents when one considers that there are some significant elements of the communications process that are not available to interlocutors who cannot see each other. In Short et al’s work, which examines the use of fixed line telephones, they assert the social presence of a communications medium is affected by: ‘[...] the capacity to transmit information about facial expression, direction of looking, posture, dress and non-verbal vocal clues’ (Short et al 1976: 65). These are all the aspects of communication that one would observe if interlocutors are co-present, and it is closely associated with the lack of physical contact that was discussed in the section on constant presence. Short et al also highlighted the work of Argyle and Dean (1965) on intimacy, in which the idea of the equilibrium that two people seek when they enter into a conversation is explored. This equilibrium is upset by the intervention of a third party communications medium. Associated with this is the etiquette that develops within relationships, an etiquette that determines when it is acceptable or unacceptable to take a call, send a text or other communication mediated by the mobile phone.

Thus a situation emerges in which communications mediated by the mobile phone, or the lack of a communication via the mobile phone, has created a lack of harmony amongst co-present others; the balance of the relationship has been upset as the parties attempt to negotiate the poise and counterpoise of their social and emotional contact. In a situation where the respondent and their contact are visible to each other they can negotiate their desired state using non-verbal and prosodic clues (Bortoluzzi 2009). Although these might be by eye contact when face to face, these signals can still be conveyed when people are not co-present through the feeling rules that are appropriate to that situation. Feeling rules have been established as the outcome of social interaction that has determined the appropriate social and cultural response (Hochschild 2003a) for that moment.
The mobile phone is imbued with the personal biography of its user as well as what they know about their various contacts, and it enables a communication experience that involves much more of the body than is involved in hearing (calls and messages) and reading (messages, emails, pictures). Thus, when it comes to managing the emotions triggered by mobile phone use for social relationships it is the mobile phone itself that becomes the mediator and substitute for some of the face to face interaction of co-presence. Within the mobile phone is contained the line established with each contact – there may be hundreds of these. The flashing of a contact name, or their picture or ring tone, instantly invokes the emotions that are associated with them; this in turn triggers the appropriate response to the caller. Thus, referring back to some of the examples in these analysis chapters it is the anxiety, relief and love conveyed in the text messages of Shelagh; the anxiety of Maria and the paradox of feeling happy her boyfriend has rung even if the call is an argument; the annoyance Lydia felt when she took her phone with her when shopping and it actually rang; and the irritation when Mary’s husband manages his own anxieties only to create discord for her. What these emotions do elicit, however (and this might not always be positive) is a strengthening of the relationships that are being mediated by the mobile phone by adding layers of extra communication that would otherwise not take place at that moment.

The intensity of the emotion that has become associated with the mobile phone was placed in sharp focus for some of the respondents when they considered the impact of losing, misplacing or imagining life without a mobile phone. They realised how much they were dependent on it for their social contact, for the emotional support from keeping in touch with family, and, for some of the respondents the stress of how they would manage particular work assignments. Indeed, they became quite agitated when they talked about the times they did not have their phone. People have reported in other research that they cannot live without their mobile phone and as Katz reports ‘I frequently hear people say, with hyperbole, that if they lost their mobile they would die’ (Katz 2006: 11). Maria could not even conceive of a situation when she would not have one and was incredulous at the very thought of it: ‘What? If mobiles didn’t exist? I can’t use it at all?’ (Maria).
The experiences of George and Belinda discussed earlier - who lost their mobile phones on business trips - highlight the difficulties the respondents encountered when they found they did not have their phone. They know they can manage without it but suddenly they are faced with the unexpected difficulty of not being able to contact those closest to them (as well as the practicalities of all the other problems losing it involves). Another respondent, John, who also lost his mobile phone on a business trip found he needed to buy a phone card in order to stay in contact with his family. Thus although the effect of the loss on business matters was an inconvenience and created a lot of difficulties it was the loss of contact with the family that caused the greatest anxiety.

Arminen and Weilenmann discuss this strengthening of relationships through consideration of the spatial and temporal elements involved in maintaining a constant presence between two people.

The time-frame of common activity may establish a shared space-time that also overcomes the physical distance between them. In this way, the mobile phone allows for mobile intimacy and presence, in which the participants share seemingly small and insignificant pieces of information about their activities and whereabouts. Still, these things are the small things that the world is made up of, and the ability to share them as and when they happen. (Arminen and Weilenmann 2009: 1921)

Margaret and Bart, a married couple who were both interviewed (separately) each talked about how they would use their mobile phones to text and call each other. Margaret uses her mobile phone much more than Bart for what she describes as ‘chit-chatty stuff’ and she has more responsibility for organising lifts and so on for their two sons. Bart prefers to call Margaret because he says ‘I’m not very quick at texting’. Margaret explained how much she uses her phone now, especially to make sure she is always available to family members should there be a problem, ‘I am there, it’s there with me, as it were and charged and ready for action’. She explained how she had been able to be keep in touch and support her sister during some difficult times using text messaging. Both her sons play football and so Margaret
and Bart will also text each other half time scores if they are in different locations at
the same time. These communications between them maintain their constant
presence - they enable them to plan arrangements that mitigate anxiety and they are
typical of the micro-coordination activities described above. It is this trivial
everyday communication between mobile phone users that is enabling their
emotional relations to be intensifi ed. Ling and Ytrri (2002: 140) referred to this as
hyper-coordination of mobile phone use in their early studies, in which they
explored the ‘expressive use of the mobile telephone’ and the ‘integration of a group
via the use of the mobile telephone’ in their studies of teenagers’ mobile phone use.
Christine explained how she had come to use her mobile phone wherever she
happened to be to make arrangements rather than to do a lot of planning ahead. The
mobile phone had become integral to her life:

I’ve just adapted my life around the phone to some extent, and happily
so because I think it’s more me. (Christine)

What in a sort of, peripatetic lifestyle maybe? (Jane)

Yeah. And also being a bit... a bit kind of, fast and loose with... you
know, I’ve always said, let’s decide what we’re going to do when we
see each other rather than let’s plan it all to... I mean, if you’re trying
to do something in London, you have to plan it. If you want tickets for
something, you have to schedule. But you know, even to the extent
shall we go and see a film? Okay, which film? Those are good
questions to ask [on the mobile phone] when you know what mood
you’re in. (Christine)

Thus for Christine the mobile phone was so key to her social arrangements that she
had come to completely rely on it. Nigel, on the other hand, did not use his mobile
phone a great deal for social calls except when he wanted to share his emotion
response to particular rugby experiences with his mates. In his retirement he has
been able to follow his passion for rugby and regularly attends matches with a group
of rugby friends. He has a second home in Spain and so misses some of the matches
and he will ring one of these friends (mates) to wind down after the match, although he does not usually use his mobile phone for social calls.

If there's been a rugby game I'll ring one of my rugby mates and we'll talk about it, and last year during the world cup, er it was a way of releasing the emotional tension after a world cup game and I'd often ring my mate in England who'd been watching on TV and we'd talk about it for 5 or 10 minutes just so that I'd, just sort of, just get back on an even keel. (Nigel)

Nigel continued to talk about his love of rugby, describing how he had attended a very exciting hard-won international in Paris with one of his friends, Steve. It finished very late and they were very excited, and just had to share their elation with someone as they drove back to their accommodation (where they knew their wives would already be asleep).

The whole rugby world cup is etched on my memory and I could probably tell you what happened minute by minute for the whole seven weeks and so in this particular case the game finished late, my wife and my friend's wife were about 100 km away so they had gone to bed, and so we had got back to the car and we got on the auto-route and we had to talk to somebody so we rang my rugby mate's son um who'd obviously been watching it and we had rather a long and amusing conversation which helped the time pass, and he coined the term 'how are the WAGS getting on?' (laughs) and so we had one of those amusing boys’ conversations that probably could have lasted 15 minutes or so, primarily with me because Steve was driving. (Nigel)

Nigel laughed and became more animated as he recounted this memory. Being able to re-live the shared moment they had watched live (as well as the one Nigel had seen on television), shared the emotion of the occasion for Nigel and his friend, as well as with their mate's son. Sharing the sense of occasion, and their delight in the match over the mobile phone - while their feelings were still raw and fresh - added to their excitement and enjoyment of the event. This enabled them to complete their
evening with their usual post match inquest with one of their mates rather than returning to a quiet house. Nigel was using his mobile phone to enable to him to follow his usual post match behaviour patterns as if he had been co-present with his rugby mates - this resolved the prospect of having to let go of his emotion response to the match sooner than he would like, and perhaps even prolong and heighten the emotions.

In contrast Lydia uses her mobile phone to minimise the frequency of communication with her brother (with whom she has little social contact), and they rarely meet, although she does want to stay in touch. She uses text messaging to assuage her guilt about not wanting to talk to him so that when they do speak it is not so awkward, because he is her brother and she feels she should maintain contact. The mobile phone is used to ensure they do not leave it too long between communications so that a text sent can be responded to or simply left. This is clearly not an example of a hypercoordinated relationship; rather it is indicative of the strong emotions that can be involved in relationships maintained through occasional contact.

Over Christmas ... my brother, who I really didn't want to, I didn't want to see, and didn't want to speak to, you know, I could text. This is going to make me sound really bad [laughing]. It was ... I wanted to be in touch with him, without having to speak to him [laughing], of course I feel so bad saying that. (Lydia)

When she did try to ring him she did not get any response so she wrote in his birthday card that she would phone him at 6 o'clock on this birthday.

And as it was, we were away in Bournemouth, so I texted; you know, we were with friends, so rather than go off and be antisocial to them and go and make a call, at least I could text and say I'm sorry, you know, we've been really delayed, we're still down in Bournemouth, you know, he tried to make contact, and then I missed him and he missed me, and then finally we never did have a conversation. So, it
did, it did delay that whole having to speak to him, but it relieved the
guilt of, I haven’t done anything about it. (Lydia)

The ability to use her mobile phone for one way, voiceless communication was an
essential element of Lydia’s strategy for maintaining contact with her brother on her
terms. Neither of them felt compelled to make a phone call knowing that text would
suffice and even the act of missing each other and having to apologise for that was
strengthening a positive emotional bond between them that might otherwise have
been allowed to diminish, or perhaps disappear altogether.

7.5 Concluding Thoughts

The ability to achieve an almost constant state of absent presence as a result of using
the mobile phone - either to communicate directly or as a substitute for the presence
of others - was explored in this chapter. It appears that respondents are happy to
negotiate quite complex ways to keep connected but they also like to depend on the
idea that there is someone they can call upon in their hour of need, as happened for
Karl. The expectation that mobile phones will work anywhere and at anytime
pervades the lives of the respondents, and although they do know their mobile
phones are fallible, they do appear to heavily rely on their phone never breaking or
not working. The emotional dissonance that arises out of the communications, or
anticipated communications, with their contacts is thus less a result of the frailties of
the device, or indeed their own skill in using it, but refers instead to the situations in
which it is used. The emotion surrounding the communication may already exist and
be fuelled or dispelled by the ability to communicate via the mobile phone. Thus, the
emotion in the relationships between the respondents and their contacts was present
in all their communications, but some emotional experiences were particularly
strongly felt. Whilst these were often with regard to the relationship with a close
family member, particularly a child or spouse, they nevertheless added layer upon
layer to the complex interweaving of emotions into their social, family and work
lives. The continuing ebb and flow of the process of appropriation and the
domestication of the mobile phone and the ways it is used to represent the self,
becomes interwoven with the emotion that all this involves. The mobile phone is used for multiple short transactions by the respondents in this study as well as for occasional longer chit-chat such as in the ways that Ling and Yttri (2002) identified among the teenage users when the mobile phone became the means of coordinating activities.

Relationships that already exist in some form, a friend of someone known to the respondent, a business colleague, a close family member, are all reinforced in this way. Scott sending his daily bulletins to 78 people; Nigel ringing one of his rugby mates; Margaret and Lucy contacting their husbands; these are all examples of how the mobile phone is used to sustain their everyday communication at times when they are not co-present. However, this is not a mundane and routine exercise – it is rather about sustaining close emotional ties, sharing emotions, and feeling good about things. It is also about dealing with anger and resolving conflict such as with Maria and her boyfriend. Indeed, rather than the emotion management involved in using the mobile phone always being a burden, it has become, for some, a means of self expression and used to their advantage, such as with Lydia using text messages to provide a controlling space between herself and her brother.

As has been discussed the constant presence, the being in touch and being always available, does not have to be physically felt, rather, it can be achieved through a state of the awareness with chosen others that is tantamount to actual or tangible body to body interaction. The emotions of the respondents discussed in this chapter were strengthened through the constant presence of their close family and friends mediated via the mobile phone, a presence that did not necessarily have to be manifest in handling the mobile phone itself. Maldonado, in his discourse on the body in which he explores the impact of technology, asserts,

> One very important point is usually overlooked: A person's natural sense of touch does not consist only of contact; touching is not just touching. Our sense of touch perceives multiple factors even without true direct contact with our skin. (Maldonado 2003: 20)
This ethereal touch, manifest in the emotions and mediated via the mobile phone provides the electronic substitution for physical body to body, face to face, interaction. It is particularly poignant when it is used as a substitute for the co-presence of deceased loved ones as discussed in Chapter 6, but equally moving when it is used to sustain and strengthen emotional relationships such as in the examples in this section.
8. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This thesis has investigated emotion in the social practices of some mobile phone users in the UK by exploring the mobile phone experiences of forty respondents aged over forty. In this investigation, the aim was to examine the role and significance of emotion in the everyday use of mobile phones. This final chapter, which is set out in three parts reviews the thesis, presents the findings and suggests some insights for future research. The first section summarises key points from the seminal literature for this present study and how this was used in the research design. It also discusses the challenge of managing the substantial growth in literature and research on mobile phone use that occurred in the life of this present study. The second section examines the findings of the thesis by examining and developing the concluding thoughts from the three analysis chapters that explored feelings about the mobile phone; the self and emotion mediated via the mobile phone and finally emotion in relationships mediated via the mobile phone. In the third section I consider what opportunities there might be for future research on this topic.

8.1 Summary

The review of literature not only covered research on the social practices of mobile phone users and emotion in mobile phone use, but also the theoretical aspects of the sociology of emotion (as examined mostly by interactionist researchers), and the work of the theorists Goffman (1959), Silverstone and Hirsch (1992) and Hochschild (2003a). Turning firstly to mobile phones, the literature reviewed in this thesis began with the seminal works on mobile phone users by the COST 248 group (Haddon 1997), Katz and Aakhus (2002), Brown et al (2002) and Katz (2003a). These publications had shaped future research and were particularly relevant for contextualising this present study as during the course of this research the literature on mobile phone use burgeoned. This was both exciting and challenging for as I began my research design for this thesis it meant that I was working in a new and
growing field of study with only limited prior research. It also presented challenges, however, because I wanted to ensure my research design complemented other studies so that it could add to the body of knowledge on mobile phones in a way that was constructive and apposite. I attended conferences, training schools and regular COST298 meetings throughout the duration of my studies, and this meant that I was able to keep pace with and contribute to the new literature, as well as participate in discussions about the growing body of knowledge on the topic of mobile phones; this was particularly helpful in situating my own research on emotion theoretically and methodologically. Furthermore I was able to link up with the few people who had conducted some research on emotions and mobile phones, as well as identify that older mobile phone users were much less researched than younger people.

The early literature focussed on new learning with regard to aspects of mobility such as the concepts of space and the location of the mobile phone user. Predominantly based on the research of young people (circa 16 – 30 years), issues of privacy in public space, control, and managing work life balance featured strongly, as well as developing an understanding of what exactly people were observed to be doing with their mobile phones. Fortunati’s study of Italian mobile phone users, first reported in Haddon (1997) and developed later in Fortunati and Manganelli (1998), was perhaps the only study of this early period that specifically explored emotion as a research topic. What had been recognised by Fortunati and Manganelli in their study of Italian users of all ages was that emotions could be a factor in explaining the use of mobile phones; a point that was also noted in a study of British and German users by Vincent and Harper (2003) which had, in turn, led to the idea for this thesis. Subsequently, and over the course of this present study (since 2004), a substantial body of research has now been published that explores, from an interactionist perspective, the social practices of mobile phone users. The affective aspects of emotions and mobile phones continues to be less well documented or used as the basis for a research study; rather it is introduced as part of the analysis and explanations for behaviours. Nevertheless more studies (e.g. Ling and Pederson 2005; Lasén 2005; Ito et al 2006; Vincent and Fortunati 2009) have now explored

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52 Most of the literature from these conferences has now been published and is thus cited in this present study according to the publication rather than the conference proceedings
aspects of intimacy and emotion with regard to close relationships, as well as the use of mobile phones to maintain relationships providing an always on presence for interlocutors.

Chapter 2 also examined Goffman (1959) on the presentation of self and Silverstone and Hirsch (1992) on domestication - as well as some others such as Meyrowitz (1985), de Sola Poole (1977) and Short (1976). These studies were not about mobile phones, but about people being social in public and private, about the observation of face to face encounters between people and about the domestication of televisions and telephones. However, the social interaction mediated via the mobile phone, and the adoption of mobile phones in society more generally, has many similarities with these studies and these were used to inform the research design in particular.

The role of the mobile phone in the presentation of self had been explored by some authors including Ling (1997, 2004), Fortunati (2001; 2005c) and Höflich (2003; 2005). Goffman’s dramaturgical theory demonstrated that a person’s behaviours would be different according to who they were communicating with; people would follow a particular line according to each situation and develop a set of behaviours appropriate to the situation, any variations from this line would be managed through face-work. This development of the line and face-work is used in this present study to explicate some of the respondent’s behaviours with regard to their mobile phone use, as well as to explain their feelings about mobile phones and their relationships with others. Goffman also examined the behaviours of people in public and private places, and how behaviours that were back stage might be more personal and private to the individual than those they were prepared to share front stage in the company of others. This was also pertinent to the examination of people’s behaviours when using their mobile phone.

The work of Silverstone and Hirsch (1992) on domestication was also used in the present study and by researchers of mobile communications and ICTs (Nafus and Tracey 2002; Haddon 2003, 2004, 2007b; Berker et al 2006; Ling 2004; 2009) to understand how the respondents came to acquire and personalise their mobile phone. The mobile phone is acknowledged by Silverstone (2006) as requiring the renegotiation of some aspects of domestication theory. Unlike the television and
telephone that were the exemplars for the original theory the mobile phone is not located a priori in households where the domestication of technologies had previously occurred. Instead, because the mobile phone is located with the user (who can be in any place), it is attributed with both de-domesticating the home and domesticating public space instead (Morley 2006) - albeit in multiple private domesticated spaces in the bubble that surrounds the mobile phone user.

The constructivist and interactionist approach explored in the literature on mobile phones was also used in the examination of the study of emotion in sociology that formed the second chapter of the literature review. Discourse on the sociology of emotion is extensive, but following on from Chapter 2, the review of emotion in Chapter 3 builds especially on the work of Goffman. Initially taken up by American sociologists, including Hochschild (2003a; 2003b), the study of emotion had experienced resurgence in interest from the 1970s leading to a further reappraisal during the last decade in particular (e.g. Turner 2007, 2009; Stets 2010) - with Australian and European sociologists also joining this renewed interest in the topic (e.g. Harré 1986; Barbalet 1998; Bendelow and Williams 1998; Hopkins et al 2009). Contemporary studies of emotion in sociology frequently refer back to their historical origins and to the biological theories of emotion of Darwin (1872) and James (1884) which examined how innate and naturally occurring emotions manifested in human actions. Debate on the origin of emotions and whether they are biological or socially constructed continues but rather than dismissing the notion that some emotions might be naturally occurring, some interactionist researchers (e.g. Hochschild 2003a; Turner and Stets 2005) have acknowledged the biological approach in their work.

The sociology of emotion is also relevant to the present study in the development of an understanding of the self with regard to mobile phones. How the mobile phone user's subjectivity might in some way be influenced by emotions that are mediated via the mobile phone was explored with reference to Hochschild's (2003a) concept of the inner, real self; a self that is kept private and that only emerges when feeling rules can no longer manage a person's emotion response to a particular situation. This might manifest in the unexpected inability to feel sad in response to a death, or to be concerned when someone is ill. One is expected to feel certain emotions in
response to situations such as these and what this highlights is the amount of what Hochschild terms deep acting that people have learned to do to manage their everyday lives. Hochschild’s (2003a) work on the social theory of emotions and the management of emotion complements Goffman’s work on the presentation of the self and his dramaturgical theory - taking the concept of face-work and the management of appropriate behaviours in social interaction to a more personal and emotional level.

A point also noted in the literature on mobile phones that was pertinent to the research design, was that very few studies had looked exclusively at the age range of forty years and older, preferring to investigate younger users, or including few older mobile phone users in their sample. Hepworth (1998) noted in his study of ageing and emotions there is an expectation that older people’s behaviours will be different from those who are much younger. However, as Hepworth suggests this is not always a correct assumption - referring for example to Davis (1979), who reports in his study of nostalgia that the old and young alike are nostalgic not only for the past, but also for things they imagine about the future. Examining age in terms of a lifecycle, Hepworth also refers to life stages and to rites of passage. A concept first discussed by Gennep (1960) in 1884, a rite of passage describes the transition into various stages of life such as adolescence, adulthood, marriage, birth of children and so on; the age at which these occur is not necessarily the same for everyone (nor does everyone experience the same rites of passage). The role of the mobile phone in these life stage transitions had already been noted in some research of adolescents and children (Ling 2000a, 2002; Vincent and Haddon 2004). However, it does not appear to have been considered by others with regard to the transition into married life or the stages of parenthood, which are also significant life stages considered by Gennep (1960), and relevant to the group of respondents in this present study.

My research design for this thesis outlined in chapter 4 was thus framed following the theoretical perspectives of Goffman on the presentation of self, of Hochschild on emotion management and of Silverstone and Hirsch on the domestication of the mobile phone. Influenced by the work of contemporary researchers examining the social practices of mobile phone users, and the sociology of emotions from an interactionist perspective, the research approach used open ended interviews to
gather data that was expressed in the stories and experiences of mobile phone use recounted by the respondents. Throughout the course of the study my own response to the new material gathered was incorporated into the interview conversations with respondents, and thence into the thematic and narrative analysis. This interpretivistic approach is comparable to the studies of other contemporary researchers, thus enabling this research to complement their work. In the next section, I explore the findings and conclusions from the present study and explain how it can add to the body of knowledge on the social practices of mobile phone users, as well as contribute new knowledge with regard to emotion and mobile phones in everyday life.

8.2 Key Findings

In this section I therefore now examine and develop the findings from the three analysis chapters by looking first at each chapter in turn and then by drawing together the conclusions from this present study in a summary of the key findings. This overview of the findings from each of these analysis chapters provides an account of the new knowledge acquired in the course of this study.

Chapter 5 explored the respondents' feelings about their mobile phones and ways the respondents presented their self through their choice and use of their mobile phone. This was examined in the four themes of desirability, disappointment, dependability and nostalgia. During the data analysis I found that about half of the respondents in this study unexpectedly proved to be more knowledgeable than the others about ICTs, and some of these were expert in, or had worked on the development of mobile communications. It was the respondents in this group who appeared to express feelings about their phone more strongly than those who were less knowledgeable and/or less confident talking about the technology and the phone. The examples given in chapter 5 demonstrated that the emotion response to the use of mobile phones was influenced by the respondents' peer group and their desire to own the right gadget for them (not always the latest version), as well as by

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53This included literature, conference, seminar and workshop papers and interview data
their excitement as they learned to use their phone. Disappointment with the mobile phone was also evident as they found their chosen phone did not always match expectations. Some respondents were surprised they could feel so strongly about the positive and negative aspects of their mobile phone and the effects it had on their everyday lives, and the extent to which, for some, it had become an indispensible aspect of their life. Nostalgic feelings about mobile phones were commonplace but more so amongst those who had used a mobile phone for the longest time period (15 years or more). This appeared to have some significance in the everyday life of the user as it prompted feelings, merging memories and nostalgia from the period during which they had used a mobile phone. The combination of how long respondents had been using mobile phones, how attached they were to their own mobile phone, and how long they had owned one was a complex issue. Together with the circumstances regarding the choice and uses for the mobile phone this combination of factors appeared to be unique to each respondent.

These findings with regard to the respondents’ feelings about their mobile phones suggested that they moved between positive and negative emotion states, such as desire, enjoyment, contentment, frustration and disappointment, in response to their mobile phones. This followed the process of domestication as the mobile phone was at first imagined and then purchased, followed by the initial period of working out how to use it and whether or not it fulfilled expectations. However, when the phone failed in some way the respondent became disenchanted with it. It is interesting that respondents would persevere with making their mobile phone do what they wanted, or they would develop strategies to overcome problems, and if this was successful they would once again be happy with it. This was also evident in the nostalgia they had for old phones and for their existing phone, as well as for their plans for the next phone they would buy. It was also notable from the evidence in this chapter that the process of domestication of the mobile phone was located with the mobile phone and its user wherever that might be, rather than be linked with the location of home or office.

Chapter 5 explored the emotion that was involved in the presentation of self with regard to the domestication of the phone. Chapter 6 developed this further to explore how the self and emotion were mediated via the mobile phone and how the phone
had become closely linked to the subjectivity of the respondents. It explored this through the themes of personalising the mobile phone, sustaining life experiences and the emotions evoked via the mobile phone. The personalisation of the mobile phone began as soon as it was acquired, and this was explored through the continued process of domestication in terms of the phone being objectified; this might involve the transfer of an existing SIM or ring tone, or the setting up of new ones, and over time the phone was used to store memories and maintain a record of the self of the user. Both Goffman (1959) and Hochschild (2003a) had shown how people would present themselves to others in ways that responded to the behaviours expected of them. However, behaviours used to present oneself, especially to others and in public, did not necessarily reflect how people actually felt and their inner feelings were kept private. It would appear that for some respondents the mobile phone had become a repository for these inner feelings and their real self (which is devoid of deep acting). In these private moments interaction with the images, texts or simply with the phone itself, was sufficient to manage these feelings. This was particularly notable with regard to managing the death of family or friends when the mobile phone was used to manage the immediate emotion response to their death or the feelings after the death. The interaction between the respondent and their mobile phone created intersubjectivity between the emotional memories embodied in the phone and the self. The mobile phone thus offered a means of enabling the personal emotion management of private feelings, and a personalised repository of emotion and everyday life management. This meant that the public and private, the front stage and back stage behaviours that might be played out via the mobile phone had become interwoven into the phone. Following Mead (1967), and Hochschild (2003a) it appears that it is the inner, real self - the 'I' - that is interacting directly with the mobile phone, at which point it becomes the 'me'; it is the 'me' that is shared with others through mobile phone communications. Following Goffman's (1959) dramaturgy and Hochschild's (2003a) deep acting this 'me' may be imbued with imagined or trained emotions that are not necessarily entirely representative of the real self. By extension the mobile phone holds the 'me' of the interlocutors in the form of stored messages, images and memories. It is these presentations of the selves of others that the mobile phone user interacts with via the device, and they are important because they are the equivalent of face to face contact. For example, the texts from a deceased friend are personal between the sender and the recipient, and
for the recipient they have a particular poignancy when recalled and read. This makes the storing of particular messages important, and the retention of the phone on which they were stored vital. Making the mobile phone personal in this way allowed some respondents to sustain the emotions they wanted and/or to ignore others by managing their special personal memories on their mobile phone unsullied by the influence of others. These findings in chapter 6 also highlighted that the social construction of emotion responses to mobile phone use were still evolving as the respondents encountered new and unimagined situations involving their interaction with their self and others mediated via their mobile phone. This did, however, create tension with regard to the feelings they experienced in response to their own actions mediated via their mobile phone and especially those involving the anticipation and management of electronic emotions.

In chapter 7, the emotion in relationships mediated via the mobile phone was explored through the themes of constant presence, emotional dissonance and the strengthening of emotional contact. The idea that the phone could become a substitute for face to face contact with others was further manifest with regard to the relationship with close family and friends who might want to be together at all times. The possibility for the always on, always available presence of the mobile phone created a situation in which a sense of constant presence could be achieved, knowing that a loved one could be called up at the touch of a button or even the touch of the phone. There was a suggestion that the mobile phone satisfied the compulsion for proximity (Boden and Molotch 1994), the desire to be in the presence of others even when this was not physically possible. Gergen (2003) had argued that the mobile phone was creating a sense of absent presence for those who were separated but felt as if they were co-present through the familiar use of the mobile phone. Indeed, Bassett (2005) had taken this further to suggest that the mobile phone was simply a part of everyday life and it could be taken for granted that people could make contact with whomever they wanted anywhere. Among the respondents, sustaining a constant presence allowed for the remote mothering by parents of children of all ages (Rakov and Navaro 1993), for the use of the phone as a digital leash as well as for managing emotion issues between couples, with children and work (Duncombe and Marsden 1993; Ling 1997; Qui 2007). Taken together with the examples in this present study, this suggests that the mobile phone
had become an important means for achieving emotion management in relationships such as for the deep acting involved in dealing with awkward relationships, or the ability to keep contact with family who had left home. Quite a number of the respondents were on call to their adult children at any time and were happy to be available for them in this way. Not all of the respondents kept their phone switched on and with them at all times. If they did not have their phone with them - or they switched it off - it was because there was another arrangement in place for these other family members. For example, they relied on their spouse having a phone which could be used jointly.

Being always available via the mobile phone however, did occasionally prompt or draw out some more innate, hidden, or even suppressed, emotions such as anger and anxiety that emerged when unwanted callers demanded a reply or wanted calls were not received. This would result in emotional dissonance – the emotional dichotomy that arises out of the dilemmas of wanting and not wanting to be contacted - feelings caused by having a mobile phone. Some respondents found there was emotional discord in needing the mobile phone so much that it became indispensable. They also found they had to manage conflicting feelings about the mobile phone such as irritation about feeling dependent on it whilst at the same time feeling irritated when people made contact.

Many of the respondents constantly used their phone and had done so for many years. Although other studies might indicate that at this older age their mobile phone use might be dominated by safety and security considerations (Ling and Yttri 2002), in the present study most respondents had instead completely integrated their phone into their everyday lives. It was their preferred communications device for keeping in touch with teenage and adult children, for managing personal, business and work matters, as well as using it for interaction with the self. Safety and security with regard to managing extended family (children at university, spouse or partner at home or at work) was talked about more than the security of the respondent themselves.
In sum three main findings emerged from the analysis in this present study which offer new knowledge with regard to the topic of this thesis and further add to the body of research on the social practices of mobile phone users:

Firstly, the respondents use mobile phones extensively to manage the presentation of the self, particularly with regard to the emotional highs and lows of relationships and family commitments. The respondents' feelings about mobile phones, and their importance in everyday use, flow through different emotion responses as the appropriation and objectification stages of domesticating the phone are used to establish and re-establish the presentation of self within peer groups, as well as within familial groups. Those respondents who had owned a mobile phone for longer, and who had more knowledge of and interest in ICTs, appeared to have the strongest feelings in this regard.

Secondly, the older age of the respondents and the length of time they have used a mobile phone appears to be significant in this present study. Within this sample of respondents the use of their mobile phone, and the emotions associated with it, appeared to be influenced by the life stage of the user rather than by their age. Furthermore it seemed that the ability to manage mediated emotions for some older mobile phone users might have benefited from a wider experience of using a mobile phone due to their having owned one for longer.

Thirdly, the mobile phone is used as a repository of the emotional memories which respondents can recall at any chosen moment. This meant that the mobile phone was used to interact with their self such that the emotions of their private and real self could be explored and managed without the need for direct recourse to others. This was achieved by evoking emotions through recalling relationships and memories stored or associated with their mobile phones. Further, the mobile phone also enabled the user to manage the interaction and mediation of their emotions with others via their phone. This not only allowed emotions to be discovered, lived and re-lived through communications and through the touch of the phone, but also it provided a means for deep acting when managing relationships, such as with less welcome contacts.
Taken together, these conclusions show that for most of the respondents in the present study the emotion engendered by mobile phone use appeared to affect the respondents' approaches to their selves and to others and the mobile phone has clearly become a key component in the emotion management of their everyday lives.

**8.3 Implications of this Research for Future Studies**

These conclusions from the present study have highlighted some potential areas for future research and further exploration of these topics. Some early findings from the research have already formed the basis for an edited volume on emotion (Vincent and Fortunati 2009) and for conference papers and publications. Future articles are also planned in order to continue the dissemination of the present study and to add to the body of international research on this topic. This additional research could add to the findings presented in this thesis and possibly open up new areas for further study with regard to emotion mediated via mobile phones (and other ICTs).

The implications of this present study are mostly with regard to the role that emotion plays in the everyday use of mobile phones for this older age group as, despite the growth of literature on mobile phone use, there remain few studies on both the topics of emotion and mobile phones and mobile phone use by older people, and thus it is in these areas of research that I propose further investigation.

Turning firstly to emotion in the use of mobile phones by older people: the new evidence from this study shows that age is perhaps too readily assumed to be a differentiator when, as has been noted, it might instead be life stages and experiences that are more pertinent to explaining these differences than merely age alone. The concept of the rites of passage already used in the research of children and mobile phones (and in the present study) would appear to offer an appropriate research approach for this future analysis. Examination of mobile phone use with regard to life stage transitions, such as when children leave home, after a divorce or

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54 See Appendix 4 for list of publications, conference, workshop and seminar papers
on retirement, would provide further insights into the role of the mobile phone in the emotion management of the everyday life of older people.

Secondly it would be interesting to explore further the finding in this present study that emotions with regard to the presentation of self are more strongly felt according to how much knowledge and interest one has in mobile phones. This could provide a more detailed understanding of the impact of technological knowledge, length of ownership, experience and use of mobile phones than was possible in this present study. These findings could be explored with a larger sample to question whether people with ICT expertise domesticate mobile phones as part of their everyday life differently from those for whom the technology is transparent and of no interest. As a corollary to this, a new study that explored the subjectivity of mobile phone users within this older age group through storytelling, life histories or the development of technobiographies, might highlight more (or different) emotion responses with regard to mobile phone use than were perhaps realised by the respondents in this present study.

This thesis has presented new research on emotion in the lives of some older peoples' everyday use of mobile phones. In so doing it has identified findings that offer new knowledge thereby contributing new work on emotion to the body of research on the social practices of mobile phone users.
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10. GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Asynchronous – Relating to or using an electronic communication method that sends data in one direction (e.g. text messaging)

CLI – Calling line identity on mobile and fixed networks

Convergent Capabilities – Talk, Text, Camera, Games, WWW, MP3, TV, email available on a single device

DWRC – Digital World Research Centre University of Surrey

GSM Digital Cellular Service – Global System for Mobile Communications used by 85% of the world’s 5.3bn mobile phone users. GSM enables the same phone to be used in almost every country in the world but paid for on one bill in the home country of the user.

ICT – Information and Communications Technology

Manufacturers – makers and suppliers of mobile phones and mobile communications network infrastructure

MMS – multi-media messages

MP3 – Portable Music Player

Phone – this usually refers to a mobile phone when used in this thesis. Any other type of telephone is suffixed appropriately, e.g. fixed line phone, house phone

Network Operator – Organisation licensed by a Government to provide mobile phone infrastructure and services e.g. Vodafone, O2, T-mobile

SIM – Subscriber Identity Module the SIM Card in a mobile phone

Service Provider – Organisation that sells mobile phone services to the mobile phone users e.g. Carphone Warehouse; Vodafone; O2; Virgin

TV – Television

UK – United Kingdom

WWW – World Wide Web and the Internet
Appendix 1: Interview Brief

(NOT SHOWN TO INTERVIEWEE OR VISIBLE IN THE INTERVIEW)

Preamble
These interviews are aimed at people willing to discuss their feelings and emotions with regard to their mobile phones, including information about their social life and their relationships. This brief includes the topics that I aim to cover in the interview and the questions that could be used to probe topics raised by the interviewee.

About your mobile
I’d like to ask you about your mobile phone

What is it? - type, make etc
Where is now? - Can I see it?

Why did you get that particular phone?
How have you personalised it?
What do you use it for?
Is there anywhere or any time you don’t use it?

Relationships via mobile
Who do you contact on it?

Ask them to go through the numbers in their directory and find out how many are still current, are friends, family, business colleagues, trades people, - are there any numbers in your directory for names you don’t recognise? (is everyone still alive?)

What do you feel about giving out your number? Are you selective about who can have it?
Feelings about mobiles

What do you feel about mobile phones in general?
How much does your mobile phone matter to you?
What does your mobile phone stand for in your everyday life?

When you are away from home and on your own and something happens to you, you see something, you experience something new – does your mobile phone figure in this experience? Tell me about it.

Is there anything that worries you about your mobile phone (prompt health, surveillance if needed)?

If you are feeling particularly emotional – happy or sad - about something how does your mobile phone figure in this experience?

What does your mobile phone feel like?
Do you hold your mobile phone or fiddle with it?
What prompts you to do that?
Why?

Is there anything extraordinary about the mobile phone? Is it different from personal computer, home phone?
Why’s that?

Do you feel the same about any other computer, telephone device, - or any other piece of technology?
Why do you think that is?

Do you feel any resentment about the way you feel about your mobile phone?

What about your friends and family? Do they think similarly to you about their mobiles?
Using mobiles in a crisis

What if you were involved in an incident such as a car crash, car breakdown, witnessed a major event?
Would you use your mobile phone?
What for?

Memories

Have you kept text messages, voice mail or pictures on your mobile?
Why
Can you give me some examples? Do you look at/listen to them?
What do they make you feel like when you re-read them?
Why them in particular?

Being without your mobile

Could you live without mobile phones and could you live without YOUR mobile phone?

Closing Interview

Have there been any surprises for you in this interview?
Tell me about them?
Why was it a surprise?

Anything you’d like to tell me about the topic area that we haven’t discussed?
Appendix 2: Request for Interview for Doctoral Thesis

After working for British Telecom and O2 for more than twenty years I moved in 2001 to work at the University of Surrey’s Digital World Research Centre as a Research Fellow. I study people’s behaviours with regard to their mobile phones and how they use them in their everyday lives such as to maintain contact with friends and family. A couple of years ago I won a research scholarship from the University to explore this topic in much more detail and I embarked upon a PhD with the Faculty of Arts and Human Sciences, Department of Sociology.

I am now looking for people aged 40 or older who would be willing to spend at least an hour with me talking about how their mobile phone figures in their lives and what it means to them. I am interested in all types of people whether they hardly use their mobile phone or whether they have several and use them constantly. The interview would be recorded for my personal use only and anonymity is assured.

Once completed I aim to use my PhD to assist me in obtaining funding for future projects as well as in the publication of journal articles and book chapters.

If you are interested in talking to me about how your mobile phone figures in your everyday life please do get in touch via my email jane.vincent@surrey.ac.uk or telephone me on 07xxx xxxxxx

Many thanks

Jane Vincent
www.dwrc.surrey.ac.uk
Appendix 3: Consent Form: Jane Vincent PhD

Studies Interview

The interview will last approximately one hour and will be audio recorded and transcribed for the sole use of the interviewer Jane Vincent. The interview will contribute to the research studies for Jane’s PhD at the University of Surrey and to the production of articles and papers associated with the PhD. None of the interview will be attributed to the interviewee by name and all material not used will be kept confidential and anonymous. If you wish to have a copy of the transcription of the interview you may request it and if you prefer that certain statements are deleted from the record this will be respected.

Some of the material from interviews will be used in my Thesis and in articles that may be published at a later date. Names and places will be changed to protect the anonymity of the interviewee.

I consent to being interviewed
I consent to the interview being audio recorded

Signed

Print Name

Date
Appendix 4: Details of Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Number of active mobile phones</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>M/F</th>
<th>Family/Job</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andrew*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Single, telecoms engineer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbara</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Married, 2 children, 1 grandchild, one child still at home. Local Government Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bart</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Married (to Margaret), 2 teenagers. Manager in engineering firm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belinda*</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Single, 2 daughters 17, 20 (with 1 year old child) and 1 son 26. Event manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christine*</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Single, Freelance researcher HCI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doreen</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Married, 3 children and 5 grandchildren. Artist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Married, 2 children 9 &amp; 12. Part time nurse (shift work)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Married, 3 teenagers. Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grant</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Married, 2 teenagers son and daughter. Draftsman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gregory</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Married, 2 adult children. Accountant/finance manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hannah</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Married, Journalist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heidi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Married, 2 teenage children. Marketing. Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helen</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Divorcee, newly engaged 2 children 11 &amp; 15. Part time shop worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Married, 2 children 4 &amp; 6. Consultant Telecoms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeremy*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Married, Two children at university, Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Married, one teenager, IT worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karl*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Single, Telecoms engineer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keith*</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Married, 2 grown up children one at university one living at home. Consultant engineer. Telecoms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laura</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Married, no children. Event organiser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leslie*</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Married, 1 teenager. Business Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Status and Home Details</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucy</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Married, one teenager at home, one teenager year one university. Teacher and artist</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lydia</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Divorcee, 1 teenager. Administration Manager unemployed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lynne*</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Married, 2 children 9 and 12. Consultant working mostly from home</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Married (to Bart), 2 teenage sons. Local government officer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria*</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Single, with long distance relationship. Dependent mother in different country. Researcher</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark*</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Married, young teenage daughter, son about to start work. Telecoms Consultant in new business start up</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martha</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Widow, cares for widowed son in law’s 2 children 7 and 10. Another son in Australia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin*</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Married, 2 teenage children. Director</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary*</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Married, (to Mike) 2 children 13 &amp; 15. IT systems designer consultant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael*</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Married, 2 teenage children. Consultant in CMC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mike *</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Married, (to Mary) 2 children 13 &amp; 15. Computer hardware sales international traveller with work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigel</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Married, 2 adult children retired company director. Owns second home abroad. Scientist</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nina</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Widow, 3 children 2 grandchildren. Active in local community</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polly</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Married, 2 teenagers, 2 adult children. Teaching Assistant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roger*</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Married, 1 child 9. Customer Services Director</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sara</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Married, 3 children under 10. Self employed artist</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scott*</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Married, 2 children 14 &amp; 21. Consultant telecommunications</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelagh</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Married, 3 teenagers, 15 &amp; 17 at school; 19 at University. Full time hairdresser</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simon*</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Married, 2 adult children, one at university. Telecoms engineering consultant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the respondents were UK home owners and White British

Respondents with specialist/expert ICT knowledge are asterisked *

Papers marked * are based on my Doctoral Studies, others papers are on topics researched prior to this present study but which enabled me to access the conference networks

2003 – 2004

Emotion and Mobile Phones – Communications in the 21st Century Conference at the Institute for Philosophical Research of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Conference Budapest June 2003

Emotional Attachment and the Mobile Phone The Good Bad Irrelevant the user and the future of information and communications technologies COST 269- User Aspects of ICTs Conference Helsinki 3-5 September 2003

Incorporating Social Shaping Into Technology Planning for 3G/UMTS 3G2004 IEE Fifth International Conference on Mobile Communication Technologies October 2004

2005 - 2006

Growing up with mobile phones Communications in the 21st Century Seeing, Understanding, Learning in the Mobile Age at the Institute for Philosophical Research of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Conference Budapest 28-30 April 2005


Effective Use of Mobile Communications in E-Government: How do we reach the tipping point? with Harris L., Information Communication Society iCS Symposium University of York September 2006
2007 – 2008

*Emotion and Mobile Phones* COST298 Emotions and ICTs International Workshop University of Udine November 2007

*Mobile Phones and Children in the UK – the changing social practices of a group of children aged 11 – 16 from 2004 to 2007* Mobile Communications and the Ethics of Social Networking Hungarian Academy of Sciences Budapest 2008

*Living with my mobile phone* COST298 Erfurt Training School. Mobile Media and the Change of Everyday Life, October 2008

2009 – 2010

*The mediation of electronic emotion via mobile phone* COST298 and IPTS European Commission, Joint Research Centre and Institute for Prospective Technological Studies Sevilla February 2009.

*Emotion and the Mobile Phone* The Good the Bad and The Challenging, COST298 Conference Copenhagen May 15 – 17 2009


2010

*Body to Body Interaction in Broadband Society* "You will Shape the Digital Society with your knowledge - make it happen" Conference on Communication - a Common Playground for Social and Telecommunications Scientists University 27 – 28 May 2010 Technical University of Applied Sciences Wildau Germany

*Feeling Rules for the Mobile Phone* Affective Fabrics of Digital Culture Research Institute for Cosmopolitan Cultures University of Manchester 3 – 4 June 2010

*Electronic Emotion and the Mobile Phone* PGR Multidisciplinary Conference University of Surrey 23 – 24 September 2010

*Emotion and the Mobile Phone* in Information Society Journal – Russian e-Development Partnership 2 Spring 2010 pp 46 - 56 (translated into Russian, published in Russia)
The following peer reviewed articles arising out of the doctoral research have been published during the course of the preparation of this thesis:


