JOSÉ RICARDO CARVALHEIRO & ANA SERRANO TELLERIA (Eds.)

PUBLIC
PRIVATE

MOBILE AND DIGITAL COMMUNICATION: APPROACHES TO PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

livros LABCOM books
2015

José Ricardo Carvalheiro & Ana Serrano Tellería (Eds.)

Mobile and Digital Communication:

Approaches to Public and Private

LabCom Books 2015

mais CENTRO
Programa Operacional Regional do Centro

QUADRO DE REFERÊNCIA ESTRATÉGICO NACIONAL
PORTUGAL 2007.2013

UNIÃO EUROPEIA
Fundo Europeu
de Desenvolvimento Regional

Livros LabCom
Covilhã, UBI, LabCom, Livros LabCom
www.livroslabcom.ubi.pt
DIREÇÃO: José Ricardo Carvalheiro

SÉRIE: Pesquisas em Comunicação

TÍTULO: Mobile and Digital Communication:
Approaches to Public and Private
EDITORES: José Ricardo Carvalheiro & Ana Serrano Tellería

ANO: 2015

ISBN
978-989-654-235-1 (Papel)
978-989-654-237-5 (pdf)
978-989-654-236-8 (epub)
DEPÓSITO LEGAL: 395067/15
TIRAGEM: Print-on-demand

DESIGN DE CAPA: Madalena Sena
PAGINAÇÃO: Filomena Matos

Contents

Introduction

Today, the proliferation of mobile digital communication devices is an area of experimentation by social actors, a field in which commercial and state organizations explore new paths. At the same time, it is the backdrop for potential transformations in the public/private dichotomy; hybrid contexts emerge from it that, in the absence of better terms, can be called semi-public and semi-private. It is therefore also a fertile ground for an academic approach.

We are not, however, dealing with narratives about the effects of technology or the "revolutions" that it supposedly causes, nor with fearful or catastrophic visions of the near future. But this does not mean ignoring the links between technological changes and cultural transformations, nor does it rule out the idea that the characteristics of technology have implications for its uses in the light of the concepts of public and private, as has happened in the past.

The media historian Patrice Flichy identified a point of wide-reaching change when, at the beginning of the 20th century, instant, remote communication technologies shifted from the prevalence of point-to-point transmissions to broadcast transmissions (the shift from telephone and telegraph communications between two points to radio broadcasting). As point-to-point communication is mediated, it is possible to extend privacy conditions using technology. Broadcasting, however, thanks to its disseminating nature, introduced the content of transmissions to public communication contexts. In any case, the technological spectrum maintained different and clearly separate methods for private communication and public communication.

It was not long before the domestication of broadcast reception – boosted by a radio industry, and later a television industry, directed towards family use – instituted the conditions of what Raymond Williams called "mobile privatization". In other words, it produced, in society, a combination of growing

mobility (including mobility of communication content) and a downturn in sociability in public, with radio and television communication flows (which are public) channeled into the private spaces of the domestic universe.

Among the different transformations that accompanied the expansion of the internet decades later, the most famous is certainly the metaphor of communication in a network. It should be noted here that the product of that network is the convergence, in the same medium, of point-to-point communications and broadcast transmission. In other words, communications that are primarily private and the different scopes of public communication are technologically brought closer together.

At first, the mobile phone continued to be exactly that: a wireless telephone, providing increased possibilities of point-to-point communication throughout physical space. The development of mobile digital devices in a network with simultaneous access to broadcast sources produced suitable conditions, however, for further types of expansion. Firstly, an increase in constant entwining and switching, using the same device, between point-to-point (and therefore private) communication and public communication. Secondly, a spread of those practices to a greater number of times and spaces of everyday life, in which they mix and connect to the private and public situations of the "physical" world. Thirdly, the circulation of content that, because it is digital, is undifferentiated and can be mixed together due to its technical nature and the overlapping of communication channels. Finally, an increase in the long, long history of commodification of all that content, which extends acts of consumerism and commercial exchange to a range of new spaces and times that were previously separate from commercial forces.

A very brief historical summary such as this is enough to note how tempting – and potentially simplistic – it is to draw parallels and relationships of cause and effect between technological transformation and changes in communication rationales. But it is also enough to make it clear that the types of communicating vessel systems that form public and private "spheres" constitute a multifaceted, complex system that is connected to an almost intractable range of issues.

The fact is that all these facets of mobile technology – ubiquity, multimediality, multidirectionality – form a *context* in which trends to renegotiate, defend, adapt or challenge notions of public and private are developed by individuals in their everyday lives and by social institutions through their rules

and goals. This book, which brings together presentations from the conference "Public and Private in Mobile Communications", held in March 2015 at Beira Interior University, Portugal, particularly favors discussions on the uses that individuals make of mobile devices in their everyday practices. However, as a background issue, it also includes the sometimes implicit approach *about the transformations* that connect new technologies to certain cultural practices, forms of interaction and political uses. In fact, as happened in the past with other technological innovations, it is practically impossible to discuss the penetration of mobile devices and their social appropriations without the perspective of a historical side, even if it is "only" an epistemological background.

In chapter one, James Katz and Elizabeth Crocker discuss the daily uses of Skype. Looking for the factors that have made it more successful than previous video call systems, Katz and Crocker consider how the use of Skype is creating new forms of interaction, but they suggest that most people expect this communication to remain private and impermanent.

In chapter two, Scott Campbell explores the implications of mobile communication for social network connectivity, offering the concept of network privatism to characterize theoretical propositions that mobile media usage constrains contact with ties that are diverse, weak and new. Reviewing available empirical findings, Campbell concludes that there is limited support for such propositions.

The convergence of mobile telephony, digital photography and social media is the topic of chapter 3, in which Amparo Lasén examines self-portrait practices as an everyday activity. Lasén argues that self-photography, once exclusively used for artistic purposes, has become not only a banal and playful habit, but has also developed visual forms of communication which provide new ways of modulating intimacy and challenge relationships with the public/private divide.

Chapter 4 is another qualitative approach to image exchanges in vernacular everyday life, in which Gaby David focuses specifically on Parisian teenagers' uses of the Snapchat application. David observes the mechanisms that youngsters use to control the privacy and sharing of their images, and detects an increasing trend towards envisaging personal mobile images less as a physical asset and more as part of an ephemeral flow that aims to forego saving personal data.

In chapter 5, Samita Nandy explores the connections between celebrity photography and the public sphere, analyzing uses of self-portraits as a form of activism. Tackling the field of the aesthetics and politics of fame, Nandy shows how selfies in mobile communication can act as reflective biographical accounts and become cultural productions that are able to play a relevant role in advocating social causes.

Public action is present again in chapter 6, in which João Carlos Correia recovers the 'old' concept of mass and considers it in the context of digital media. Mass behavior is taken as a form of sociability and it is proposed as a relevant notion for analyzing some forms of digital interaction, whether in the field of political activism or in other phenomena such as hooliganism.

Chapter 7 also discusses the public sphere, looking at some new forms of journalism as a specific manifestation of its connection to "technological democratization" and users' empowerment through collaboration and participation. Koldo Meso, Simón Peña and Diana Rivero give particular attention to information crowdsourcing in news production.

The last three chapters of the volume, apart from theoretical considerations, offer some empirical data collected in Portugal by the research project "Public and private in mobile communications". In Chapter 8, Gil Baptista Ferreira relates the shaping of privacy today with what he calls the new geographies of visibility and the dilution of old notions of space, pointing to situations in which public and private no longer function in opposite ways.

The issue of privacy is again a main the focus in chapter 9, which proposes a reflection on the concepts of 'liquid spheres' and 'constellations', applying them to the uses found in the Portuguese context. As a manifestation of liquidity within mobile media ecology, Ana Serrano Tellería points to a constant negotiation of rules by smartphone users and a strong circumstantial pattern behavior concerning privacy.

Chapter 10 closes this volume by offering a view on possible articulations between privatism and privacy. José Ricardo Carvalheiro departs from the question whether impulses towards privatism impose or not themselves over concerns with privacy in uses of mobile and digital media, and explores empirical data in order to evaluate which perceptions and practices prevail among Portuguese owners of smartphones.

1. Skype in Daily Life: general patterns, emerging uses, and concerns

James E. Katz & Elizabeth Thomas Crocker
Boston University, USA

Abstract: Although two-way real-time conversational interaction was imagined soon after the telegraph was invented, the state of electrical technology of course was not mature enough to make this to be possible. But beyond the plausibility of such interaction, early analyses of visual communication at a distance, such as the Picturephone, indicated that there would be very little interest in such services. Recent history has proven the prescience of the early artistic imagination over the later detailed market analysis. In fact, two-way visual conversations are fast becoming not only routine but in some cases a predominant way of life. In this chapter, we explore the attitudes towards two-way visual conversation in the instance of Skype as well as both the traditional and surprising ways in which people have pursued the use of this technology. In particular, we find that "hanging out", that is, a form of near-perpetual contact, often develops between physically separated romantic partners. We also find, albeit much more rarely, that domestic labor within family groupings can become truly globalized. The implications of these trends are briefly explored.
Keywords: Skype, Video Mediated Communication, Perpetual Contact, Virtual Accompaniment, Virtual Cohabitation, Emerging Media.

Mobile and Digital Communication, 5-23

When Skype began in 2003, it was hailed as a revolutionary way to connect and communicate. Built upon the peer-to-peer technology of the file sharing network Kazaa, Skype users could download the program and connect via VoIP in order to hold free phone and video calls over the internet. This allowed users the ability to bypass expensive long distance phone charges and chat with people all over the world about everything from important business contracts to how their local sports team was faring. Skype's creator Niklas Zennström argued Skype was the phone of the future and many agreed ("How Skype and Kazaa", 2005). But the concept for Skype was not a new one and in fact video calls had been tried before. So why did Skype take off when others didn't? And how did free video calls change the way we interact, communicate, and engage with the people and world around us?

In the late 1800s, the science fiction writer Albert Robida developed the idea for the *telephonoscope*, which was a central feature of every home in his futuristic world. It projected images on a thin crystal screen and provided sound through speakers all transmitted via a telephone cord. The *telephonoscope* could show theater performances, allow virtual shopping, and transmit telephone conversations accompanied by visual images of the person on the other end (Willems, 1999). In 1911, Hugo Gernsback's *Ralph 124C 41+* introduced the *telephoto* which not only allowed users to see the person they were speaking to but smell them as well (Westfahl, 1996). Other science fiction writers followed suit and added variations of video calls to their visions of the future but in 1964 the American Telephone and Telegraph Company (AT&T) tried to make it a reality. AT&T unveiled the Picturephone at the 1964 New York World's Fair making its inaugural call to none other than First Lady Ladybird Johnson. They promised this new technology would bring users closer together, end the need for commutes, and save time and money. Spectators were eager to try out the Picturephone and lined up to speak with users at Disneyland displayed on a small screen. Hugo Gernsback was impressed predicting that the Picturephone would result in, "No more inadequate streets, overcrowded stores, impossible traffic" but initial market testing suggested users were less convinced. Nonetheless, Bell Laboratories pursued the technology installing booths in major US cities in 1964 and releasing units to the public for home use in 1970. Advertisements promised users would "be a star" and bring families together. Picturephone would finally let people adopt technology that science fiction writers and the public had been fantasizing about

for almost one hundred years. Yet, after millions of dollars in development, production, and advertising the Picturephone was a flop (Lipartito, 2003).

In the first six months after installation, the Picturephone booths had only seventy-one patrons. They charged sixteen to twenty-seven dollars per minute making even short phone calls cost prohibitive. In addition to cost, scholars such as A. Michael Noll (1992) argue that Picturephone was too personal and highly invasive for some users and provided little to no benefit over a regular phone call. But Lipartito (2003) argues that one of the main problems was that the tiny gray screen was not personal enough. Once people get over the novelty and difference of the technology, many view video-communications as enhancing the intimacy of the communication in a positive way. But Picturephone was clunky, heavy, black and white, and required both parties owned one to participate. By 1978, the only Picturephones that remained were in Bell Labs and those didn't last long. Video calls were dead. But only for a while.

Today, video chatting over technology such as Skype is incredibly popular. By 2013, more than 300 million people used Skype worldwide completing more than 1.6 trillion minutes of voice and video calls ("Skype Celebrates a Decade", 2013). These statistics reveal just how popular the medium is, but to get a better understanding of how young adults utilize Skype we conducted surveys with students in New England. In March 2014, we invited an undergraduate class of communication research students at Boston University to participate in an omnibus online opinion survey about new communication technology. Foci of the survey included uses of the selfie, and Snapchat for interpersonal communication. 123 students began the survey; from this number, 117 usable questionnaires were generated. The respondents' ages ranged from 18 to 24, with a median age of 21. In terms of gender, 19% of the survey respondents were male and the balance identified themselves as females (no one indicated "other"). We also conducted interviews with twenty-two people utilizing a snowball method which allowed us to gather in depth insight into the demographic we surveyed as well as a variety of other backgrounds such as working parents in New England, American graduate students studying abroad, college students at other universities, and an elderly woman and a teacher living in the Southern United States. This range of interviewee experiences and demographic backgrounds allowed us to examine whether the survey data was reflected in larger patterns of use and expand our analysis

beyond just New England college students. However, this is still a limited participant group and there are limitations to making broad claims.

All but two of our survey respondents, who were female, had used Skype at least once. In the past month 65% had Skyped at least once. 55% said that they thought Skype was more personal than a phone call but only 17% said they preferred Skype over a phone call. Only six people indicated they sometimes preferred to Skype rather than meet in person. However, 73% agreed or strongly agreed that Skype was more personal than text based communications such as email and text messages. With the additional input from interviews, we concluded that phone calls were often viewed as easier, simpler, and quicker than a Skype call. Skype also required more attention to the communicative partner, while a phone call allowed people to conduct additional tasks such as cleaning, browsing the internet, or walking. It was this factor, though, that was part of why Skype was more personal – not only do people get to see the person(s) they are speaking with but it requires a fair amount of personal attention and focus that other mediums do not. Yet it is clear that Skype does not replace face-to-face communication entirely.

This same demographic of undergraduates indicated most (84%) used Skype to stay in touch with people who lived in other places. 84% agreed or strongly agreed that Skype was a good way to communicate with family, while 81% said it was a good way to communicate with friends. Interestingly, only five people said they liked to Skype with new people and only nineteen said it was a good way to get to know someone. Based upon our qualitative interview data, we argue this is linked to the personal aspect of Skype communications. New acquaintances go through a series of mediated interactions before the relationship is established enough for the personal nature of a Skype conversation. First, people may communicate privately but via a public profile such as Facebook, then transition to text messaging and chatting with platforms linked to personal emails, and not until that dynamic is established do they meet in person. Skype, more often than not, was explained as a medium for maintaining existing relationships that had already developed into or began as face-to-face interactions. As we will show later, this makes sense considering some of the novel ways that communicative events play out over Skype.

Skype has been used for many of the predicted and expected uses of video mediated conversations such as enhanced phone calls, keeping in touch with

family, business meetings, remote teaching, interviews, and the like. These are important to understand as the use of video mediated conversations increases. However, we were particularly interested in the more creative and novel ways that Skype was integrated into people's lived experiences. These aspects reflect emerging practices that speak to the ways in which video mediated conversations are unique and rather than simply illuminating existing practices they may predict ways the medium can evolve in the future. In particular, we look at virtual cohabitation, virtual accompaniment, and new interactants suggest fascinating ways that Skype is not only reproducing existing forms of communication but potentially creating new ones. However, it is important that we recognize there are also concerns and limitations regarding Skype use despite its popularity. Only 20% of our survey respondents said they were worried about their Skype conversations being recorded, but 82% said they would be angry if they discovered someone had recorded their conversation without asking permission. This suggested that while most are not concerned about covert recording they would be upset about it and expect conversations to remain private and impermanent. Since video mediated conversations create increased intimacy through being able to see the other person, it also increases pressures put upon participants. 60% of our survey respondents said they worried about how they looked on Skype. One interviewee said, "That's the other plus about the phone. You can kind of look gross and you know, roll out of bed. But with Skype, I mean, if I'm not seeing them often then I want to look like I'm at least somewhat put together somewhat happy with my life." For a casual conversation with friends or family she noted that her level of effort in tending to her appearance would be equivalent to, "I'd say like going to get groceries. [laughter] That kind of effort. Just like getting coffee with someone." For romantic interactions she spent more time preparing but the highest level of appearance preparation was for professional interviews. In addition to needing to look professional (at least from the waist up), she and other interviewees pointed out the need to curate the spaces where they sat for the interview. Rather than meeting in an office or a neutral space such as a coffee shop, Skype brings the potential employer into the home of the interviewee and that requires attention to things like posters, cleanliness of spaces, and any lifestyle indicators such as alcohol bottles. Phone calls, emails, and even in person interviews do not require the same level of consideration of

self-presentation and this intimacy is balanced with the convenience of being able to hold an interview without requiring travel. interactants.

Virtual cohabitation references the manner in which some Skype users have begun using the platform as a way to maintain an open window into the life of a friend or loved one. Conversants often referred to this as "hanging out" over Skype. According to interviews, typical Skype conversations usually involved the parties planning a specific time to call, being present in front of the screen during the entire conversation, and actively participating in a conversation until the call ended. In contrast, "hanging out" meant conversants would call and while they often did initially have a conversation, the line was left open as they then proceeded to do other things that may not involve active participation in a conversation or even looking at and engaging with the screen. The Skype call became a window that linked two geographically separate spaces allowing users to interact similar to the way they might if they were "hanging out" in the same physical space. 35% of our undergraduate survey respondents said they like to use Skype to hangout with someone and 32% said they would often leave Skype sessions open while doing other things. While this does not encapsulate the entire Skype user base it does suggest a significant portion of Skype users are engaging in this form of interaction. Over half of our survey respondents said that they felt closer to someone after Skyping with them. Given this coupled with our previous point that Skype is primarily used to maintain existing relationships, we argue that it can be a powerful tool for allowing people to share lives in the mundane everyday along with the more exciting eventful moments. In our interviews we found a few different ways that this manifested and it is worth exploring case examples in order to see how virtual cohabitation is impacting people's communication forms and relationships.

One of the most interesting examples was a couple in a long distance relationship who used Skype to maintain closeness. She lived in Texas and he in New Mexico but both frequently travel. Due to work and financial limitations were only able to meet up in person about once a month. However, they Skyped daily and often through the night so that they each felt they shared a life together despite the distance. A typical day began by waking up next to their laptop, which was still logged into a Skype call with their significant other that began the night before. She explained,

> It feels normal and it just becomes a habit in your life. It started happening because we would be chatting until very, very late in the night. And I would be like, "I'm tired. I'm going to put my head down."Or he'd be like, "I'm tired and I'm going to put my head down. But I'm just going to leave this open for a while."And so we did that and at one point we fell asleep and accidentally left Skype on all night. And then woke up together. And it was really, really nice. Like, "Good morning!"Which is weird because he was in New Mexico and I was in China... So we did that and it was an accident. And it ended up just kind of being nice to see a face in the morning, you know?

After the initial discovery that waking up together over Skype was pleasant, they began doing it most nights. She said that the interaction provided consistency, which was important for maintaining a long distance relationship, "I think for him and to me too it does mean a lot to have that regularity. Because it is very regular. It's predictable. It's almost like it's kind of like getting to sleep in the same bed and waking up next to them except not having them physically there. But having their presence there." This last point – that Skyping provided a way to be present without being physically present – was one we found particularly interesting for understanding the pull to create open channels.

Once both parties were awake, they would take their laptops with them as they began their morning routines. "He'll get up, get ready for work, and actually sometimes while I'm still asleep and he's getting ready for work he'll just carry the laptop around the house with him. So he'll bring the laptop in the kitchen and pack his lunch and then he'll bring the laptop in the bathroom and take a shower. And just kind of have me there just on the laptop." They involved one another in the most mundane of daily activities even bringing the laptop into the bathroom when they had to urinate. Though they did periodically do date nights where they focused on a more purposeful and romantic approach to Skyping, she was clear that the day to day activities were not afterthoughts but rather vital to the maintenance of their relationship. "The morning stuff and the falling asleep waking up together stuff is the critical thing for the both of us. It is kind of the most important activity on Skype."

They also engaged in mutual activities over Skype such as cooking. She explained that a typical cooking night often began with him calling to see what they should cook and figuring out which ingredients they should each pick up from the store. Then when they get home they would cook together. "He'll call me on Skype. And I'll just put the computer facing the sink and the oven and I'll just start cooking and he'll start cooking." She is a more advanced cook than he is so in the beginning she provided lessons for how to cook basic dishes. Later, as his skills progressed, she was there to support and guide him as he tried to do it independently. "For him cooking is an area of self improvement that he really feels he needs help with. He feels like I'm good at it so I'm there to play cheerleader for him while he experiments with doing it on his own." Other mutual activities included drawing together, watching television, and hanging out with a third party such as a roommate. In all of these instances, Skype provided a way to link two geographically separate spaces into one shared space so that they were not each engaging in activities separately but felt they were doing them together. They stopped seeing the computer screen as a marker of their spatial divide but rather a window that could connect.

Another woman that we interviewed described a romantic relationship she maintained while she was an undergraduate in New York and her boyfriend attended university in Florida. In order to maintain the long distance relationship, she told us, "We communicated primarily through Skype and texting. And that was very important. It sort of kept us together for the whole first year of college." They did speak on the phone, but she said that phone calls made her more nervous than a Skype conversation. She said, "it's something about hearing someone's voice and hearing their words but not being able to see their facial expression or to read any of those cues," that made phone calls uncomfortable and Skype preferable. However, Skype also allowed the ability to simply leave the program open so that she and her boyfriend could hangout together. The ability to see the person as well as their world around them brought them together despite the distance. She explained, "it gives you a sense that they're there. I mean it's not the same, but it does bring you a lot closer than any other media I've found." At one point during their relationship she became ill and found Skype to be a helpful way to cope with being bedbound. "I was probably on Skype with him for like five hours. We were doing our own things, you know I was sick in bed and I was just lonely, and

it was my first semester at college, so it was really comforting to have that sort of feeling as though someone was there with me, in that moment, even though we were doing different things." The ability to have Skype open meant he could be there for her during her time of need the way that he would have if they lived closer.

She also made an important point that phone calls emphasize the need to interact during the entirety of the call because if you are not speaking then there is just silence. Yet, few people have the ability to have an active phone conversation for hours and hours everyday. Skype, however, allows you to still be present and part of the interaction even if you are not speaking. Long distance relationships are often hurt by not just the lack of communication but the lack of shared experiences and day to day life. The medium lends itself to allowing users to leave channels open so that they can do other activities and still be present. For example, she and her boyfriend often did homework with Skype open on their computers. "I mean, when you're in college, it's a very busy life, so it's hard to...especially if you're dating someone, it's hard to take all those hours in a day and just talk to each other when you just can't be wasting that time, so it's sort of a way to compromise on the romantic aspect of your life and your obligations academically." They would periodically make small comments, ask one another questions, and chat in the manner she would if they lived in the same city and she invited him over to hangout and do homework. The platform allowed them to be present together and share experiences through video mediation.

Another interviewee relayed the story of her best friend and her ex-boyfriend who were only able to get together physically every couple of weeks so they also used Skype to maintain their relationship. "And they would Skype all the time. Literally always Skyping. And when I say literally I do actually mean literally. They would turn Skype on before bed and chat with her partner and then they would just leave it on. They would just leave Skype on all night when they went to bed. And they would have the computers running, Skyping in the dark room!" Her roommate often slept through her alarm so our interviewee had the job of waking her up for classes. "So I would come wake her up and I would end up waking [the boyfriend] up too on the other line of Skype. And he would go, 'What the hell! Close the blinds!' And it was miles and miles and miles away. But the light in her room wakes him up." This was perhaps the most extreme version of cohabitation via Skype that

we found, though it is important to recognize that since it is coming from a third party it may not reflect how the couple felt about time spent Skyping. However, it is illuminating to consider how other people in their lives felt about the relationship and constant Skype use. The interviewee said of the couple, "I think [the boyfriend] was really clingy and just wanted to be with her. And she loved it for sure. She definitely - it was not one sided. She thought it was the sweetest thing."She felt that this type of relationship was not something she personally would desire but it made her friend happy so she had supported it.

Other interviews revealed that people would at times also open up Skype to hangout with friends and family to watch a movie or television show together, play a game, or just chat as they did chores. However, it was clear that the use of Skype to hangout regularly and for extended periods was done primarily by people in romantic relationships and it is this we are referring to as virtual cohabitation (though it is feasible that close friends, siblings, and other kinds of relationships could lend themselves to virtual cohabitation as well.) This is different from relationships that are maintained by each party visiting a third space such as a video game or simulator. Virtual reality is two or more parties traveling to a new virtual space – this is two or more parties using virtual windows to link existing but geographically separate spaces into one temporary space. Rather than escaping reality to cohabitate in another virtual realm, parties are linking realities to cohabitate in the spaces where they live the everyday. This interaction maintained and even strengthened romantic relationships in a way that grounded them in the intimacy of the mundane.

However, we did find another form of virtual cohabitation which is perhaps better described as virtual caregiving. Virtual monitoring of children such as baby monitors are quite common but by utilizing Skype grandparents could be brought in to not only monitor children's activities but actively engage with them as caregivers. For example, one grandmother living in Italy babysat her four month old grandchild over Skype while the parents were briefly not present. "I was so worried that the kid would wander off to another part of the apartment, and there would be nothing I could do about it. But he was very good, but it took all my wits to try to keep him entertained while his father was onto the flat. I told him stories, asked him questions, and tried to paly guessing games. Fortunately nothing happened." Another interviewee spoke about how her children's grandmother helps out by babysitting from

China via Skype. “She watches them in the living room while the daughter is cooking dinner in the kitchen. Then if the grandmother sees something that is of concern then she yells out through Skype. Her daughter turns around and intervenes with whatever is going on with the kids in the living room.” This format allows the grandmother to entertain and care for the children with a parent physically present nearby available to intervene if needed. These examples differ from merely having a scheduled conversation with grandma because the grandmothers are actively caring for the children over Skype and utilize the program to be with the children as they play. In this sense, it is similar to hanging out that couples do only the adult is required to actively monitor while the children move about the space. The stationary aspect of the virtual window Skype creates is obviously limited when dealing with small children, who will run into another room without taking the laptop along. However, it still provides an avenue for long-distance grandparenting and we can imagine that many grandparents would be interested in the opportunity to spend extended time virtually caregiving and hanging out with grandchildren who live far away.

The second pattern we identified was virtual accompaniment, by which we mean utilizing Skype on a mobile device so that participants can travel virtually with one of the users experiencing not only their presence but also the experience of that space on the other end of the call. Though everyone we spoke to at least periodically engaged in Skype conversations while seated in front of the computer, a number of interviewees indicated they greatly enjoyed the ability to go with their conversational correspondents as they went out into the world.

One case study example was a father who had been born in Ireland but was currently working and living in Boston, Massachusetts. His family were all still back home so to ensure the grandparents could stay in touch with his young son they would frequently Skype. Normally, this happened at home in front of a desktop but he relayed a recent instance where they tried virtual accompaniment. “The most recent Skype conversation I actually had was in the car driving home from a Red Sox game (I was not driving while Skyping by the way!) They [his parents back in Ireland] came through and we tried it to see if it works and we Skyped with them talking to my son in the back of the car.” As grandparents, they were excited to not only hear about their relatives’ lives overseas but engage with it virtually. “Seeing scenes from our daily life

is very meaningful to them. If it's through Skype as well. 'Oh they are on the street where we go for coffee.' That's more interesting to them in some ways than any tourism stuff. So I think they really enjoy sort of feeling as though they were part of the outing. And not just the pre-planned somewhat artificial setting of sitting at the computer." Seated in their homes in Ireland, his parents were able to travel with their son and grandson through the streets of Boston.

In another example, a ninety year old woman spoke about why she preferred Skype over other forms of communication. "Skype is a lot more personal than any of the others because you can see the expressions on their faces and things like that. You can see them get up, move around, they can go get something to show you. What they've been working on. Maybe they made something new and they can hold it up. Just that kind of thing you can't do on Facebook or telephone or anything else." For her, the compelling aspect of Skype was not just its ability to provide video mediated communication but the ability to utilize it as a way to virtually travel to and with the correspondent. Given her age, she was unable to fly or drive to see many of her children and grandchildren but Skype provided a way to still engage with their lives. For example, she told us about how, "Toinette [her daughter] will bring her poodle in for me to see her new haircut or whatever. It's really nice. I can go out in the yard with her. She's got a portable computer she can carry out on the porch and show me her flowers and all that stuff too. It really is almost like being in the room with them and that's what I really like. It is much more personal than any of the others."Virtual accompaniment allows her to be with her daughter and experience her world despite distance and physical disability.

Skype provides a way for conversants separated geographically to tour the same space and travel together. Another interviewee described how she used Skype on a mobile device to give her friend a tour of their new apartment. "So my other friend who was here and I Skyped [her friend] in Sweden and brought her around the new house and like showed her all the rooms, showed her our rooms, showed her the balcony where everyone goes to smoke." This Skype interaction not only brought a distant conversational partner into the space to travel with her friend but it also allowed her to engage with the people in that space. The interviewee used Skype to bring her friend to her roommates as well, "and sort of like popped in on people and showed Lisa their faces and they waved and said, 'Oh hi! Miss you! This is my room! Can't wait until you're back!' And yeah so she got to see the layout of the house and got to see

where everyone was living and what they were doing and their rooms. And she got to see how dirty it was which made her not want to move in."The ability to bring someone from another continent around with you and have them interact with individuals within your space is quite interesting for thinking about how we engage with space, place, and being in the world.

Virtual accompaniment showed up in other interviews as well and while it was rarely a frequent scheduled activity, people spoke about it as an exciting and fun way to utilize the technology. Virtual tours of famous museums, tourist sites, houses, and natural spaces have existed for some time. However, utilizing Skype creates a slightly different dynamic. Most virtual tours are recorded ahead of time so that individuals accessing them do so anonymously and asynchronously. Skype personalizes the experience by creating a synchronous interaction that is typically conducted by people who already have an established relationship. The realities of utilizing mobile devices mean that the camera is often held around face height and jostles along with the steps of the person holding it. This provides an experience that feels much more authentic to the experience of being there and walking the space with the person on the other end of the line. Conversants can request the camera holder turn to reveal a new scene, interact with the environment at the other end, and describe what their experiences are with that space. Thus, we argue that it really is a virtual form of accompaniment where participants feel as though they are actively traveling with the person at the other end and are able to engage with the same spaces and people.

Lastly, we found that video mediated communications allowed new interactants that other forms of communication did not. Text based and audio based communications do not allow people to interact with participants that cannot speak or type. Video, however, captures other communicative signals that do allow for interacting without text or speech. To this end, some interviewees suggested they used Skype to not only call friends and family but also interact with some interesting parties such as pets, babies, and even spaces. This medium seems to open up interactant possibilities in exciting and interesting ways.

One person we interviewed told us about how a former classmate had dropped out of college to become a lifeguard in Miami. She and her friends in New England often enjoyed Skyping with him not just to stay in touch but because they wanted to experience the beach, especially when local weather

is unpleasant. “And we are up here in Massachusetts where it is freezing still and it’s May and it’s still 45 degrees and we had snow in April. So Skyping with him is this whole thing because it’s like going to the beach. ‘Oh we’re going to Skype Carter! He’s probably on the beach drinking a margarita right now.’” They at times asked him to turn the camera from his face to the view from his balcony. “When we Skype him yeah he has this beautiful view of the Florida sunset or whatever awesome thing he’s look at... And it’s gorgeous. So that’s an experience for us.” Though the former classmate was an important interactant, just as important was the warm beach he lived near. The desire to interact with a space and not just the people within that space is an interesting development of the technology. People can, of course, watch webcams set up in popular spaces but they cannot control the camera and the feed is available to everyone. Skyping with spaces still utilizes the person who answered the call who is then able to move the camera as requested. The feed is also personal and in addition to being personalized since only the people on the call can see the images, creating a kind of intimacy with the landscape.

However, it was the interactions with living but non-speaking entities that we found particularly interesting. Pets were a common interactant choice since animals can rarely engage on the phone but video allows users the ability to see the pet and gauge responses to the pet seeing and hearing them. For example, a college student told us how she Skypes with her family back home not only to speak to them but to see her family pets. “Sometimes I’ll just ask my sister to bring the cat or bring the dog when we Skype. ‘Come and show me my pets! I miss them! I haven’t seen them in too long.’"Her sister will bring the animals to the screen so she can see and speak with them. “So I’m not just talking to her. It is not just a phone call for information and catching up and making sure everything is ok at home. It’s I want to pet my cat. I miss my dog. Please show them to me!” In fact, her sister sometimes became frustrated at her desire to speak with the animals over her family. “Sometimes my sister gets annoyed, ‘Come on! They don’t understand. Talk to me! I actually understand you and your words. Stop cooing to the cat!’"Her sister makes an interesting point about the value of speaking to someone who cannot understand you and likely will not respond. Most of our interviewees were ambivalent about whether or not their pets understood it was them on the screen and whether they responded to their calls. Anecdotally, the author attempted to Skype with her cats but they seemed entirely uninterested. However, another

interviewee said that she routinely included family cats Chloe and Charlie in their Skype interactions. “Chloe responds to hearing her name being called in a distinctive high pitched form, ’collapses’, rubs herself against my daughters laptop, purrs and even dribbles.” Still, even though some pets do respond positively to Skype video calls it did not seem to be a requirement for the humans engaging to enjoy it.

Another interactant category that cannot fully understand or respond verbally was that of young infants. Once children become older Skype appears to be a mutually enjoyable interaction medium for family to stay in touch with grandchildren, nieces and nephews, and so on. However, newborns cannot see well nor can they understand language so it is doubtful they get much out of a Skype conversation. Like the pets, the person who initiates the interaction receives significantly more gratification from the conversation. Though a few different interviewees mentioned infants, perhaps the most in-depth case study example we can provide also comes from one of the authors who is the mother of an infant. Soon after coming home from the hospital, my in-laws insisted we Skype so they could meet the baby. They live in Alabama and we in Massachusetts so it would be a while before they could meet in person. We set up on the couch placing the laptop on the coffee table and the baby in my lap. My in-laws crowded around their desktop in their home office and my mother-in-law squealed with joy at seeing her newest grandchild. My father-in-law, brothers-in-law, nieces, and nephew all took turns saying hello and commenting on how adorable the baby was while my child sat and looked vaguely in the direction of the screen. My mother-in-law was convinced my daughter saw them and was responding and more than once said, “She’s looking! The little princess sees us!” However, I am somewhat doubtful that she was really aware of the Skype call at the time beyond noticing some moving blobs and sounds coming from a particular direction. Yet, like people who Skype with non-participatory pets, that did not seem to dissuade my in-laws from enjoying the interaction.

These forms of interacting with non-traditional conversants in face-to-face conditions have been explored by academics such as Deborah Tannen (2004). She notes that humans often utilize non-speaking family members as a particular discursive strategy. They can “ventriloquize”, which is when someone speaks for the pet or baby often in a high pitched tone or baby-talk. This allows individuals the ability to frame shift and express ideas in a manner that

softens the impact by speaking through the infant or pet. It can be a highly effective way to buffer criticism, insert humor, gently reprimand, discuss sensitive subjects, or remind those present who constitutes family. The mediating effect of speaking to others through babies and animals can be a powerful buffer that aids conversation and lubricates social situations. However, many of our interviewees and the experience of the author did not include this type of conversation, despite having experienced it in face-to-face interactions with the same pets and babies. This is not to say that it never happens, but as our interviewee's sister's comments suggest quite often the human on the other end of the call is left out of the conversation and that includes their ability to ventriloquize. Instead, conversation is still often high pitched baby talk but it is directed solely at the new interactant and this may be a particularly interesting line of inquiry for linguistic anthropologists.

Cohabitation, virtual accompaniment, and new interactants suggest fascinating ways that Skype is not only reproducing existing forms of communication but potentially creating new ones. However, it is important that we recognize there are also concerns and limitations regarding Skype use despite its popularity. Only 20% of our survey respondents said they were worried about their Skype conversations being recorded, but 82% said they would be angry if they discovered someone had recorded their conversation without asking permission. This suggested that while most are not concerned about covert recording they would be upset about it and expect conversations to remain private and impermanent. Since video mediated conversations create increased intimacy through being able to see the other person, it also increases pressures put upon participants. 60% of our survey respondents said they worried about how they looked on Skype. One interviewee said, "That's the other plus about the phone. You can kind of look gross and you know, roll out of bed. But with Skype, I mean, if I'm not seeing them often then I want to look like I'm at least somewhat put together somewhat happy with my life." For a casual conversation with friends or family she noted that her level of effort in tending to her appearance would be equivalent to, "I'd say like going to get groceries. [laughter] That kind of effort. Just like getting coffee with someone." For romantic interactions she spent more time preparing but the highest level of appearance preparation was for professional interviews. In addition to needing to look professional (at least from the waist up), she and other interviewees pointed out the need to curate the spaces where they sat for

the interview. Rather than meeting in an office or a neutral space such as a coffee shop, Skype brings the potential employer into the home of the interviewee and that requires attention to things like posters, cleanliness of spaces, and any lifestyle indicators such as alcohol bottles. Phone calls, emails, and even in person interviews do not require the same level of consideration of self-presentation and this intimacy is balanced with the convenience of being able to hold an interview without requiring travel.

In interviews people indicated that they also saw Skype conversations as more burdensome than phone calls because of the requirement to be present and active in the conversation. For example, one college student said, "I need to be doing something with my hands. So a lot of the time yeah I'm doing multiple tasks while I'm on the phone or while I'm Skyping. Although with Skype since it is the computer I feel like I'm forced to sit in front of it." With her partner they have come to an understanding that she simply cannot sit still in front of the computer and is easily distracted. She often cooks or cleans while chatting with him, though sometimes she gets carried away. "Or if I'm gone for five minutes he'll be like, 'Oh she probably forgot that she was cleaning and now she's cleaning and forgot she was in the middle of the Skype.'" However, disappearing during a Skype conversation would be considered rude and much less accepted by people who do not know her as well. Her need to constantly fiddle with things or engage in additional activities like puzzles, cleaning, texting, etc. would also be seen as rude by many Skype users. One solution to this is to Skype without video, however if only one user turns off their video feed many interviewees suggested this created an unfair and uncomfortable dynamic. The ability to judge the other person's reactions and interest is enjoyable when it is mutual but seems to be distressing when it is not.

Despite these and other limitations, Skype and programs like it are still widely used and highly popular. While our survey respondents were from a very limited sample group and our snowball method of gathering interview participants certainly does not reflect the usage and attitudes of everyone using Skype they do reveal some interesting new communicative aspects worth exploring further. It seems clear that technology like Skype can be a powerful way to strengthen relationships and interactions. Despite frequent doomsday claims that online interactions and contemporary technology are making us lonelier and less connected, we found quite the opposite. Families, significant

others, and friends are increasingly spread apart geographically but modern technology is giving us the power to stitch those relationships back together. Free and low cost programs like Skype allow people to travel for jobs, education, and better lifestyle opportunities but still maintain their relationships in meaningful ways. If technology did create geographic and psychological distancing then technology is also providing ways to solve it. We can envision a future where hotels and apartments provide large high quality screens and cameras that allow individuals to be with one another virtually, accompany them to new places, and interact with distant spaces and non-speaking beings with the added convenience of turning it off when we desire privacy and quiet. Such technology makes the world smaller in the sense that it allows us to be in Shanghai while sitting in Paris, but it also makes the world larger in that we can discover so many new people, places, and things through our virtual connected windows. And while we will not likely see Gernsback's fantasy of a world without traffic, inadequate streets, and crowded stores, the technology does provide a way for people to avoid them and still engage meaningfully with the people and world around them.

References

Lipartito, K. (2003). Picturephone and the Information Age: The Social Meaning of Failure. *Technology and Culture*, 44(1): 50-81.

Noll, A.M. (1992). Anatomy of a failure: Picturephone revisited. *Telecommunications Policy*, 16(4): 307-316.

Staff. (2005, June 17). How Skype and Kazaa changed the net. *BBC News*. Retrieved from http://news.bbc.co.uk.

Steele, E. (2013, August 28). Skype Celebrates a Decade of Meaningful Conversations! Retrieved February 2, 2015, from http://blogs.skype.com.

Tannen, D. (2004). Talking the dog: Framing pets as interactional resources in family discourse. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 37(4).

Westfahl, G. (1996). Evolution of Modern Science Fiction: The Textual History of Hugo Gernsback's "Ralph 124C 41+." *Science Fiction Studies*, 23(1): 37-82.

Willems, P. (1999). A Stereoscopic Vision of the Future: Albert Robida's Twentieth Century. *Science Fiction Studies*, 26(3): 354-378.

2. Mobile Communication and Network Privatism: A Literature Review of the Implications for Diverse, Weak and New Ties

Scott W. Campbell
University of Michigan, USA

Abstract: Most of the research on the implications of mobile communication for social networks has focused on its uses and consequences in the intimate realm of close friends, family, and loved ones. A number of scholars have also become interested in ways that mobile communication helps and hinders the broader realm of network connectivity, including diverse, weak, and new ties. A collection of theoretical perspectives on mobile communication and diverse, weak, and new ties proposes that heightened connectivity in the intimate realm can come at the expense of being engaged more broadly – a scenario I characterize as network privatism. At the same time, the available empirical research in the literature tends to tell a different story, or rather stories. This analysis brings theory and empirical findings into closer conversation with one another by reviewing and synthesizing the literature in this area. Observed patterns in the literature offer new insight into questions of mobile communication and network privatism, while also pointing to opportunities for refinement of theory, analysis, and measurement as this line of inquiry further develops.

Keywords: Mobile Communication, Mobile Phone, Cell Phone, Network Privatism, Diversity, Weak Ties, New Ties, Social Networks

Suggested citation: Campbell, S.W. (2015). Mobile communication and network privatism: A literature review of the implications for diverse, weak, and new ties. *Review of Communication Research*, 3(1): 1-21. doi: 10.12840/issn.2255-4165.2015.03.01.006

Mobile communication is a characteristically personal medium with the technological affordance of individual addressability in ways that fixed and even portable media cannot offer. By technological affordance, I mean the distinctive possibilities supported by the characteristics of an object (Gibson, 1979; Ling, 2004; Norman, 1988). Although oftentimes lumped together conceptually, mobile, portable, and fixed platforms offer a distinct set of affordances. Like desktop computers, mobile media are commonly used while anchored to a fixed place. Mobile media are also portable in that they are carried around to be used in different places, like laptop computers. However, mobile communication offers an added layer of flexibility by allowing for flows of information, communication, and content while users are physically in motion and/or carrying out their normal, and not so normal, affairs and activities (Campbell, 2013). While also characteristically flexible in when and where they are used, portable media, such as laptops, are still dependent upon and tethered to places during use, largely because of their greater demands for requisite infrastructure than mobile devices. In this way, mobile communication lowers barriers to direct access to others in distinctive ways, and network interactions can become more seamlessly weaved into the rhythms of everyday life (Ling, 2008).

While much of the research on mobile communication and network ties has focused on social cohesion in the intimate realm of close personal relationships, less work has been undertaken to understand the consequences of the technology for the broader realm of social network connectivity, treated here as diverse, weak, and new ties. That said, there is a budding body ofliterature in this area, including both theoretical propositions and empirical investigations addressing mobile communication's implications for these contours of network breadth. As I explain below, there is a group of theoretical propositions suggesting that mobile communication favors the intimate realm in ways that alter the balance between strong and weak tie connections, to the extent that it may even hinder breadth in network contact when emphasis is placed on the intimate sphere at the expense of being connected outside of it. This is a theme that runs through different, yet related, theoretical lenses. Pulling those arguments together, I characterize this line of thinking as network privatism. Giving a nod to Claude Fischer's (2005) notion of social privatism – where one retreats from public activities in favor of private affairs – I offer the concept of network privatism in reference to the proposition that intensive

mobile communication in the intimate realm of social life can be detrimental for being connected to others more broadly.

So far, only part of this proposition is clearly supported – mobile communication strengthens core ties, who tend to be similar in various ways (see, for example, Ling, 2008; 2012). Much less scholarly attention has been paid to the ramifications for diverse, weak, and new tie contact. The implication, if not explication, in the theory reviewed below is that the tightening of the inner realm of personal ties may come at the expense of being connected more broadly. Unfortunately, very little of the available empirical research provides the opportunity to directly test this zero-sum part of the argument. That said, much of the available research does examine associations between uses of mobile communication and being connected to diverse, weak, and new ties. These types of studies are useful in that they offer the ability to observe associational patterns that can be deemed either consistent or inconsistent with network privatism. For example, a study revealing a positive association between mobile communication and the strengthening of core tie relationships along with a negative association with diverse, weak, or new tie contact would at least be consistent with network privatism, if not in direct support of it. This review reports on and systematically analyzes the existing empirical research that helps depict overarching patterns for their consistency with propositions from various strains of theory that comprise this concept of network privatism.

In addition to confronting theory with findings, this review offers reflection on the way key concepts in this line of inquiry have been treated and measured. As I will demonstrate, the conceptual terrain is rocky. This is to be expected, considering the review was driven by an attempt to identify findings that speak, with varying degrees of explicitness, to this interest in patterns that reflect the role of mobile communication in the inner and outer realms of social life. In some cases the findings are one part of a larger study not directly framed by the theory reviewed here. Some studies are framed by these arguments. As I will explain in the discussion, one of the challenges in trying to answer questions of network privatism is the varying ways in which mobile communication and social connectedness have been conceptualized and measured. This review contributes in mapping out the terrain to help inform and guide future research in this area.

The article will begin with an overview of select theoretical propositions and perspectives centrally concerned with mobile communication and insular network connectivity. While not all may be theories per se, I treat this collection of views as theoretical in nature because they offer (a) explanations and (b) arguments that can be tested through empirical investigation. Following the presentation of the theoretical arguments will be a review and typology of the available research that, collectively, can help take a step forward in confronting theory with empirical data. As noted, there is a dearth of research that fully addresses theoretical propositions that mobile communication in the inner realm detracts from being connected more broadly. However, there is a sufficient amount of relevant work that can help shed light on these dynamics by reflecting broad trends in the findings, usually through statistical associations and ratios, of mobile communication and the extent to which one is connected to diverse and lesser known others. Following the review of the empirical research, the article will end with a discussion offering synthesis and theoretical implications of the findings, as well as insights into the challenges and opportunities for conceptualizing and measuring key indicators of network connectivity and mobile communication behavior.

Before embarking, it is worth noting that the scope of this review was not bounded by any particular form or forms of mobile communication. Although it largely highlights the implications of interpersonal interaction, particularly texting and voice calling, that emphasis is driven by what is available in the literature and not an exclusive interest on my part. To be sure, texting and voice calling are still prominent uses of mobile devices for most, even smartphone owners. Also to be sure, there is a need for more literature in this area that examines expanding features and appropriations of smartphones, not to mention expanding features and appropriations of traditional handsets, which are still highly prevalent in many areas. Furthermore, the review of the empirical findings include those that speak to statistical trends and are available in English. This limitation in scope is not an indication that other research approaches cannot speak to questions of mobile communication and network privatism. Rather, this approach was used to aid in identifying coherent patterns, mostly from surveys and log data.

Theoretical Perspectives on Mobile Communication and Network Privatism

Connected Presence through the Connected Mode of Mobile Communication

Licoppe (2003) advanced the perspective of connected presence as one of the first explanations for how core network interactions, and their meanings, have changed with the emergence of mobile communication as an everyday resource. Drawing from European survey and interview research on both landline and mobile phones, Licoppe identified two primary modes of telephonic interaction among close ties. The "conversational mode" entails long, open-ended, and in-depth personal conversations that occur only occasionally and serve the function of allowing relationships to remain close when individuals are geographically distant. Licoppe pointed out this type of connection is characteristic of the traditional landline phone. Because individuals are anchored to a place (oftentimes the home) and the conversations are lengthy, these types of calls are oftentimes expected, if not scheduled, at a time that works for both parties, such as a daughter calling her parents on Sunday evenings to catch up after moving to a different city.

The "connected mode," on the other hand, involves frequent and brief exchanges that allow friends and family to stay in periodic contact throughout daily life, fostering a sense of "connected presence," or the feeling that a relational link can be activated at any time. Licoppe explained the emergence of the connected mode of telephonic interaction coincides with the rise of mobile communication as a shared resource for maintaining contact with close personal ties. The anytime-anywhere nature of mobile communication allows individuals to weave network connectivity into everyday affairs and activities. This is the case for both voice calling and text messaging, although especially so for the latter because it is asynchronous and less socially intrusive around co-present others.

Both the conversational and connected modes lead to social cohesion, although in very different ways and with different flavors of it. As opposed to the conversational mode, the connected mode is meaningful not so much for the content of the exchange, but for the act itself, which symbolically reifies the core tie relationship. Connected presence also refers to the sense of reas-

surance associated with this practice. Licoppe (2003) argued the continuous nature of short, frequent exchanges is reassuring in that it reaffirms the relationship. As others have also argued, social cohesion is shaped not only by mobile communication usage, but the meanings and expectations associated with it (Habuchi, 2005; Ling, 2012). While Licoppe suggested this feeling of connected presence might be an illusion, he stopped short of proposing explicit negative implications for social life.

From Connected Presence to Bounded Solidarity

Building on Licoppe's argument about connected presence, Ling (2008) delved into deeper theoretical territory by identifying, and explaining, distinctive forms of ritualistic interaction through mobile communication and their consequences for social cohesion among core ties. Using observational and interview data in Europe and the US, Ling pointed to several examples of mobile-mediated ritualistic interaction, such as "good night" texts among romantic partners and unique twists on the construction of humor and repartee. By creating a shared mood and sense of engagement, this ritualistic element of connected presence deepens the symbolic meaning of mobile-mediated exchanges, leading to increased social cohesion among close ties.

Ling further argued that through ritualistic flows of mobile interaction, a group ethic – even a group ideology – can form within core networks. Small decisions and actions that were once an individual matter become part of the group's consciousness as they are worked into the continual flow of network interaction. While the shared mood and attention from these flows translate into greater solidarity in the intimate sphere, Ling argued this solidarity is also highly bounded in ways that can detract from broader social connection. According to Ling (2008),

> we see that there is a tightening in the individual's social network that augurs against those who are marginally known to us and in favor of those who are familiar. That is, we are perhaps seeing the development of bounded solidarity... the potential for the clique to be so focused on its own interactions that the so-called weak-link connections are neglected. (p. 176)

Ling's perspective of bounded solidarity both deepens and broadens the foundational thinking advanced in Licoppe's (2003) connected presence. It deepens that framework by clarifying one of the key mechanisms, i.e., ritual interaction, through which the connected mode can lead to social cohesion among core ties. At the same time, Ling's notion of bounded solidarity broadens the theoretical lens by going beyond core ties to argue about negative implications for contact with lesser known others with the proposition that weak links can be "neglected."

Telecocooning

Whereas Licoppe's and Ling's arguments were constructed with observations in Europe and the US, Habuchi (2005) advanced a complementary framework, telecocooning, from the perspective of Japanese youth. Drawing from interview and survey data, Habuchi tracked a cultural shift when Japanese youth transitioned from wireless pagers (a.k.a. "beepers") to keitai, the Japanese term for mobile telephony – particularly mobile mail, which is essentially the same as texting in terms of user experience and meaning. The most notable change in social relations was movement away from unsolicited contact with unknown others "toward a culture of a more intimate cast, which relied on connections with existing acquaintances" (p. 173). Habuchi explained that pagers were used as a means of meeting new people looking to make friends or have romantic encounters. The limited and fixed range of pager contact information allowed users to randomly reach out to unknown others, whereas keitai, on the other hand, has a much more complicated and wider range of possibilities for user contact information. Instead of reaching out to new ties, Habuchi found that Japanese youth tended to use keitai to maintain continual contact with their close ties. Habuchi (2005) explained, "There is a zone of intimacy in which people can continuously maintain their relationships with others who they have already encountered without being restricted by geography and time; I call this a telecocoon" (p. 167). Habuchi further reported these networks tend not to be very diverse, with survey data showing that, "People who form telecocoons do not feel that their interests and ways of thinking differ from people around them" (p. 179).

Habuchi (2005) pointed out that although pagers better supported randomly reaching out to unknown others, keitai does offer increased possibilities

for making new friends by opening up a wider range of interaction in different social arenas. Despite these possibilities for connecting with new people, the dominant trend for keitai use was telecocooning. Habuchi argued this practice must be understood as developing on the terrain of youth culture back when pagers were popular. That is, unlimited possibilities for meeting new people fostered a sense of insecurity that one was always replaceable as an intimate, creating a dependence on existing interpersonal relationships. Much like with the case of connected presence, telecocooning through keitai offers social reassurance, i.e., a sense of security through being socially connected.

Compared to Ling (2008), the suggestion that mobile communication actually takes away from breadth in network contact is less explicit in Habuchi's original discussion of telecocoons. We get the sense that these types of networks do not allow for the inclusion of others who have different "interests and ways of thinking," but this might also be explained by the notion that "birds of a feather flock together" (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001). Recently, Kobayashi and Boase (2014) more explicitly pushed Habuchi's telecocooning perspective in the zero-sum direction by proposing that "the resources people have to spend on personal communication are finite," which can lead to the strengthening of existing strong ties "at the expense of interactions with others who are less familiar" (p. 682).

Monadic Clusters

Gergen (2008) theorized about implications of mobile communication as a resource for maintaining "floating worlds" (Gergen, 2003) of communication through continuous contact with close friends and family. Gergen (2008) later characterized these floating worlds as "monadic clusters," defining them as small and tightly knit enclaves oflike-minded core ties that use mobile communication to stay continually connected. He warned that monadic clusters can be formed and maintained at the expense of interaction with others in one's physical surroundings. He explained, "The individual may move through the day relatively disengaged from those about him or her, as physically absent participants in the favored cluster are immanently present" (p. 302). Under these conditions, matters outside of one's core network of continual contact recede in importance.

At the same time that they are believed to restrict the scope of one's social outlook, "these atomic clusters of communication are powerful implements for creating and sustaining circumscribed realities, values, and logics" (Gergen, 2008, p. 303). This point strongly resonates with Ling's (2008) proposition about the development of a group ethic and ideology through bounded solidarity. Gergen's concern is that these realities, values, and logics are constructed in a univocal social environment through the process of circular affirmation. In other words, continual contact with core ties who tend to have shared views translates into a discussion environment that is not only closed, but also characteristically like-minded and overly affirming. Gergen warned that the cultural drift toward monadic clusters also has important ramifications for democratic process by hypothesizing it can lead to the disruption of open dialogue outside of one's core network oflike-minded others, as well as political detachment. As in other cases, Gergen's thinking about monadic clusters presents us with the notion of a zero-sum game. In this case, mobile communication constrains diversity by detracting attention from broader realms of social order.

Confronting Theory with Empirical Findings

Collectively, the perspectives reviewed above portray a rather grim outlook regarding mobile communication and network breadth – and the other side of the coin, network privatism. While there may be much to celebrate about social cohesion among core ties, highly privatized network connectivity through mobile communication is theorized as being detrimental for exposure to diverse views, staying connected to weak ties, and engaging with new people. This review addresses the need for a close reading of the empirical evidence available for testing this proposition. Although much of the available evidence is not in direct conversation with these theories (i.e., not derived from studies directly framed by them), it does provide the opportunity to reflect on the degree to which trends in the findings are consistent with theoretical arguments. This is especially the case in studies that offer the ability to detect negative associations between mobile communication and network breadth. Although associations in the research are oftentimes arrived at through cross-sectional surveys, they at least provide the opportunity to test for consistency between theory and evidence, if not causality. Other studies in this review were better

designed for illustrating the imbalance between reaching in and reaching out socially through mobile communication, rather than one occurring at the expense of the other. Although these types of studies do not help test zero-sum hypotheses, their findings are still considered useful in understanding the relative importance of mobile communication in connecting with strong, weak, diverse, and new ties.

The next part of this article will review relevant research offering statistical trends for mobile communication and network privatism – demarcated by the contours of diverse, weak, and new ties. The review's focus on the implications of mobile communication for diverse, weak, and new tie contact comes out of a thematic analysis of the work, which yielded those three categories related to network privatism. Within that typology, I also approached the review with an eye toward categorizing the findings as evidence of mobile communication either constraining or supporting each of those three forms of network connectivity. Through the process of thematically arranging the findings along these lines, a third category emerged, which I will refer to as the overshadowed category of findings. In these cases, patterns in the evidence tend not to suggest that mobile communication constrains or supports breadth in network connectivity. Instead, insignificant associations between mobile communication and diverse, weak, and new tie contact are essentially overshadowed by more dramatic findings for the role of the technology in strengthening contact with close personal and homogenous ties. Also, in that category of research, the insignificant role that mobile communication plays in broader network contact is overshadowed by significant findings for other communication formats and channels (e.g., computers) that are more likely to support diverse, weak, and new tie contact. The results from the overshadowed category, as well as those from the other two categories of constraint and support, may not directly test zero-sum propositions of network privatism. However, they do offer a glimpse at whether collective patterns in the research are consistent with them, or perhaps push us in some other direction for understanding how mobile communication alters the social equilibrium between the inner and outer realms of network connections.

Mobile Communication and Network Diversity

Constraint

With regard to network diversity, Kobayashi and Boase (2014) found texting among Japanese youth to be related to an attitudinal aspect of constraint in that frequent daily texting was associated with less tolerance for diverse views and opinions. This finding comes out of a crosssectional survey (in 2009), and is one of the few studies framed explicitly by theory reviewed above. In this case, the authors drew from Habuchi's (2005) argument about telecocooning to hypothesize that heavy texting among Japanese youth would be associated with less tolerance for views that differ from their own. This orientation is a cognitive manifestation of telecocooning that, theoretically, could have negative implications for network diversity if this intolerant attitude causes one to avoid those who might have or express alternative views. Although this correlation does not establish a causal flow from texting to intolerance, it is at least consistent with propositions that heavy texting among core ties can detract from diversity, keeping in mind that texting mostly occurs among closer ties. It is also worth noting that in this case the authors examined openness to diverse views, an attitudinal indicator of constraint that differs from the more commonly used approach of structural indicators of one's network environment.

Overshadowed

A larger portion of the research in this area offers no empirical evidence that mobile communication constrains or supports network diversity. This section highlights ways in which mobile communication's role in network diversity is not so much constraining, but rather not very meaningful, empirically speaking. In some cases, the studies in this section allowed for the detection of constraint, or at least correlational patterns consistent with constraint, but yielded no significant findings for mobile communication hindering or supporting network diversity. Instead, those insignificant results tend to be overshadowed by significant findings for other channels that do support network diversity. In some cases, studies included in this section were geared for portraying the equilibrium, or ratio, of one's connectedness to others who are either similar or dissimilar in select ways. Although this ratio-oriented approach is not

equipped to answer questions about the reduction of diversity in zero-sum fashion, it does allow for examination of the ways that mobile communication may "tip the balance" toward the homophilous inner realm of personal relationships – if not at the expense of diverse ties then at least in ways that overshadow them.

Using a longitudinal (2002-2005) survey of adults in Japan, Miyata, Boase, and Wellman (2008) compared the effects of reported PC and mobile mail (i.e., texting) on the structural condition of occupational diversity among known others. The authors found that, over time, self-reported daily use of mobile mail had no effect on occupational diversity, while PC email had a positive effect. These findings were believed to have implications for diversity more broadly, considering people with different social backgrounds often take on different occupations.

Employing a strategy from the General Social Survey, Hampton, Sessions, and Ja Her (2011) captured diversity as the number of non-kin core network ties, arguing that non-kin-centric networks offer a more diverse range of perspectives and resources than kin-centric networks. Drawing from a national survey in the US in 2008, the authors examined how self-report measures of information and communication technology (ICT) ownership and use at home and at work were associated with having non-kin discussion partners, as well as having at least one political discussion partner with differing partisanship. Consistent with the preceding study, the authors found no associations between mobile communication and indicators of network diversity, while internet users were significantly more likely to have a non-kin tie with whom to discuss important matters.

Also using this kin and non-kin approach to diversity, Hampton and Ling (2013) offered an international perspective with cross-sectional survey data from large samples of adults in the US, Norway, and Ukraine (in 2008). Findings showed that mobile voice calling was consistently associated with having more kin, i.e., homogenous, core discussion ties across the three societies. Frequency of use for various other channels was also examined, including email, instant messaging, social network sites, and texting. While those other channels sporadically predicted greater kin and/or non-kin ties across the samples, mobile voice was the only technological channel universally associated with number of kin ties across all of them. It is also worth noting that none of

the channels examined in the study negatively predicted kin or non-kin core network ties, which were measured independently of kin ties.

So far, the studies in this section tell a story consistent with propositions that mobile communication favors less diverse ties, but not in a way that reduces the level of diversity, or number of diverse ties, in one's network. While the research discussed so far provided (unfulfilled) opportunities for negative associations between mobile communication and diversity, there are also others in this section that do not, but rather reveal complementary trends in the ratio of similar and dissimilar others contacted through mobile communication. For example, Ling and Stald (2010) investigated whether mobile voice calling was associated with a higher proportion of core network ties who knew one another – or as they termed it, network "tightness." The presumption here is that this type of integration has implications for diversity in that more diffuse networks should offer a wider range of unique resources and potential for second-order connections. Using a cross-sectional survey of randomly selected Norwegians in 2008/9, Ling and Stald (2010) found that daily voice calling with core ties was associated with having a less diffuse (i.e., more inter-connected) core network. This evidence does not suggest that voice calling necessarily takes away from having more diffuse networks, only that it is more supportive of contact with network ties who know one another. Notably, frequency of texting was not associated with network tightness, while use of email and instant messenger – which at the time were more commonly done on a computer – were associated with having more diffuse networks.

Shifting attention to socio-demographic diversity, Ling, Bertels, and Sundsoy (2012) investigated the ratio of texts exchanged between individuals according to their age and sex. Using anonymized traffic data from millions of users in Norway in 2007 and 2009, the authors found a notable degree of socio-demographic homophily among texting partners, such that the flows of messages were much denser among those of similar age and the same sex. They noted age homophily to be particularly strong among teens and gender homophily particularly strong among females.

Ling, Sundsoy, Bjelland, and Campbell (2014) examined mobile communication and geographic diversity using Norwegian traffic data that logged the residential distance of all mobile voice calling and texting partners during a three-month period in 2011. Findings show that both voice calls and texts were predominantly exchanged among individuals who lived in close proxi-

mity to one another. Relatively few calls and texts went to those who lived beyond a postal code away.

Taken as a whole, the studies in this section of the literature support the perspective that mobile communication favors the inner, homophilous realm of social life, but not necessarily at the expense of having more diverse ties and contacts. Through comparisons with other channels, we see that select uses of mobile communication distinctively support being connected to others with shared characteristics. At the same time, the tests fail to yield negative associations between mobile communication and diversity. Favoring of homophily is also evident through the various ratios reflecting the density of mobile-mediated exchanges with similar and dissimilar others. Turning to the central question at hand, these studies do not support a zero-sum perspective on mobile communication and network privatism. Rather, they are more consistent with the idea that mobile communication has the capacity to tip the balance toward supporting contact with homophilous network ties, but not necessarily at the expense of diverse others.

Supportive

Contrary to theoretical propositions embedded in bounded solidarity (Ling, 2008), monadic clusters (Gergen, 2008), and telecocooning (Habuchi, 2005; Kobayashi & Boase, 2014), a handful of studies in the literature related to mobile communication and diversity suggest ways that the technology can support greater breadth of social encounters and network resources. The earliest in this section of the literature is Igarashi, Takai, and Yoshida's (2007) longitudinal survey of undergraduate law students in Japan. Participants were asked to report on the friends they interacted with via mobile texting and face to face, as well as the density within those sets of contacts in terms of who knew whom. Similar to the case of Ling and Stald (2010), more diffuse networks are presumed here to offer a more diverse range of unique resources. Igarashi et al. (2007) found fewer within-network linkages amongst ties maintained by both mobile texting and face-to-face contact, compared to those who only met face to face. The implication is that texting, when added to face-to-face contact, was used to support a more diverse arrangement of network resources, if not network ties.

A study by Hampton, Lee, and Ja Her (2011) helps to further develop this storyline by examining whether mobile communication, and other ICTs, might help or hinder diversity through an indirect pathway. Among other things, the authors examined mobile communication and the occupational diversity of one's broad set of network of contacts through a representative cross-sectional 2007/8 survey of adults in the US. Mobile communication was conceptualized in terms of participants having mobile only, landline only, or being dual users. The authors initially found that being mobile-only had no direct association with network diversity, while internet and social networking site use were associated with increased diversity. If the authors had stopped there, the study would belong in the previous category of results, with an insignificant finding for mobile communication overshadowed by significant findings for other channels. However, they extended the analysis, and found mobile ownership to be indirectly associated with increased diversity through local, public, religious, and volunteer social encounters. Although it is important to bear in mind the cross-sectional nature of the data, the authors interpreted the finding as evidence that mobile communication may support traditional forms of social involvement outside of the home, which then translates into greater breadth in the backgrounds of one's social ties.

Around the same time the study above was conducted Campbell and Kwak (2011b) collected a wave of representative survey data from adults in the US involving measures for mobile communication and network characteristics, among other things. One of the findings in their study is that using mobile communication for exchanges about politics and public affairs with close ties (or individuals they felt relationally close to and discussed personal issues with) was positively associated with the political diversity of their core network. In this case, diversity was captured through the proportion of close ties who shared political views with the focal person of an ego-centric network, and political discussion included all channels of mobile mediation – voice, text, or otherwise. As with the indirect link uncovered by Hampton et al. (2011), we see evidence pointing to the possibility that mobile communication may play a supportive role in network diversity, although this interpretation is restricted by the context of political views and the cross-sectional nature of the data.

Drawing from propositions of bounded solidarity (Ling, 2008), Lee (2014) also offered a glimpse into a specific social context in her survey of

Korean immigrants in the US. Among other things, the author took an interest in whether mobile voice and texting with strong host ties (who they were in contact with frequently) and weak host ties (with less frequent contact) were associated with having a more ethnically diverse overall network. Both texting and calling yielded positive associations with this indicator of diversity.

Collectively, the findings from this section of the literature tell a notably different story about mobile communication and network diversity than those in the constraint and overshadowed categories. As opposed to theoretical propositions of network constraint, these studies shift the lens toward some of the potential benefits of mobile communication for having a diverse range of network ties, resources, and encounters.

Mobile Communication and Weak Ties

Constraint

As with diversity, there is not an abundance of empirical evidence showing that mobile communication constrains contact with weak ties. In fact, the only empirical evidence in this direction lies in Kobayashi and Boase's (2014) survey of Japanese youth. In addition to finding less tolerance with daily texting (reviewed earlier), the authors found evidence that texting may be supportive of a cognitive social outlook that prioritizes strong ties over weak ties and unknown individuals. To help validate a measure of trust in most people, the authors included a follow-up item asking what kind of people came to mind when envisioning "most people." For more frequent texters, "most people" tended to conjure an image of closer ties, while less frequent texters were more inclusive of weaker ties and unknown others in their outlook. The authors interpreted these findings as supportive of the telecocooning perspective, with mobile communication leading to a more insular social outlook, although the empirical support here only goes as far as correlation allows.

Overshadowed

As with the literature on diversity, the findings in the area of weak ties have a greater tendency to populate the overshadowed category than that for constraint. In these cases, mobile communication is more consistently associated with stronger tie contact, but not necessarily at the expense of weak tie contact.

Also, other channels sometimes stand out as being more useful than mobile communication for supporting weak ties. For example, in their comparison of reported daily mobile mail use with PC email use in Japan, Miyata, Boase, Wellman, and Ikeda (2005) concluded that PC email supported weak tie contact, while mobile mail neither fostered nor detracted from it. Using wave 1 data (in 2002) from Miyata et al.'s (2008) longitudinal survey, the authors used new year's greeting cards sent as an indicator of weak ties, finding a positive association with frequency of PC email use, but no association with mobile mail.

With a more exclusive focus on mobile communication, Boase and Kobayashi (2012) reported on findings showing voice calling to be predominantly used to support family ties, but not weaker ties. Log data and questionnaires from samples of adults in the US and Japan were collected in 2011 to identify mobile voice events with "family, work, or other," as well as whether those contacts were strong ties (i.e., who they enjoyed socializing with) or weak ties (i.e., who they did not enjoy socializing with). Across the samples, mobile voice was predominantly used among family ties, but not for maintaining more relationally distant ties. While this comparison indicates that the use of mobile voice may favor family, it does not suggest this occurs at the expense of weak tie contact. That is, the study was designed to capture mobile communication's role in the balance between strong and weak tie contact rather than concerns about deterioration on either end. Thus, there is evidence of overshadowing and an imbalance in the use of mobile communication with strong and weak ties, but we cannot discern whether there is any reduction in weak tie contact.

Shifting the lens from voice calls to texting, Ling, Bertels, and Sundsoy (2012) also captured actual (vs. reported) usage to examine the distribution of messages exchanged. Using a comprehensive snapshot of texting traffic in Norway during a period in 2007, the authors found that most texts went to very few people, with half of an individual's messages going to only five persons on average. The authors interpreted the dense flows of interaction within these small clusters as reflective of intensive strong tie contact through texting. Outside of a small network of very frequent texting partners, there tended to be a long-tail distribution of far lesser contacted texting partners, which were interpreted as weak ties. The authors concluded that this notable pattern in the traffic data indicates texting as means of primarily supporting

strong ties, which overshadowed the findings for weak ties. Like the study above, this one was better suited to depict balance, or proportion, in one's mobile network connectivity rather than actual reductions in network breadth. The findings are part of a larger pattern, but cannot speak to whether notably dense texting with close ties might come at the expense of texting with weak ties.

The collection of studies reflecting the overshadowed perspective for weak ties somewhat parallels that for the portion ofliterature dealing with network diversity. As with diversity, there is evidence that PC email has been supportive of network breadth, while mobile mail has been more supportive of contact within the inner circle of strong ties. Furthermore, there is little evidence in these studies that mobile communication, with regard to texting and voice calling at least, substantially supports or detracts from weak tie contact, only that it supports it far less if at all. That said, it is important to bear in mind that only the first in this set of studies (Miyata et al., 2005) provided the opportunity for negative associations between mobile communication and having weak network ties; the others were designed to reflect imbalance in the ways mobile communication is used to support strong and weak ties.

Supportive

In addition to those above, there is also a handful of studies pointing to the capacity of mobile communication to be supportive of weak tie contact. In their 2005 crosssectional survey of 501 high schoolers in Tokyo, Boase and Kobayashi (2008) examined the use of mobile mail for bonding with close ties, bridging with weak ties, and breaking off with network ties. The authors noted that 70% of participants disagreed that mobile mail decreased friends they were not close to. Surprisingly, staying in contact with recently met weaker ties explained a significant amount of variance of texting among the most intensive users of mobile mail, while bonding and breaking with ties did not. These findings provide evidence that texting, among Japanese youth at least, may play a supportive role in maintaining contact with recently met ties who lie outside the intimate realm of strong ties.

The authors also provided evidence of the possibility of support in their more recent experimental project aimed at understanding how distinctive affordances of smartphones can be harnessed to foster weak tie contact (Ko-

bayashi, Boase, Suzuki, & Suzuki, 2013). Using a sample of adult smartphone users in Japan in 2012, they logged all mobile voice, text, and Gmail contact. For the treatment condition, an application prompted users with periodic messages asking if they would like to stay in touch with ties they had been in contact with via mobile, although infrequently, in the last 60 days. The authors later compared self-reported overall weak tie contact across the treatment and control (i.e., no prompt) conditions, finding significantly higher reported levels of contact with and information from weak ties (who they were not particularly friendly with) among participants in the treatment group. While highly innovative, this type of experimental approach does not exactly add to our understanding of how mobile communication affects weak tie contact in actual everyday usage. Instead, the authors interpreted the findings as new possibilities for smartphones to mitigate telecocooning through the use of expanded features beyond calling and texting.

Turning attention to political discussion, Campbell and Kwak (2012) used a longitudinal survey of adults in the US in 2008 to investigate how mobile-mediated political exchanges within close personal networks, via any feature, influenced discussing politics with individuals outside of their core network (whom they did not know well). Findings showed that mobile-mediated political exchanges in large networks oflike-minded strong ties lead to increased political discussion with weak ties. The authors interpreted the finding as an alternative storyline to Gergen's (2008) theorizing about monadic clusters. Whereas Gergen argued that mobile communication can envelope individuals into insular networks of close ties, closing off engagement in external dialogue, these findings suggest an alternative scenario. They suggest that, under certain network conditions, mobile communication with strong ties can help open up the flows of political discussion, possibly by boosting the salience of public affairs that are germane to all types of discussion partners. Along with the others in this section, that study highlights the potential of mobile communication for enhancing weak tie contact, albeit in the context of political discussion.

Mobile Communication and New Ties

Constraint

As with the other cases, the findings for mobile communication's capacity to constrain new tie contact is relatively thin. Two studies emerged in the literature review – one examined the behavioral indicator of talking with new people in public, while the other was centrally interested in the attitudinal indicator of being cautious of unknown others.

To investigate how patterns and places of mobile communication affect encounters with strangers in public places, Campbell and Kwak (2011a) collected two waves of survey data in 2008 from a demographically representative sample of adults in the US. The authors examined whether variance in reported public conversations could be explained by different purposes for mobile communication, including grooming relationships, coordination, and information about news and public affairs. The findings revealed that higher levels of cultivating relationships (through either voice or text) had a negative effect on the reported frequency of conversations with unknown others in public. As I discuss in the supportive section below, the negative effect of relational use is unique from the findings for coordination and informational use of mobile technology, which were also included in the analysis.

Beyond that behavioral component of network privatism, there is one other piece from Kobayashi and Boase (2014) that has not yet been discussed. In addition to findings for decreased social tolerance and a constrained social outlook bounded by strong ties (which were reviewed earlier), the authors found heavier reported daily texting among Japanese youth to be associated with higher mean scores on the social caution scale (Yamagishi & Yamagishi, 1994). This attitudinal orientation of being cautious of unknown others might, theoretically at least, serve as a barrier for reaching out to meet new people and developing new relationships. Along with the other findings from that study, the authors interpreted the results as supportive of the telecocooning perspective (Habuchi, 2005).

Although they differ markedly in their approaches, these studies offer complementary insights into the potential for mobile communication to hinder contact with new people. That is, one might interpret the findings as reflective of how increased focus on the intimate realm can detract from attending to the

broader social environment, both behaviorally and cognitively. While supported in these two cases, this zero-sum interpretation does not hold up well in the rest of the studies dealing with new ties.

Overshadowed

The literature reflecting the overshadowed perspective on mobile communication and new ties largely attempts to situate the role of mobile media in the context of other formats, including PCs, laptops, and face-to-face interaction. These studies reflect the overshadowed perspective in that those other formats tend to be more useful, or used more, than mobile communication for contact with new people. Also, mobile communication's role in staying connected with existing ties outweighs that which it plays in forming new relationships and interacting with strangers, although only some studies in this section were designed to detect a decline in new tie contact associated with use of mobile communication.

As part of their longitudinal survey of adults in Japan, Miyata et al. (2008) investigated the extent to which reported frequency of mobile mail and PC email were supportive in forming new relationships that offer new kinds of resources. The authors found that mobile mail use was not related to forming new supportive ties, although they did note a high degree of mobile mail use among existing supportive ties. These results suggest an overshadowing trend, or imbalance, in mobile mail's capacity to support existing and new ties, but not in a zero-sum fashion, considering mobile mail use was not negatively associated with new ties. In this case, PC email was not associated with forming new ties either, although over time it did lead to a wider variety of support from network ties.

In their multi-wave survey of undergraduate law students in Japan, Igarashi et al. (2007) compared the size and other structural characteristics of network contacts maintained through mobile texting and face-to-face interaction. The number of both face-to-face and texting ties grew over the course of the term, although texting networks developed and integrated more slowly than face-to-face networks and tended to contain more cliques. More evidence of constraint was possible in that there was an opportunity to observe a reduction in the size of texting networks over time. Instead, those networks

grew with the addition of new ties, only at a rate that was overshadowed by face-to-face networks.

Ishii's (2006) longitudinal survey of youth and adults in Japan 2001-2003 included analysis of user perceptions about the capacity of PC and mobile mail for connecting with new and existing ties. PC email was perceived to be significantly, if not substantially, more useful than mobile mail for developing new relationships leading to in-person contact, maintaining contact with friends never met face to face, and making new friends in general. On the other hand, mobile mail stood out as significantly more useful for strengthening relationships among people who were already known. Like those above, these findings present a discernable pattern reflective of the overshadowed analytic category. Use of mobile mail for strengthening existing relationships overshadows its use for making new ties, while PC mail overshadows mobile in its capacity to interact with unknown others and make new friends. At the same time, this approach of comparing perceptions across media did not allow for constraint to be detected, much less zero-sum dynamics.

Shifting attention to conversations with new people in public, Hampton, Livio, and Sessions Goulet (2010) used systematically coded observations of mobile and portable wireless media users in select public parks, plazas, and markets in four North American cities in 2007. One area of their findings shows that users of wireless portable devices (e.g., laptops) were twice as likely (10%) to interact with a stranger than those using mobile devices (5%). It is difficult to say whether supportive (for laptop) or dampening (for mobile) effects explain this trend. If the former or neither, this finding may be interpreted as evidence of overshadowing. If the latter, this finding may be better suited in the section above for the ways mobile communication can constrain encounters with new people. Regardless, the studies in this section come together in ways that bolster a notable theme in the research. Mobile communication's role in connecting with new and unknown others is overshadowed by the role of other media, not to mention mobile communication's role in supporting contact with existing known ties.

Supportive

There is limited empirical evidence of mobile communication serving as a helpful resource for developing new relationships and talking with new peo-

ple. One contribution comes from Boase and Kobayashi's (2008) crosssectional survey of Tokyo high school students, where over half (54%) agreed that mobile mail helped them make new friends outside of school. An even larger majority (68%) agreed that mobile mail was at least somewhat helpful in keeping relationships with newly met people. In fact, this number is only slightly lower than those who agreed that mobile mail allowed them to develop stronger relationships with close friends (70%). The authors also reported that intensive daily use of mobile mail explained a significant amount of bridging, operationalized as a combined measure of the items for making and keeping new friends. Notably, this was not the case for bonding or breaking with new ties.

Additional evidence of mobile communication supporting encounters with new people can be seen in Campbell and Kwak's (2011a) longitudinal survey of US adults. As noted above, in this study heavier use of the mobile phone for social grooming led to decreased encounters with unknown others in public. On the other hand, uses for coordination and for news both had positive effects on the reported frequency of conversations with strangers in public. Furthermore, the authors found a positive interaction effect between use for news and general use in public, suggesting that getting news via mobile while in public may heighten the salience of public affairs content and one's motivation for sharing it, in the moment, with others.

These studies offer insight into very different social and technological contexts where mobile communication may play a supportive role in different aspects of new tie contact. On the one hand, there is evidence that texting among Japanese youth may help in making and keeping new friends. On the other hand, adults in the US were using mobile communication for specific purposes, i.e., news and coordination, that fostered spontaneous encounters with unknown others in public. The different contexts make it difficult to characterize these studies as evidence of a coherent pattern, although they do point to notable instances of mobile communication supporting engagement with new ties and unknown others.

Discussion

The findings in this review suggest that answers to questions about the role of mobile communication in broader network contact are not simple, with evi-

dence consistent with claims that it can both help and hinder connections to diverse, weak, and new ties. Beyond that, many of the findings belong to an emergent category with no significant results one way or the other. While the studies in this overshadowed category do not point to a meaningful relationship between mobile communication and broader network contact, they do highlight the usefulness of other channels in this regard as well as the notably important role of mobile communication in maintaining contact with existing core ties. Table 1 illustrates that this overshadowed scenario stands out as the most prominent trend the findings, followed by the supportive category and then evidence that mobile communication might constrain broader network connectivity. As I will discuss, this collective view of the research offers grounds for preliminary interpretations that have theoretical implications for our understanding how mobile communication, or at least select aspects of it, contribute and/or detract from the range and nature of one's social environment. Synthesis and interpretation of the findings will be discussed next, beginning with the a priori categories of constraint and support, followed by the emergent and more robust overshadowed category.

The only consistent evidence of constraint toward network privatism was with attitudinal indicators examined in Kobayashi and Boase's (2014) tests of the telecocooning hypothesis. Reported daily texting was associated with less social tolerance, greater social caution, and a more narrow social orientation among Japanese youth. These findings differ notably from nearly all of the others located in the literature, which might be explained by the way its design was informed by theory. The authors tested aspects of Habuchi's (2005) telecocooning perspective, which advanced an underlying cognitive mechanism, i.e., insecurity, as an explanation for the way young people (in Japan) have appropriated old and new network technologies for developing and maintaining social connections. Habuchi (2005) argued the practice of telecocooning offers a sense of relational reassurance and social identity among teens, similar to the reassurance Licoppe (2003) argued with connected presence. The suggestion here is that telecocooning can be partly explained by dynamics at play in the social psychology of youth, which is where Kobayashi and Boase (2014) looked for evidence of constraint. Unlike most other studies, with an interest in network structure and social behavior, the authors took a uniquely psychological approach to understanding how texting is linked to one's social attitudes and orientations.

Although they somewhat stand on their own, the trends in Kobayashi and Boase's (2014) study are coherent and point to the need for more work in this area to be done with a focus on cognitive mechanisms and psychological outcomes. It might be that consequences of mobile communication for network connections and contacts flow through cognitive orientations toward the intimate and non-intimate realms of social life.

Table 1. Sources of Empirical Findings by Category

	Diverse Ties	**Weak Ties**	**New Ties**
Constraint	Kobayashi & Boase (2014)	Kobayashi & Boase (2014)	Kobayashi & Boase (2014)
			Campbell & Kwak (2011a)
Overshadowed	Ling, Bertels & Sundsoy (2012)	Boase & Kobayashi (2012)	Hampton, Livio & Sessions Goulet (2010)
	Ling & Stald (2010)	Ling, Bertels & Sundsoy (2012)	Igarashi, Takai & Yoshida (2007)
	Ling, Sundsoy, Bjelland & Campbell (2014)	Miyata, Boase, Wellman & Ikeda (2005)	Ishii (2006)
	Hampton & Ling (2013)		Miyata, Boase & Wellman (2008)
	Hampton, Sessions & Ja Her (2011)		
	Miyata, Boase & Wellman (2008)		
Supportive	Campbell & Kwak (2011b)	Boase & Kobayashi (2008)	Boase & Kobayashi (2008)
	Hampton, Lee & Ja Her (2011)	Campbell & Kwak (2012)	Campbell & Kwak (2011)
	Igarashi, Takai & Yoshida (2007)	Kobayashi, Boase, Suzuki & Suzuki (2013)	
	Lee (2014)		

Only one other study (Campbell & Kwak, 2011a) indicated network constraint, with frequent mobile communication for maintaining personal relationships leading to fewer conversations with new people in public settings. Like Boase and Kobayashi's (2014), this one is unique from others in the literature – in this case by accounting for the nature of the content of mobile-mediated exchanges rather than the particular channel used. The finding for social grooming maps onto theoretical propositions that an emphasis on the

intimate realm of relationships detracts from engaging more broadly. It may be that these theoretical expectations were fulfilled in this case, whereas not in most others, because the measurement of mobile communication was more conceptually sensitive than those that captured mere frequency of use. Whereas most of the research tends to be concerned with the effects (or in many cases associations) of frequent texting and/or voice calling, Campbell and Kwak (2011a) showed that social outcomes of mobile communication, in this case engaging with others in public, can be highly dependent upon what people do through the technology, rather than with it. Considering the existing emphasis on overall texting and calling frequency, there is an opportunity for future research to provide new insights by incorporating more content patterns into the study design and linking them to indicators of network connections and encounters.

Because it offers more findings, the evidence of mobile communication supporting diverse, weak, and new tie contact provides a better opportunity for synthesis in order to identify trends and explanations. On the surface, the evidence for support may seem contradictory to that of constraint, but this is not necessarily the case. For example, Campbell and Kwak's (2011a) negative effect for relational use, discussed directly above, is accompanied by findings showing that mobile communication for news and for coordination each had a positive effect on conversations with strangers in public. These findings help reinforce the point that using a content-centered approach to conceptualizing and measuring mobile-mediated exchanges can be a fruitful way of shifting the conversation from whether to how mobile communication helps or hinders breadth in network connectivity.

Another area where we see this kind of support is in the studies of Japanese students conducted by Igarashi et al. (2007) and Boase and Kobayashi (2008). In the case of Igarashi et al., texting, when added to face-to-face contact, helped lead to more diffuse social networks, while Boase and Kobayashi found evidence of weak tie development through texting. It is highly possible that these findings were shaped by the nature of the samples, particularly with regard to the young age of participants. As Ling (2004, 2005) explained, adolescence is a very distinctive period of social and physical maturation in which young people broaden their horizons as they experience new freedoms, develop a sense of personal identity, and expand the territories of peer interaction. Others have explained unique mobile communication practices

among teens as shaped by the structures, institutions, and practices of youth culture (Goggin & Crawford, 2011). From both perspectives, mobile communication has come to play a central role in the ways that youth construct and navigate their distinctive social landscape, and the complementary pieces of empirical evidence that texting can broaden teen social circles may well be a reflection of this. At the same time, there are the strikingly different trends in Kobayashi and Boase's (2014) study of texting and cognitive manifestations of telecocooning among Japanese youth, which as noted above warrants further investigation into differences between and relationships among attitudinal, structural, and behavioral indicators of network connectivity.

One strategy researchers may use to help explain these seemingly divergent trends, and to build on this line of inquiry more generally, is to design more robust analytic models through inclusion of mediating and moderating effects of key variables. Two studies in the support category of findings point to the potential of mediating and moderating effects for providing insight where direct and main associations fall short. In the case of Hampton et al. (2011), mobile phone ownership was not directly associated with network diversity, however it was indirectly related to it through participation in local community activities. In the case of Campbell and Kwak (2012), significant effects were observed only after moderating variables were included to account for network characteristics. Accordingly, it may be useful for future research to place greater emphasis on indirect and interactive associations to help fill in the gaps. In particular, this approach may reveal that consequences of mobile communication for diverse, weak, and new ties flow through and/or differ across cognitive orientations and social outlooks.

As opposed to the categories of constraint and support, the findings from the overshadowed perspective do little to indicate whether and how mobile communication helps or hinders the development of broader networks of diverse and lesser known others. These studies tend to emphasize the intensive support given to the innermost realm of social ties through mobile communication, with some evidence that other ICT channels offer greater capacity to support broader network contact and structure. While several of the studies in the overshadowed category provided opportunities to detect network constraint, others did not, but they still help portray an image of imbalance in the role that mobile communication plays in the inner and outer realms of personal connectivity. The suggestion here is not that mobile communication detracts

from network breadth in a zero-sum fashion. From the overshadowed perspective, mobile communication serves as an added layer of communication that tips the balance of social contact in ways that add to the intimate sphere (Rainie & Wellman, 2012; Wellman et al., 2003), but without detracting from the outer realm of network contact.

Beyond supporting this theoretical position of mobile communication as an added layer of close tie contact, the scenario suggested by the overshadowed category raises important questions about what it means when the balance is tipped like this, especially considering mobile communication's breadth and depth as a means of social mediation. In fact, it is the fastest and most widespread diffusing medium to date. Mobile communication is approaching or exceeding saturation in both wealthy and developing societies. Not only that, it has become deeply embedded in the very structure of social collectives and society itself (Ling, 2012). These trends, combined with those in the findings from the overshadowed perspective, raise questions such as: What does it mean when a fairly new yet nearly ubiquitous aspect of the social ecology favors the intimate realm of social life? If not at the expense of broader network contact, what does this added layer of bonding distinctively mean for the quality and nature of social connectedness, not to mention the various aspects of daily life shaped by our personal connections?

It is beyond the scope of this review to fully grapple with these questions. Instead, I will highlight select examples to help illustrate ways in which mobile communication, as an added layer of bonding with core ties, may have both positive and negative implications for personal and public well-being. To start with, there are many benefits of having and staying connected to close personal ties. Individuals turn to their core networks as resources for social support, emotional aid, companionship, and assistance during a crisis (Wellman and Wortley, 1990). In that sense, there may be something to celebrate about mobile communication favoring of the intimate realm of network connectivity when it does not distract from the outer realm. At the same time, Ling (2012) has theorized that this favoring of the intimate realm through mobile communication gives rise to heightened expectations for personal accessibility. Ling argued these heightened expectations are born out of the embedding of mobile communication as a basic social fact that has become ingrained into social structure. As with social mediation through mechanical timekeeping, being accessible to others through mobile communication has

become, Ling argued, a taken-for-granted in our personal relationships. Ling's sociological perspective on mobile communication as a takenfor-granted part of the social ecology has been applied at the psychological level of cognitive processes underlying use of the technology. Bayer and Campbell (2012) investigated the effects ofless conscious mobile phone use, which resonates with Ling's argument about taken for grantedness. The authors found automaticity in texting habits to be a stronger predictor of texting while driving than most of the traditional predictor variables examined, which tended to include indicators of conscious cognitive processing. Here, there are theoretical grounds for hypothesizing that intensive close tie contact through mobile communication fosters the embedding of heightened expectations for accessibility, which leads to less conscious use of the technology (like a reflex) and increased likelihood of texting behind the wheel (for elaboration of this argument see Campbell, Ling, & Bayer, 2014). The point here is not so much to resolve the lingering puzzle of why people text and drive when they know it is dangerous, but rather to illustrate the fact that, even without deterioration of diverse, weak, and new ties, increased connectedness to the inner realm of personal ties raises important questions, and in some cases concerns, about personal and public well-being.

While this review provides direction for more theoretically driven research, it is important to bear in mind that the results and implications should be treated as preliminary. Variation in concepts and measures made synthesis challenging. At the same time, this variation was useful for observing global patterns in the work so far. Just looking at diversity, indicators range from occupational variation of network ties, like-mindedness of network ties, internetwork linkages, socio-demographic difference, and others. Furthermore, there was variation in the way these indicators were applied to just core ties or all known contacts. Moving forward, scholars should be sensitive to this variation in conceptualization and measurement. As this line of research grows, scholars will want to identify and attend to more nuanced contours of diverse, weak, and new ties, which may allow for theoretical refinement and greater coherence in measurement.

Future research in this area should strive for expanded and more nuanced predictor variables as well. As noted, the relevant research so far has emphasized traditional features of mobile telephony. Just as mobile texting and calling were layered onto traditional means of connecting with network ties, so too

have the internet, apps, and location-based services been layered onto texting and calling for the growing population of smartphone users. Expanded functionality, interface, and user practices make smartphones a game-changer for the ways in which people stay connected while carrying out everyday life. Beyond point-to-point interpersonal communication, smartphones allow for group messaging, participation in social media, mass-mediated flows of content, games that can be played individually and collectively, and numerous other activities that have the potential to alter the range of network connections and resources available for users. By way of example, Humphreys and Liao (2011) observed the use oflocation-based services for strangers to exchange recommendations and information about local places in the community. Although these individuals may not meet in person, they are still able to harvest network resources by using mobile technology in ways beyond conventional modes of interpersonal contact. Wilkin (2011) pointed to other examples of how strangers can meet through Bluetooth apps that connect people based on mutual interests, rather than existing relationships. These are only a couple of illustrations of how our understanding of mobile communication and network breadth can be enriched by widening the scope to better account for contemporary and emergent uses of smartphones. It may be that the observed trend for insignificant associations between mobile communication and network breadth in the overshadowed sections, which usually involved texting or calling, does not hold up for smartphone users with a more expanded set of features at their disposal. Or, perhaps there are different stories to be told about the implications of traditional and emergent mobile communication practices, pointing to an important avenue for future investigation of the ways in which mobile communication may help or hinder weak, diverse, and new tie contact.

Concluding Remarks

At the outset I advanced the concept of network privatism to capture notions that mobile communication in the intimate realm of close ties detracts from being connected to diverse, weak, and new ties. A close reading of the relevant empirical research, along with analysis of global patterns in the findings, suggests that mobile communication indeed favors close personal ties, but not necessarily at the expense of network breadth. Therefore, this review

ends with a re-worked conceptualization of network privatism – that traditional forms of mobile communication (texting and calling) tend to serve as an added layer of interaction that favor, or tip the balance, toward close personal ties without necessarily taking away from breadth in network contact. Due to the limitations and variation in the research thus far, it is important that scholars investigate more contemporary mobile communication practices while also using more theoretically refined constructs and expanded measures as they continue with this line of inquiry.

Acknowledgments

Author's Acknowledgments: My thanks to Joe Bayer and the anonymous reviewers for their valuable feedback on previous drafts of this manuscript. Also thanks to George Washburn for his inspiration.

Note from the Editor: Dr. Jeffrey Boase (Ryerson University, Canada, now at University of Toronto, Canada) has served as blind reviewer for this article. After the acceptance of the manuscript he has agreed to sign his review. A second peer reviewer prefers to remain blind. I would like to thank both of them very much for their time and valuable help to improve the article.

References

Bayer, J.B. & Campbell, S.W. (2012). Texting while driving on automatic: Considering the frequency-independent side of habit. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 28(6): 2083-2090.

Boase, J. & Kobayashi, T. (2008). Kei-tying teens: Using mobile phone e-mail to bond, bridge, and break with social ties – a study of Japanese adolescents. *International Journal of Human-Computer Studies*, 66(12): 930-943.

Boase, J. & Kobayashi, T. (2012). Mobile communication networks in Japan and America. *China Media Research*, 8(4): 90-98.

Campbell, S.W. (2013). Mobile media and communication: A new field or just a new journal? *Mobile Media & Communication*, 1(1): 8-13.

Campbell, S.W. & Kwak, N. (2012). Political involvement in "mobilized" society: The interactive relationships among mobile communication, network characteristics, and political participation. *Journal of Communication*, 61(6): 1005-1024.

Campbell, S.W. & Kwak, N. (2011a). Mobile communication and civil society: Linking patterns and places of use to engagement with others in public. *Human Communication Research*, 37(2): 207-222.

Campbell, S.W. & Kwak, N. (2012b). Mobile communication and strong network ties: Shrinking or expanding spheres of political dialogue? *New Media and Society*, 14(2): 262-280.

Campbell, S.W.; Ling, R. & Bayer, J. (2014). The structural transformation of mobile communication: Implications for self and society. In M.B. Oliver & A. Raney (Eds.), *Media and social life* (pp. 176-188). New York: Routledge.

Fischer C.S. (2005). Bowling alone: What's the score? *Social Networks*, 27(2): 155-167.

Gergen, K.J. (2003). Self and community in the new floating worlds. In K. Nyiri (Ed.), *Mobile democracy: Essays on society, self, and politics* (pp. 103–114). Vienna: Passagen Verlag.

Gergen, K.J. (2008). Mobile communication and the transformation of the democratic process. In J. Katz (Ed.), *Handbook of mobile communication studies* (pp. 297–310). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Gibson, J.J. (1979). *The ecological approach to visual perception*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Goggin G. & Crawford, K. (2011). Generation disconnections: Youth culture and mobile communication. In R. Ling & S. Campbell (Eds.), *Mobile communication: Bringing us together or tearing us apart?* (pp. 249-270). New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.

Habuchi, I. (2005). Accelerating reflexivity. In M. Ito, D. Okabe & M. Matsuda (Eds.), *Personal, portable, pedestrian: Mobile phones in Japanese life* (pp. 165–182). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Hampton, K.N.; Lee, C-J. & Ja Her, E. (2011). How new media affords network diversity: Direct and mediated access to social capital through participation in local settings. *New Media & Society*, 13(7): 1031-1049.

Hampton, K. N. & Ling, R. (2013). Explaining communication displacement and large-scale social change in core networks: A cross-national comparison of why bigger is not better and less can mean more. *Information, Communication & Society*, 16(4): 561-589.

Hampton, K.N.; Livio, O. & Sessions Goulet, L. (2010). The social life of wireless urban spaces: Internet use, social networks, and the public realm. *Journal of Communication*, 60(4): 701-722.

Hampton, K.N.; Sessions, L.F. & Ja Her, E. (2011). Core networks, social isolation, and new media: How internet and mobile phone use is related to network size and diversity. *Information, Communication & Society*, 14(1): 130-155.

Humphreys, L. & Liao, T. (2011), Mobile geo-tagging: Reexamining our interactions with urban space. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*. 16(3): 407-423. Retrieved from http://onlinelibrary.wi ley.com.

Igarashi, T.; Takai, J. & Yoshida, T. (2007). Gender differences in social network development via mobile phone text messages: A longitudinal study. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 22(5): 691-713.

Ishii, K. (2006). Implications of mobility: The uses of personal communication media in everyday life. *Journal of Communication*, 56(2): 346-365.

Kobayashi, T. & Boase, J. (2014). Tele-cocooning: Mobile texting and social scope. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 19(3): 681-694. Retrieved from: http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.

Kobayashi, T.; Boase, J. & Suzuki, T. (2013). Maintaining weak tie networks using mobile technology. Paper presented at the Living Inside Mobile Social Information Workshop. Boston, MA, April 28.

Lee, S. (2014). Bounded solidarity confirmed: How Korean immigrants' mobile communication configures their social networks. Paper presented at

the Mobile Communication Preconference of the International Communication Association (ICA) Annual Conference, Seattle, WA, May 22.

Licoppe, C. (2003). Two modes of maintaining interpersonal relations through telephone: From the domestic to the mobile phone. In J. Katz (Ed.), *Machines that become us: The social context of communication technology* (pp. 171–186), New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Ling, R. (2004). *The mobile connection: The cell phone's impact on society*. San Francisco: Morgan Kaufman Publishers.

Ling, R. (2005). Mobile communications vis-à-vis teen emancipation, peer group integration and deviance. In R. Harper, A. Taylor & L. Palen (Eds.) *The inside text: Social perspectives on SMS in the mobile age* (pp. 175-189). London: Klewer.

Ling, R. (2008). *New tech, new ties: How mobile communication is reshaping social cohesion*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Ling, R. (2012). *Taken for grantedness: The embedding of mobile communication into society*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Ling, R.; Bertels, T.F. & Sundsoy, P.R. (2012). The socio-demographics of texting: An analysis of traffic data. *New Media & Society*, 14(2): 281-298.

Ling, R. & Stald, G. (2010). Mobile communities: Are we talking about a village, a clan, or a small group? *American Behavioral Scientist*, 53(8): 1133-1147.

Ling, R.; Sundsoy, P.; Bjelland, J. & Campbell, S.W. (2014). Small circles: Mobile telephony and the cultivation of the private sphere. *The Information Society*, 30(4). Available at: www.indiana.edu.

McPherson, M.; Smith-Lovin, L. & Cook, J.M. (2001). Birds of a feather. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 27: 415-444.

Miyata, K.; Boase, J. & Wellman, B. (2008). The social effects of keitai and personal computer e-mail in Japan. In J. Katz (Ed.), *Handbook of mobile communication studies* (pp. 209-222). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Miyata, K.; Boase, J.; Wellman, B. & Ikeda, K. (2005). The mobile-izing Japanese: Connecting to the internet by PC and web phone in Yamanashi. In M. Ito, D. Okabe & M. Matsuda (Eds.), *Personal, portable, pedestrian: Mobile phones in Japanese life* (pp. 143-164). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Norman, D. (1988). *The design of everyday things*. New York: Basic Books.

Rainie, L. & Wellman, B. (2012). *Networked: The new social operating system*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Wellman, B.; Quan-Haase, A.; Boase, J.; Chen, W.; Hampton, K.; de Diaz, I.I., *et al*. (2003). The social affordances of the Internet for networked individualism. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 8(3). Retrieved from http://jcmc.indiana.edu.

Wellman, B. & Wortley, S. (1990). Different strokes from different folks. *American Journal of Sociology*, 96, 558-588.

Wilkin, R. (2011). Bonds and bridges: Mobile phones and social capital debates. In R. Ling & S.W. Campbell (Eds.), *Mobile communication: Bringing us together and tearing us apart* (pp. 127-149). New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Yamagishi, T. & Yamagishi, M. (1994). Trust and commitment in the United States and Japan. *Motivation and Emotion*, 18: 129-166.

3. Digital Self-Portraits, Exposure and the Modulation of Intimacy

Amparo Lasén
Universidad Complutense of Madrid

Abstract: The convergence of mobile telephony, digital photography and social media, and the more recent popularity of mobile apps such as Whatsapp or Snapchat have facilitated the development of self-portrait practices. A photographic genre that was almost exclusively artistic becomes part of everyday photography. Taking and sharing selfies is a banal and playful activity producing new habits and gestures. The growing presence and display of such pictures and the development of visual forms of communication and interaction, supported by mobile devices, increase personal exposure, as well as provide ways of modulating intimacy, challenging its relationship with the public/private divide. For instance, in the public display of the domestic and private settings where many of these pictures are taken; or in the erotic games and forms of self-pornification played in such practices. Drawing on empirical research carried out with young adults in Madrid, this paper discusses diverse implications of this exposure and the modulation of intimacy related to how self-portrait practices, their display and exchange entail three different and interrelated aspects: presentation, representation and embodiment. These three aspects mobilize a complex and reversible gaze and grab (Senft, 2008) game: where we are at the same time the photographer, the model who poses, and the audience, not only because we look at other people's selfies, but because we put ourselves in the place of potential viewers, introducing their preferences, expectations and evaluations.
Keywords: Digital Self-Portraits, Presentation of the Self, Embodiment, Intimacy.

The convergence of mobile telephony, digital photography and social media has enabled the development of self-portrait practices. A photographic genre that was almost exclusively artistic, inherited from painting, becomes part of everyday photography. It is a banal and playful activity that produces new habits and gestures: like taking pictures in front of a mirror (what the Spanish photographer Joan Fontcuberta (2010) calls 'reflectograms') or outstretching the arm to take a snapshot. The growing presence and display of such pictures, and the development of visual forms of communication and interaction supported by mobile devices, entail an increased personal exposure. These practices contribute as well to modulate intimacy, for instance in the public display of the domestic and private settings where many of these snapshots are taken; or in the erotic games and forms of self-pornification (Lasén & García, 2015) played in such practices.

Digital self-portraits are forms of remediation (Bolter & Grusin, 2000) as they resume past artistic and minority practices, as well as resonate with the nineteen century elite etiquette of self-presentation, consisting in adding a small portrait at the back of personal and business cards (Fundación Lázaro Galdiano, 2011). In some cases, digital self-portraits continue and remediate art and feminist practices that vindicate the potentiality, energy and liberation in the contemplation, performance, voluntary and defiant display of one's body (Koskela, 2004). These resonances are not necessarily intentional and voluntary, but re-emerge in the deploying of selfies practices. They are enacted in different spaces and interactions answering to desires, pleasures, searches, obligations and attachments, in a process that is not devoid of controversies, contradictions and conflicts. Therefore, the modulation of intimacy facilitated by digitally mobile mediated practices, such as the making, display and sharing of digital self-portraits, challenge the tacit fantasies, rules and obligations that define intimacy as unproblematic and taken-for-granted (Berlant, 1998: 287).

This paper builds on previous publications (Lasén & Gómez, 2009; Lasén, 2012, 2013; Lasén & García, 2015). It draws on past and ongoing qualitative research based on visual analysis of digital self-portraits and ethnographic research about the practices involved in such photographs: digital ethnography of social media, interviews and workshops with users of these platforms in Madrid (Spain) about self-portraits and their online use. The first wave of fieldwork carried out in 2011 consisted of interviews, a workshop hosted by the

Madrid based art and technological centre MediaLab Prado,[1] a focus group and ethnography in different social media platforms (online dating sites, social network sites and sites to share pictures). We are currently organizing workshops with adult users while continuing the digital ethnography.[2]

Firstly, some aspects of digital self-portrait practices are discussed in reference to our fieldwork, regarding the particularities of the practice as a performative and choreographic form of presentation, representation and embodiment, where bodies are inscribed. Second, the modulation of intimacy involved in these practices blurring the divide between privacy and public is described.

The Choreographies of Digital Self-Portraits

Contemporary digital photography practices re-mediate sociability, embodiment and subjectivity. The ubiquity of cameras and the growing display and exchange of pictures online reveal changes in the uses and meanings of everyday photographic practices. These changes are made possible by the ease of digital production and the low cost of production for individuals. The growing practice of self-portraits is an example of these changes. Though the word 'selfie' is relatively recent, self-portraits have been a common practice by camera phone users since the beginning of the commercialization of these devices (Lasén, 2005: 65). However, it does not seem that the term 'selfie', given its current use, is appropriated to refer to all kind of digital self-portraits. For instance, self-portraits of faceless bodies, or photographs featuring just some parts of the body or the face (feet, hand, mouth, a single eye, etc.). Nowadays, digital self-portraits are part of the growing presence of images online: as a mode of presentation and representation of the self in social media (Wang, 2009; Palmgren, 2010), or exchanged as a form of visual communication and interaction. The uses of selfies are multiple as well, entailing different interactions and articulations with the public/private divide. To name just a few:

[1] http://medialab-prado.es.

[2] Research project funded by the Spanish National Plan for Scientific and Technical Research and Innovation, called "*Innovaciones metodológicas para prácticas emergentes: controversias y desasosiegos en torno a lo público/privado*" (I+D CSO2012-37027). The research regarding digital self-portraits is carried out with my colleague of University Complutense Antonio A. García García, the other members of the research team of this project are Elena Casado, Juan Carlos Revilla, Rubén Blanco, Laura Cassaín and Héctor Puente.

personal presentation and visual communication with loved ones, friends, acquaintances and familiar strangers; flirting, seduction and self-pornification practices (Lasén & García, 2015); professional self-promotion, or political campaigns and protests.

The practice of self-portraits and their display online involves three different and interrelated aspects: presentation, representation and embodiment. These photographs are forms of online presentation in front of a mixed audience of strangers, acquaintances and friends. They are gendered personal and public representations and performances of the self for oneself and for the others, with different degrees of authenticity and playful staging. They also contribute to a double inscription of bodies, online and offline. This practice is an ongoing learning process, guided by experience, experimentation and improving by trial and error. Users learn to gain the technical and posing skills, as well as to manage the unwanted and unexpected consequences of the public display of pictures.

This learning process involves the observation and re-enactment of images available online: from commercial media to other people's ones. Photos are shared, exchanged and commented on. This is also part of the learning and experimentation of the practice. According to the participants in our research, the decision to display and download self-portraits is prompted by other people's requests and expectations about the presence of such photos in profiles and personal web pages, or about reciprocity in online and mobile interactions. Participants also acknowledge that displaying their self-portraits make their web pages and blogs more appealing, as people 'like snooping on others'. Moreover, they affirm that the presence of personal portraits increases trust, either in online dating, social network sites or professional blogs and webs. They also realize that uploading a self-portrait raises substantially the number of visits, compared to other kind of photographs. Nowadays, with the widespread use of selfies and their presence in celebrity culture, the awareness of the appeal of self-portraits has increased as well.

> It's just what happened to us. We started our brand and just uploaded photos of the designs and clothes. One day we uploaded a selfie of us and the difference was awesome. And now we use them as brand image. We don't know if this is hate or fandom, but it works (Lucas, 29, architect and fashion designer)

These expectations about personal visibility are fostered by the architecture of most social network sites and online and mobile applications built around a personal profile illustrated with personal pictures. Thus, digital self-portraits performances are choreographic in the sense that they are highly relational and interactive, involving mutual attunement and resonance, sometimes even dialogical sequences of call and response. As in the case of dancing, if we do not follow the right moves, we risk of stepping on other people's toes and suffer from embarrassment or social punishment. The notion of choreography, instead of just performance, highlights the existence of a score, a script (Foster, 1998). This is, a set of conventions about what is appropriate (regarding how to pose, how to take the snapshots, how to use the filters, what to post and where etc.) collectively enacted and sustained in practices, which also changes over time according to the variations of the particular self-portrait performances. This group of moving conventions and expectations set the threshold for embarrassment, a highly sociological and contextual self-feeling elicited when we are not sure of behaving in public according to the expected social norms. Embarrassment is the affective cost of not following the scripts of normative experience and it changes as the script moves on. It happens when we experience undesired intimate situations, when we are visible but no ready to be visible (Lasén, 2013). According to the participants in the research, the risk of embarrassment haunts the practice, affecting differently women and men. As women, unlike men, can face slut-shaming practices, and men, unlike women, have to put up with the suspicion that being on display, posing and playing with their physical appearance, is not what real men do. The embarrassment thresholds related to the personal exposure and disclosure of digital self-portraits are not the same according to the kind of photographs, the platforms, the participants in the sharing and exchange. And they move as the practice become more common and extended. Managing this complexity is one of the aspects of the selfies learning process, which is characterized by the experience of shifts in embarrassment: 'I never imagined I could do this' and then feeling comfortable doing it, as 'everybody does it, it doesn't matter anymore'.

The meaning of digital self-portrait photographs and practices is highly framed and contextualized. It is the complex result of a shared agency between devices and their applications, individuals and groups, the features and regulations of websites and apps, the formal norms of use and the unwritten ru-

les of etiquette; the intentions of users, industry and regulators; as well as non-intentional aspects emerging in the uses and practices. Media scholar Terri Senft describes selfies as an object of human agency 'that is created, displayed, distributed, tracked, and monetized through an assemblage of non-human agents'.[3] By using the term 'shared agency', we stress the importance of the articulation of both: people's gestures, intentions, desires and meanings, and what technologies afford and prevent, in order to produce the practice and its multiple senses.

Double inscription of bodies

Digital self-portraits take part in contemporary embodiment processes through the ways we shape and perceive ourselves, and in regard to how we relate to our bodies. In digital self-portrait practices bodies experience a double inscription. Firstly, they are inscribed when they are marked, fashioned, shaped and made up; as well as when they are disciplined or when they acquire gestures, postures, looks, ways of doing, seeing, being, posing or presenting themselves, by repetition, habit and routine (cfr. Grosz, 1994: 86-111). Secondly, bodies are inscribed in and by digital devices as still, moving, sounding and tactile images displayed in the screens and stored in websites, apps and devices. Due to these inscriptions, the traces of these mobile bodies can be tracked and registered, and, as Terri Senft indicates in the definition quoted above, they outlived the time and place in which the self-portraits were originally produced, viewed or circulated.

These two kinds of inscriptions are closely linked. Digital devices produce and store body inscriptions, while contributing to shape and inscribe the bodies of those who take part in self-portrait choreographies. Digital body images circulate. They are taken, grabbed, displayed, shared and modified. These inscriptions can increase bodily awareness and control, because self-portrait practices extend the knowledge about your own body and ways of presenting it to other people. In the words of one of the participants, selfies and camera phones are like mirrors, as when taking one selfie before leaving home to gauge how they look. It is a common use of these snapshots that can be like a 'talking mirror', as many people send selfies to get advice from

[3] www.facebook.com/groups/664091916962292/permalink/832837800087702/.

friends and acquaintances about the way they look, or about the outfit they wear before leaving home for a night out, or when trying shoes and clothes in the shop.

The particular mobility of inscriptions, their circulation and the occasions facilitated by the exchange of comments, can be translated into forms of reconciliation with our own bodies, especially when other people's judgment is less harsh than ours, or when their look and comments find attractive certain aspects of our body that we had not paid attention to. Thus, the making and sharing of self-portraits have the potential of making us inhabit our bodies differently.

> When you start taking photos, it's a way of getting self-esteem as well, to accept yourself. I think that people's self-esteem works better in picture than in the mirror, Because in front of the mirror, if you've got a bad day, it's going to be like that all day, but in a picture if you look good... (Pedro, 25, public gardens and parks maintenance worker)

But, the practice can also generate worries and stress, derived from the increased reflexivity afforded by digital inscriptions and online exchanges. Acknowledging this can encourage certain self-portrait practices such as this:

> As a teacher and in my family, being in contact with young girls, I am very aware of the harm in girls' minds caused by very retouched selfies, with body retouches. They have complexes and think that these are unattainable models of beauty. I took a series of selfies of my face and shoulders, because I do not like full body pictures, with the idea: 'everyone can be a model'. We can stroke a fantastic pose, a perfect smile, a little bit of make up, and of course no photoshop, a nice light, and you look beautiful, without having to retouch. I did it intentionally, posted it to social networks and showed it to people with complexes, and then I encouraged them to do the same. (Maria, 26, teacher)

Considering these digital images as inscriptions, instead of reflections or mere representations, accounts for the participation of technologies in the embodiment processes. These inscriptions mobilize bodies, and are part of how

we learn to be affected (Latour, 2004) and attached. As the ability to affect and to be affected are intrinsic to both emotions and bodies. These digital inscriptions multiply the spaces where bodies are present and presented, transforming the relationship between absence and presence, as well as the presentation of bodies and subjects. Thus, they contribute to modify the interpersonal relationships where these bodies are engaged. Bodies are inscribed and become bi-dimensional in the smooth surface of the screen. Feedback from the bodies facing the screen contributes to the excitement and affective intensification, which takes them out of this flat frame, acquiring other dimensions.

Web spaces are semi-public networks with different audiences, thus what is appropriated to show, as well as the appropriated way of taking the picture that is going to be shown, change depending on the uses given to each platform. This is another case where we can observe how privacy is always contextual. Different contexts and realms of everyday life entail different privacies regarding their demarcations, meanings and contents (Nissenbaum, 2004). The meaning of this media ecology differs according to the particular users. Therefore if most of the participants clearly distinguish among uses and practices of Facebook, Instagram, Whatsapp and online dating apps, these uses and practices are not the same for all of them. Conventions emerge regarding the production of images, the physical appearance, the occasions and ways of displaying and sharing them, the expected sequences of picture exchanges, and the uses of selfies as gifts or rewards. For instance, in Flickr, skills, technique and aesthetics are important. You can upload more daring pictures than in Facebook because what would be embarrassing is the lack of quality regarding how the photo is taken rather that what is featured. Pictures in online dating sites and apps should display our physical appeal, whereas snapshots in mobile messages are ways of documenting the moment: my new haircut o my new outfit, how bored or how excited I am, or ways of visually communicating that I've just woken up, or that I'll be arriving soon.

Thus, a picture suited for Facebook or for a group of friends in Whatsapp would be embarrassing in Instagram; and a sexy snapshot uploaded to Tinder or Grindr would be awkward if seen in Facebook. But some selfies can also be found as well in Instagram than in an exchange with someone we are flirting with. In Facebook 'you are seen by those who know you', for your friends, it's a space of sociability or to publish 'tribute pictures' (to someone,

to a particular day, to a situation or a trip). But for many, it is not just a space shared with friends, but something similar to the 'village square', where you post photographs that 'anyone can see'. Some of the participants in the research relate their online presentation to their profession (fashion, freelance journalism, film industry), thus they make a clear separation between Instagram (the place where you create and sustain your brand image) and Facebook or Whatsapp, where you are in contact with your friends and loved ones.

> I differentiate between social networks a little bit. Instagram is the image I present, would it be real or not, a more or less edited image of my real life. Facebook is more personal, for buddies, it's more spontaneous. In Instagram I take more care of what I post or I don't. It is not that I've got so many followers, but it is also a platform for my work, and I try to take care to the maximum (...) It's your gallery and stays there forever. Though it's not true because you can delete it, but for a second someone has been able to see it, and then you think twice... One thing is something intimate with your friends and another when you are presenting something to the whole society, so to say, though it's not all your society (Elisa, 26, blogger and community manager for fashion brands).

These differences affect the way selfies are taken and selected. The more 'careful' ones are chosen after having taken many. For instance, the young woman quoted above affirmed that she uses to take around forty snapshots in order to choose the one to post. Pictures posted are often enhanced with filters as well, whereas the 'spontaneous' images for friends and Whatsapp are taken in the rush of the moment and sent right away.

> This situation when you are getting out of the subway station 'Hey I'm arriving. Oh gosh it's raining, look at my hair' (Bruce, 26, actor, club promoter and community manager)

However, research reveals that the boundaries are porous, as users and uses display a great heterogeneity, which make more complex the presentation and representation performances. People use Instagram and Facebook to hook up, or to try to find a job or professional advice when chatting in online

dating sites, and try to 'give a good image' and create a 'personal brand' in all networks. As Elisa said in her quotation above, this presentation of the self entails a careful articulation of authenticity and staging. Authenticity can have several meanings: displaying what you are or some contextually relevant aspects of who you are, related to the purposes of the picture displayed (work, dating, amusing your friends, or sharing what you are doing).

> I really use the photos to exhibit, it sounds awful, not only to exhibit yourself physically, but somehow what you are. I think that you can be as you are in a photo, to reflect... Usually I'm very serious in my pictures, because I'm not laughing when I'm on my own at home. In the pictures I featured as I feel, as I feel in that moment I use them for that, to reflect a mood or an attitude, or even a nature. (Maria, 26, secondary school teacher).

When we study the relation between digital self-portraits and the public/private divide, we usually think about the implications of their sharing and display online. But there are other situations, such as the taking of the photographs, which also occurs in public and private spaces with different concerns. When selfies are taken in public settings people have to manage as well their self-presentation and public exposure to those in the surroundings. An interesting aspect of the articulation between online and face-to-face situations, regarding face-work and the management of one's impression (Goffman, 1959) is how the kind of selfie they are taking is crucial to assess whether the situation is appropriated or not, and therefore whether this is embarrassing. This is, a similar public behavior, taking a selfie when being alone in the presence of strangers can be appropriate if it is a purposeful photograph sent to friends to communicate the place or the state in which one is, or embarrassing if it is a snapshot taken because one has nothing better to do and just to post it to Instagram or Facebook, which requires some preparation and repeated shots in order to select a good enough one to post. This shows the contextual nature of the practice, as well as how the mundane and ubiquitous uses of mobile media affect the ways and norms of public behavior.

> Taking a selfie in front of everybody, I can't. I die of shame (Adela, 30, marketing)
>
> I've taken a selfie walking on the street being on my own, and there were people around, but it was to warn friends that 'hey! I'm coming' (Bruce, 26).
>
> Yes, but you feel a little bit stupid, wondering: 'are they looking at me? Do I seem stupid' (...) I've done it as well. You've got an excuse if that is to send it by Whatsapp. But if you are going to take a picture to post it to Instagram, and you are on your own I feel ridiculous. It's strange because you are doing the same movements, but if it is this social convention for your buddies I do a moral difference. If you call me and I say: 'I'm here'. I don't care how the picture is and maybe I'm not even going to take a second one. I just send it, without even thinking if someone has seen me or not. But I can assure you that if I'm sitting in the square, bored and think of taking a selfie... I do think about people around... It's different (Elisa, 26)
>
> I think that's very interesting because, basically, you care about things that are the same gesture, but for you they are different, because you are looking for different things (Francisco, 28, PhD student in History)

Thus, it's not only the gesture and the self-portrait snapshot that make the selfie, the conditions of how it is taken, determined by its purpose and publicity, are key to define and differentiate them.

> For instance, if someone writes to you 'Hey, what's up?' and you have just woken up and send him a picture of you in bed, absolutely wasted, 'look where I am, in misery'. This picture will never come to light. Or your mother sends a message and you are at the hairdresser. It's different. It's not to be published. It's part of talking more than picture taking (Bruce, 26).

Thus, taking a selfie involves preparation, selection and sharing publicly, otherwise when they are part of mobile messaging, these photographs are just

part of a conversation, a visual aspect of digitally mediated talk among intimates. This use of photographs is part of the everyday flow and the kind of mobile talk sustained at a distance and through the day, as those analyzed by Larissa Hjorth and Sarah Pink (2014), conceptualized with the term digital wayfarer to account for contemporary emplaced and interwoven visualities and socialities.

But selfies involved in a conversation can be a performance of self-presentation telling a particular narrative that can require a great deal of preparation and selection, as when used in flirting, seduction and erotic exchanges. Thus, participants who use self-portraits for chatting up state than when they fancy someone and are flirting, selfies come and go, and semi-public platforms, such as Instagram, are also used for these purposes.

Exposure and Modulation of Intimacy

The diverse forms of considering privacy and the public sphere share two fundamental kinds of opposing imagery: first, personal vs. collective; second, what is hidden, withdrawn, secret vs. what is open, revealed, accessible, exposed. These playful and complex forms of presenting and representing oneself through self-portrait practices blur the divide between public and private, opening intimacy to new spaces and participants, challenging its privileged link with privacy (Lasén & Gómez, 2009). In online exchanges and mobile media practices a modulation of intimacy occurs, regarding its times, spaces, situations, domain and the people involved. The attachments they sustain are created and maintained by exposure and accessibility to different collectivities. Social media are another instantiation of the intimate public sphere described by Lauren Berlant and a clear example of her view on how intimacy emerges from 'mobile processes of attachment' (Berlant, 1998: 284). These mobile ways of creating and sustaining interpersonal attachments, as well as attachments to other material and symbolic objects, are increasingly digitally mediated, as in the case of what Larissa Hjorth and Sun Sun Lin (2012, p. 478) call 'mobile intimacy' when 'the geographic and physical space is overlaid with an electronic position and relational presence, which is emotional and social'.

Social media facilitate the sharing of intimate conversations and practices, regarding bodies, domesticity, sexuality and affects with loved ones, friends,

acquaintances and strangers, producing a modulation of intimacy and of intimates, with no possibility to define a stable and clear boundary between what is intimate and what it is not, what is protected by the barrier of embarrassment and what can be revealed in public. Thus, regarding the categories of friends, acquaintances, familiar strangers and full strangers, how to consider those online contacts whom we have never met face to face, but who have seen, listened to and commented on multiple aspects of our life? How to categorize those who receive our request for help or advice and to whom we tell our sorrows and troubles, or those with whom we chat about our hobbies and interests? And what sort of intimate strangers are those who take part in erotic playfulness or unexpected conversations in video chats or online dating sites and hook-up apps?

Many self-portraits exposed online are taken at home, in people's bedrooms or in front of the bathroom mirror. The banal and mundane domestic settings form the background of these images and the public or semi-public performances they are part of. Moreover, one of the consequences of eliminating external photo development, which meant that our photographs were viewed by photo lab staff, is an increase sense of privacy, facilitating the participation of digital cameras and mobile phones in intimate behaviors, such as sexual encounters and erotic games, contributing to shift the threshold of embarrassment (Schwarz, 2010; Lasén and Garcia, 2015). Such exchanges can also be enacted in public or semi-public digitally mediated settings. The public display of intimate images modifies the articulation between privacy and intimacy, as they are forms of shared intimacy with a particular audience, though not necessarily the general public. Therefore, strategies for controlling the images emerge in the practices: in the way the photographs are produced and staged, in the choice of pictures to display, in how this choice is made depending on the platform where the photographs are going to be displayed, in the posing, the use of light and effects. Control is also exerted by reciprocity; this is, by sharing the self-portraits only with those who share their images with us, or in websites where you can see the photographs of those who can see yours. In any case, and according to our findings, users are well aware that this is always a relative control, as once the images are shared, grabbed, and circulated online their authors cannot control what happens to them. Most of the participants seem to accept this, though it can elicit disquiets and mixed feelings.

> Sometimes it 's a little bit overwhelming. At least in Facebook I can control it, but I don't know how to control who follows me and who doesn't in Instagram. Sometimes there are people snooping around all the time and I cannot control it. For some people I wouldn't like it. It's not for my image but because sometimes you lose this perspective. You publish something and after a month you realize that 'Shit! This person has seen this'. Afterwards, you don't care, but... I don't know... (Lucas, 29)

Participants share other common experiences of tensions due to the unwanted consequences of their willingness and habit to share digital self-portraits. For instance, the difficulties to keep everyday small lies, such as declining a friend's invitation to go out faking an excuse, when they inadvertently post pictures afterwards, revealing that the excuse was false. Online exposure and networked intimacy with mixed audiences of friends, acquaintances and strangers, based on sharing digital inscriptions such as digital self-portraits that stay through time, undermine the ability to control one's personal information. It can make harder to manage ordinary strategies of communication and interaction. In the words of one of the participants in our research: you want to create your personal brand and at the end you make a mess. Most of them seem to take it with humor, as a normal issue of modern life that affects everyone, and therefore one can expect that the consequences won't be too damaging.

Different uses ask for different measures to be taken. The need for protecting intimacy in the case of self-pornification photographs promotes additional forms of control, if we do not want to see our self-pornification become 'involuntary porn', as the unwritten rule of never displaying your face and your genitals in the same picture, especially when the photograph is displayed in a semi-public platform or exchanged among strangers. Reciprocity is also a key element in developing the trust that sustains the practice. Ways of managing exposure in this kind of practices depend upon the users and the degree of trust as well as the kind of relationship among the persons involved. And we should add gender as well, as the consequences of the public disclosure of such images are clearly not the same for women and men.

> Some people do not have any filter, but in my case I keep a line of approach, with someone you have intimacy with, depending

> on whether you trust the persona or not, and if it's framed in something meaningful. I do not send the picture if it's going nowhere. It has a purpose. You don't take a risk with this (Elisa, 26).

However trust and closeness do not prevent a future breach of confidence, as the many cases of so called 'revenge porn', reveal (when spiteful exes spread nude portraits of their former partners though their networks). Technical features of platforms and apps play a role in this aspect as well, though, as the participants in the research repeatedly state, privacy settings of different social media are not very helpful, as they change frequently, usually favoring disclosure and extended publicity. Snapchat is an example where the technical features, based on the ephemeral display of the snapshots, allow users to share photographs without worrying about their potential circulation (see Gaby David's chapter in this volume). The growing presence and public attention to the disclosure of nude pictures without the consent of those featured has prompt some social media owners to include ways of control, such as the recent Reddit initiative of banning naked photos that are shared in the site without the consent of the subjects of the photos (Van der Nagel & Meese, 2015).

Intimacy paradoxes

Digital self-portrait practices are innovative performances and digital forms of presentation-representation-embodiment that operate a double inscription of bodies, in the screen and in the flesh, through a complex gaze and grab game. As the activity of looking and being exposed online is not just a matter of gaze but of grab, digital self-portraits and people looking at or featured in them are grasped, captured and snatched. Grabbing occurs in different ways and in different stages of production, consumption, interpretation and circulation. It involves tactile interaction and affective movements (pleasure, titillation, joy, disquiet or disgust) that are bodily experienced (Senft, 2008, p. 46).

Selfies practices are one example of how nowadays intimacy is modulated outside the private realm. The ability of digital inscriptions to be displayed, replicated and shared facilitates these forms of public and mobile intimacy. Some examples of the modulation of intimacy are different forms of presence

and co-presence, ways of sharing, modes of accessibility and forms of affective attunement through digital connections. These digital technologies and applications facilitate experimentation with forms of self-presentation, self-shaping and self-recognition, due to their ability to elicit, test and check other people's reactions. Thus, the sharing and display of digital self-portraits are not always means of confession where an authentic truth about oneself is disclosed. Rather, they are stages and spaces where the round of presentation-representation-embodiment is played with others in a choreographic way.

In previous research we described a paradox about privacy found in intimate relationships and forms of attachment (Casado & Lasén, 2014). The modern conception of autonomy is understood in terms of control and ownership over personal space, time and information, as private property becomes the ultimate basis for privacy and independence following the liberal conception of individuals as economic subjects. This view does not fit with the way trust and love emerge and develop in intimate relationships through mutual disclosure and accessibility, according to expectations and obligations of transparency and extended sharing. The understanding of the social implications of digital practices, such as the uses of selfies, for privacy and its contextual integrity needs to take into account this complex articulation of mobility, autonomy and attachment. Digital media remediate and contribute to reconfigure previous contextual and relational arrangements of private and public. This clarifies the difficulty of considering both realms as dichotomous spheres. This shared agency between people and technologies contributes to setting the contextual norms that delimit privacy and the territories of the self, regarding appropriateness and the information flow.

References

Berlant, L. (1998). Intimacy. A Special Issue. *Critical Inquiry*, 24(2): 281-288.

Bolter, J.D. & Grusin, R. (2000). *Remediation. Understanding New Media*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Casado E. & Lasén, A. (2014). What is disturbing and why not to disturb. On mobile phones, gender and privacy within heterosexual intimacy. *Mobile Media and Communication*, 2(3): 249-264.

Fontcuberta, J. (2010). *A través del espejo*. Barcelona: Oficina de Arte y Ediciones.

Foster, S.L. (1998). Choreographies of Gender. *Signs. Journal of Women, Culture and Society*, 24(1): 1-34.

Fundación Lazaro Galdiano (2011). *Una imagen para la memoria. La carte de visite*. Madrid: Fundación Lázaro Galdiano.

Goffman, E. (1959). *The Presentation of the Self in the Everyday Life*. New York: Doubleday.

Grosz, E. (1994). *Volatile Bodies. Towards a corporeal feminism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Hjorth, L. & Lim, S. (2012). Mobile intimacy in an age of affective mobile media. *Feminist Media Studies*, 12(4): 477-484.

Hjorth, L. & Pink, S. (2014). New visualities and the digital wayfarer: Reconceptualizing camera phone photography and locative media. *Mobile Media & Communication*, 2(1): 40-57.

Koskela, H. (2004). Webcams, TV Shows and Mobile Phones: Empowering Exhibitionism. *Surveillance and Society*, 2 (2/3): 199-215. Retrieved from www.surveillance-and-society.org.

Lasén, A. (2005). *Understanding Mobile Phone Users And Usage*. Newbury: Vodafone Group R&D.

Lasén, A. (2012). Autofotos: subjetividades y medios sociales. In N. García-Canciclini, F. Cruces & M. Urteaga, *Jóvenes, culturas urbanas y redes digitales. Prácticas emergentes en las artes, el campo editorial y la música* (pp. 243-262). Madrid: Ariel,

Lasén, A. (2013). Autoportraits numériques. Un exemple de la médiation technologique du devenir des corps. In N. Grandjean & C. Lobet-Maris (eds.) *Corps et Technologies. Penser l'hybridité* (pp. 83-110). Bruxelles: P.I.E. Peter Lang.

Lasén, A. (2013). Digital Inscriptions and Loss of Embarrassment. Some Thoughts about the Technological Mediations of Affects. *Intervalla, 1*. Retrieved from www.fus.edu.

Lasén, A. & Gómez, E. (2009). Digital Photography and Picture Sharing: Redefining the Public/Private Divide. *Knowledge, Technology and Policy*, 22(3): 205-215.

Lasén, A. & García, A. (2015). '... but I haven't got a body to show': Self-pornification and male mixed-feelings in digitally mediated seduction practices. *Sexualities*, 18.

Latour, B. (2004). How to talk about the body. The normative dimensions of science studies. *Body and Society*, 10 (2-3): 205-229.

Nissenbaum, H. (2004). Privacy as Contextual Integrity. *Washington Law Review*, 79(1): 119-158.

Palmgren, A.C. (2010). Posing my Identity. Today's Outfit, Identity and Gender in Swedish Blogs. *Observatorio (OBS) Journal*, 4(2): 19-34.

Schwarz, O. (2010). Going to Bed with a Camera. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 13(6): 637-656.

Senft, T.M. (2008). *Camgirls: Celebrity and Community in the Age of Social Networks*. New York: Peter Lang.

Van der Nagel, E. & Meese, J. (2015). Reddit tackles 'revenge porn' and celebrity nudes. *The Conversation*. Retrieved from https://theconversation.com.

Wang, Y.H. (2009). 'Posing into being': An exploratory study of Taiwanese girls self-portraiture online. In N. Capentier & al. (Eds) *Communicative Approaches to Politics and Ethics in Europe* (pp. 179-192). Tartu: Tartu University Press.

4. All What We Send Is Selfie: Images in the Age of Immediate Reproduction

Gaby David
EHESS-Paris

Abstract: Like the use of social network sites, mobile visual apps function as repositories of images. There, conversations are also affectively driven and have been adopted by a mass of users.
Focusing on Parisian teenagers' uses of Snapchat, a mobile application conceived for ephemeral image exchanges, this paper aims to offer a qualitative analytical appreciation, an insight on teenagers' selfie[1]-taking ephemeral practices, and the mechanisms they have to control the privacy and the sharing of their images. Today, at least among the teenaged population I studied, it seems there is a marked shift in the practices of sharing and saving self produced images. Due to the fact that most of these mobile amateur pictures remain digital, there seems to be a change of attitude where youth see mobile images less as a physical good, a commodity, or an object for personal data archiving, and more as fleeting ephemerality. Is this the end of vernacular everyday life photographs understood as a material jukebox of souvenir? Through these transient private image exchanges, is not a more a visual-storytelling recreational exchange being established?
Keywords: Teenagers, Snapchat, Selfie, Identity, Ephemeral, Immediacy, Images, In/visibility

[1] Senft, T. (January 9, 2015). Senft's first selfie conceptualization was posted in The Selfie Research Network Facebook page, www.facebook.com. Also see the special *International Journal Of Communication* Selfie issue, edited by Senft, T. & Baym, N. and more specifically Senft, T. & Baym, N. (2015). Introduction, What Does the Selfie Say? Investigating a Global Phenomenon. *International Journal Of Communication*, 9, 19. Retrieved from http://ijoc.org

Theoretical frame and methodology

This Snapchat study is based on two guided focus group sessions done in Paris between May and June 2014. One session consisted of a group of five 16-17-year-old French, female teenage friends, and the other session of a five 16-year-old French, male, teenage friends. These Parisian groups of adolescents are teens that have also been raised in a McDonalds and Angry Birds world, and we can say that their environments surround them with a fast food and *discardable* ephemeral logic. Moreover, they regularly share their music playlists, pass their tech devices from hand-to-hand, and believe in a peer-to-peer way of sharing. I could even venture to say that they are shameless multi-taskers, master multi-screeners, and tend to love being in immersive situations. In this context, and springing from the flexible concept of social capital that Bourdieu and Wacquant defined as: 'the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 119), I will conceptualize how the Snapchat dynamic provokes strong attachment between individuals, transforms these personal photos and videos into social currency with affective value. The origin of this dynamic, I would like to suggest, lies partially in its existence as a series of endless symbolic interactions.

In order to study Snapchat practices, the focus group methodology seemed to provide the best way to understand and discuss the participant's practices within their own group of exchange. Unlike these same teens' Facebook or Instagram editing modalities, which can be for bridging social capital, all the participants I interviewed admitted using Snapchat predominantly or only with an existing social network of friends as their main audience, therefore either to maintain or to bond their already existing ties, and to continue in a semi private dynamic. Therefore, I would like here to make an appeal to Sveningsson Elm's 'Taxonomy of public/private relations'. According to her, the public and the private are in a constant continuum, and are more of a "perception and not of a fact" (Sveningsson Elm, 2009, p. 85). She delineates at least four categories (Ibid. p. 75). Based on her categorization I have outlined the following table.

Public	**Private**
– open	– hidden
– available for everyone	– unavailable to most
– no membership or registration requirement (web pages, open forums)	– access is restricted by user who specifies who can access the content (close friends)
Semi-Public	**Semi-Private**
– available for most people	– available only to some
– in principle accessible to everyone	– requires membership or registration (intranet)
– requires membership or registration first (most SNS)	

Clearly, by being in a group of discussion, together with their closest friends present, all the teens felt more at ease. By verbalizing their practices, these young users exchanged opinions and reflected upon their ideas and their visions about their own images and consequently about their own identities. However, I would like to register that the helpful process of focus groups presented two main difficulties or limitations. First, was the exclusion of the researcher from all the in-jokes and implicitness that both groups had, their jokes, their insider language, and of which the researcher, (as an outsider), had no-knowledge or access. Secondly, I found myself in the paradoxical position. I was analyzing participants' visual uses without actually seeing the images, and relying instead on my interviewees' reflections, or non-reflections, on their practices, and my own understanding of those practices in relation to our socio-cultural moment. Despite these limitations, some preliminary insights emerged.

Mobile images are socially legitimated as part of everyday life and undoubtedly an established global cultural phenomenon. Additionally, as the adoptions of free visual mobile apps increases, in a circular way these self produced mobile images advertise themselves through word of mouth and through the sharing practice itself from person to person. After "the visibility of the networked image" (Rubinstein & Sluis, 2008, p. 18), is it now the time for the *invisibility* of the networked image? Finding a fleeting existence from device to device, does Snapchat represent the ease of an evanescent and proximal need for more private and intimate amusement in personal image sharings?

Snapchat everyday life

Depending on who and how old you are, you'll probably diverge or converge in what *snapshot* and *Snapchat* mean and/or represent. Following Chalfen's school, according to Sarvas

> The term snapshot photography comes from the way the photos are captured (easily, instantaneously, and simply, by a single click) and the intentions the photographer has for the photo: no artistic nor commercial intentions, rather photos taken with simple cameras by non-experts for personal use. Snapshot photography is used often to distinguish between professional photography, and especially, amateur photography, where the intentions are more creative and artistic, and the technical skills of the photographer are emphasized. (Sarvas, 2006, p. 16)

In few years' time, the ease of production has increased the many possibilities and diversities in mobile image creation. Even the making and sharing of 'embarrassing' and mobile snapshots, which are considered funny, stupid, or those that are erotic, has become ubiquitous; and what counts as embarrassing for some can count as amusing for others and vice versa (Haddon & Vincent, 2009). However, since the domestication of webcams, the mediatisation of people's private sphere has been a frequent topic of debate.

According to both focus group members, Snapchat is today's teenagers' visual killer app[2]. As of 2014 and according to popular opinion, it is one of the most used photo sharing apps among French teenagers, but unfortunately no quantitative data, statistics, and figures is yet available specifically to measure the French adoption. Originally conceived as a free photo-messaging application, Snapchat is a photo app for playful and ephemeral uses of mobile photos. It was created in September 2011 by Evan Spiegel and Bobby Murphy and belongs to the category of electronic games that the American Entertainment Software Rating Board (ESRB) rates under 'T' (Teen-13 and above). (Carlisle, 2009, p. 867). They have launched a kids' version called Snapkidz, but this version lacks its main asset, which is the possibility

[2] A killer app is an app that is so necessary or desirable that it proves the core value of some larger technology, such as mobile devices can be. By extension I use this concept to visual apps.

of sending photos. Therefore, two main ethical drawbacks come attached to these types of apps. First, that no real verification of age is feasible, and second, that to my knowledge no precise legislation exists on how to regulate a world-wide phenomena in what this app entails; in other words it signifies the non-standardization of laws, ethics and morality.

One of the most distinctive particularities of Snapchat, distinguishing it from other photo sharing apps, is that image producers can set a limited viewing time for the recipient of the image. This can range from between one to ten seconds after which the image 'disappears'. This determines how long recipients can view the image; because afterwards, they 'disappear' and are no longer available via the Snapchat user interface. However, it is not actually securely removed from the device (Roesner, Gill & Kohno, 2014). Previously taken images archived in the user's mobile device cannot be sent later in time through Snapchat, and images that have been exchanged through Snapchat are not archived in the device either. Technically, one can save Snapchat photos using screenshots. When one takes a screenshot, the initial sender receives a notification that her image has been screenshot by the receiver. It is also possible that users use cameras to photograph the snap. Therefore, while the characteristics of the app can certainly be circumvented, the sites' logic is that one sends what one is seeing, experiencing and feeling *at that very moment*. Again, this 'here and now' (*hic en nunc*) paradigm changes or reverses the anti-indexical postmodern agreement and sets the context of the mobile snapchatted photo as an ephemeral short-term sharing proof of reality, also evidencing how ephemeral reality itself is. Snapchat images are not only performative markers, but also receptive ones. As Media lecturer and communications scholar Lisa Gye remarked "... the use of devices like cameraphones will have important repercussions for how we understand who we are and how we remember the past" (Gye, 2007), and/or in other words the uses and practices of photography are far more important than its aesthetics (Gunthert, 2014).

The females within the group estimated that in order to keep a trace they only screenshot 10% of the images received. One teenager said: 'Sometimes we can end-up editing a funny montage, a power-point for someone's birthday' (laughs). It could happen that the funniest selfies are saved for later purposes and end up circulating in completely unrelated situations and contexts. But, possessing the picture is not the goal for participants, rather their

purpose is to have fun, to laugh and be connected immediately in a short term sharing. All female participants said they mostly always self-censored to not screenshot if it was a boy's snap.

In other words, if it is a boy's selfie, they would not screenshot because he would know she wants to save his photo, and perhaps assume she has a special interest in him. Quoting one of their comments, they said

> I do not dare... cause the other person knows that I screenshot... if it is a funny snap, or something bizarre of someone, for example screen shooting a photo of someone falling is OK, but if not I block. If it is a boy no, if it is among us it's OK.

The assumption is that for heterosexual teens, gender and sexuality turns up as an additional variable to take into account in how Snapchat exchanges are understood and practiced (Casado & Lasén, 2012). In terms of teenager teasing and seduction, there is a shame/dare dynamic where the screenshot notification becomes the proof and exposure of desire. Surprisingly, most participants were not aware that retrieving snaps was possible. In their imaginary, it seems as if they perceive the mesh not as a cellular technological network but more as mobile device-based peer-to-peer network. Out of the nine persons, only one of the boys knew of the existence of SnapCrack, one among some other free apps that enables screenshots without being unveiled, as it is in Snapchat. Interviewees in both groups said that in order to impede the receiver from taking screenshots, they play with the viewing time lapse. The shorter the image can be seen, the more difficult it is to screenshot it. In general terms, teenagers love to tease. Here, immediate photo messages are used as playful teasing.

The 'theory of playful identities' (De Lange, 2010, p. 23) accounts for the shaping of identities by mobile media technologies where play is the better medium to describe this mediation. Therefore, the next question that one can pose is why do they play this image teasing game? There are many possible answers, but evidently they play to see if they can screenshot and circumvent the ephemerality of this short term sharing dynamic. They play to be the paparazzi of their own lives, or even better, of their own images. They play games of tease, games of trust, friends' games. Codified games of rationed out seduction. But these practices do not really give the sense that participants are

trying to shoot someone else's life: Snapchat pushes and transforms users' drive further: not in wanting to be able to photograph someone quickly and unnoticed, but in succeeding in the shooting of someone else's momentary and disappearing image: *the fleeting selfie*.

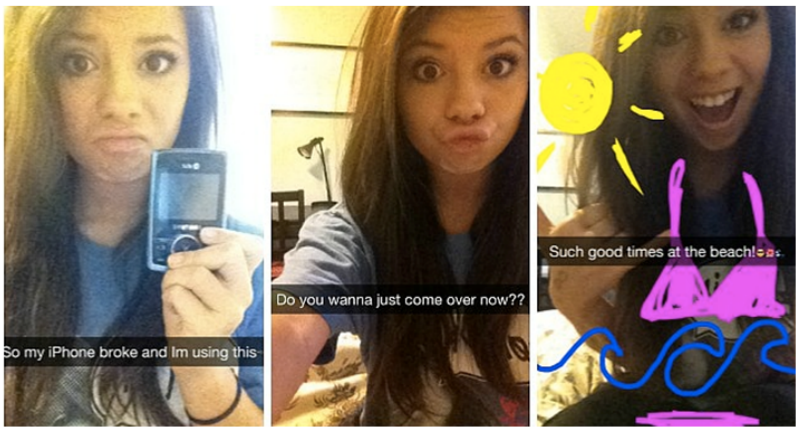
Funny fleeting selfies

In the 2014 Snapchat version, images can be sent either to one or to several persons and can also be posted in a feature called Stories, that allows you to add a 'snap' to a public feed for 24 hours before it vanishes. Stories simulate the Facebook wall and can be seen by all the user's contacts for the lapse of one day, but only ten seconds per view. All the focus group participants commented to the effect that they constantly check what has happened within the Stories to see what their friends are posting when they feel bored. As for frequency of use, all members of the focus group said they use the app on a daily basis, several times a day, not even really knowing how many. I got answers such as 'as soon as I feel bored', 'all the time', 'whenever I have wifi', 'it is a reflex'. In the app, the number of photos sent and received confirms your 'score', thus subliminally creating a habit of wanting to come back again to play more and win. This score-keeping and gamification of ephemerality keeps people coming back and also adds a certain quantification of the ephemeral.

Stemming from the online and offline maintenance of social capital, and linked to a group affiliation/belonging feeling, there is a collective license to acknowledge users activity, creating an even stronger attachment between its consumers. Snapchat photos and videos become 'symbolic capital' and 'social currency via social media' (Fuchs, 2015), and where immediate answers are expected, and thus elicited. This acknowledgment dynamic helps mold the users' identity in the 'always on' community sense (Baron, 2008). Though, the participants did not perceive the score as motivation or incentivization to return or use the app: 'it just changes who your three favorites are' (Alex). In fact Snapchat users do not see who the other user's friends are as only their three best friends are displayed. Those three best users represent the ones with which they exchange the most. But since in Snapchat users are under pseudonym, it is difficult to find people. The only way is to check whom those three top rank users are and ask to 'friend' them. Once again, the score is the

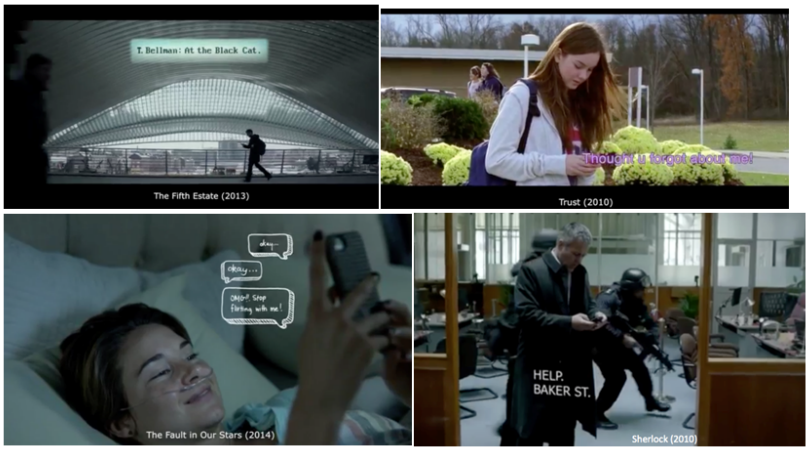
latent unspoken expectation that this pattern of joy and amusement should be repeated. In fact Snapchat users could be sending their images through MMS, but due to speed and price, short term sharing exchanges such as Snapchat stand as much more convenient: they are free of cost and do not engage any memory space in the device. I also want to underline that these short-lived iconic sharing practices underscore that the significance given to the aesthetic of a photo is no longer the core of its material essence or existence, but rather, its immediacy coupled with its mobile private and intimate shareability (Fletcher & Cambre, 2009).

The interviewed teenagers said they usually, if not always, take selfies and add text and drawings on them when they send and receive. In order to write on the image the sender has to tap on it and then she will be able to add a text. Each photo can have only one short sentence, the length of a line. Many times it is the sender's face, their selfie, that appears in the photo as if talking. Nathan *Jurgenson, researcher* at Snapchat calls it 'your own voice-as-image' (Jurgenson, 2014). I agree with him, by understanding them as momentary linguistic signs, we can see how they function as illustrative formats that become one single combination of selfies and texts as these three Snaps below portray.



Screenshot taken from Le Journal du Geek, 27 Octobre 2013

To compare how other media modalities are dealing with image and text altogether as one piece, in the video *A Brief Look at Texting and the Internet in Film* (2014) Tony Zhou analyzes how mobile texts and the internet are depicted in movies, and how film forms are always evolving (Zhou, 2014). Zhou reveals that even if this change had already occurred in countries such as South Korea and China (2001), in the last years a new formal convention on how to portray SMSs on the big screen has taken the spotlight. As the following screenshots taken from the video indicate: filmmakers use beyond screen text message to illustrate a text message in a film. As different and diverse the aesthetics can be, the overall effect is that the SMSs can be read on the image as one single piece of information, contextualizing both as a single unit at the same time.



These four screenshots were taken from Zhou, T. (15 August 2014), *A Brief Look at Texting and the Internet in Film*, Every Frame a Painting.

Therefore, calling on the concepts of intermediality and transmediality is of help.

> Intermediality occurs when there is an interrelation of various – distinctly recognized – arts and media within one object but the interaction is such that they transform each other and a new form of art, or mediation, emerges. (Verstraete, 2010).

> Transmediality concerns the translation of one medium into another, as when a novel is turned into a film; or a film into a game. Equally, an author may simultaneously bring out a book along with a movie and a website and require the reader to view them together and in addition to each other. (Ibid.)

As a transmedial and intermedial analogy, in the Snapchat-photos the texting is similar to these cinematographic ways of portraying SMSs. There is no before or after the image text bubble as it appears in a standard MMS on smartphone screens and the text line can float in any place of the image. The Snapchat message works then as one only cluster: both text and image strike together and thus are stronger (for not to say impossible) to break down into separate informational pieces. In this way, the answer/reaction is also done in one single entity. In a mediascape where the use of emoticons and stickers also seems to be on the rise (Allard, Creton & Odin, 2014), the mounting trend seems to be speaking together *with/through* images and not (only) *about* them. In *The panorama between mobile visual platforms is a sentimental bond* (David, 2013), I analyzed other apps, like the Japanese app Pick that also enable writing on photos and made an analogy between mobiles as a hybrid memo pad. The difference between Pick and Snapchat is that Snapchat is more in the line of a cinematic and flowing image as could be comprehended in the aforementioned video *A Brief Look at Texting and the Internet in Film*, one that passes, and is erased by other soon-to-come images.

The number of exchanges these teenagers can have per day – my interviewees said that they may be as high as 50 – demonstrates that these units entail dialogues that depict prolonged iconographic conversations as in a longer story that is habitually enveloped in, and interrupted by, the everyday life context. They emulate the continuous all day texting that many teenagers have become used to engaging in. Rubinstein foresaw it as the emergence of a new type of speech in which photographic images acquire a new life along with the written language and spoken voice (Rubinstein, 2005, p. 114). He said

> This move of the photographic image away from the activity of photography is similar to the move of the mobile email away from the rules of grammar and spelling. The photo-text message does not conform to the norms of the spoken or written language nor does it follow the norms of photography. (Ibid. p. 120)

In this quick writing, a short sentence or word is embedded in the photo and not clinging separately above or beneath as usual photo captions are. Moreover, the real-time photography of these selfies indicates that the medium changes once again the conception of photography; even if still indexical these images become somehow more a fun fleeting linguistic sign. And, if as one of my interviews said: 'all what we send is selfie', then, it is possible that ten years after Rubinstein's aforementioned opinion his prediction finally manifests factually.

But what exactly does it mean to say 'all what we send is selfie?' In today's cultures, selfie, the umbrella word can imply almost anything. Selfies as evidence, as pedagogy, as affect, as ethics; homeless selfies, selfies at serious places, funny selfies, tweenies, petfies, bed selfies, foot selfies, bathroom selfies, food selfies, healthy selfies, the Obama selfie, celebrity selfies, duckface selfie, usies, drone selfies, and the list of categories for this genre are endless. As this very article tittle reads: 'all what we send is selfie', Snapchat photos are used as a medium that allows for agency in the transforming of representations of reality. They also reveal how reality is difficult to seize, and provide a ground where identity issues are confronted, experienced, teased, and performed. Since Snapchat photos can be drawn and written on and captioned, images can be transformed. Hence, they also serve as proof that the medium transforms reality and transmits it in its own and curious ways. Self-mockery usually is a healthy release, not only for oneself, but also because by making yourself appear silly you show others that you have a humorous attitude towards yourself. The app is derisive towards photography and provides a place to play with images. Its social value lies in its symbolic interactions.

Moreover, the advantages and disadvantages of the cultural uses of such types of applications are frequently discussed via mass media outlets. For instance, as it is only possible to use Snapchat on mobiles, this element presupposes a more intimate and even embodied relationship. Does the fact that they are not publically openly exposed undermine a more sentimental or sexual hidden shame to these practices? Is it that when people see the image it is but for a short period? Innumerable online articles with evocative titles exemplify, point out, and connect the boom of the selfie, i.e. its mediatic success with the increase of digital ego-trips and narcissism. 'Sharing the (self) Love: The Rise of the Selfie and Digital Narcissism' (Chamorro-Premuzic, 2014) is but an example. Some have queried that it is not really a way of pushing

people to have fun and amusement, but rather that it refers more to the scoring logic, and have portrayed it as 'the worst idea in tech: let's gamify sexting' (Notopoulos, 2012).

Others, such as the exhibitions presented at the National #Selfie Portrait Gallery – an installation of 19 emerging artists from the EU and the US, London, Oct. 2013 – or Xavier Cha's conceptual performance. Cha wanders the exhibition and compulsively takes selfies/dick pics, which were collected and updated live through the artist's Twitter, Vine and Instagram accounts and put onto the website disembodied tumblr account. These types of performances endorse that there are new creative ways in which selfies can be used for reaching and engaging audiences. Others such as Dasha Battelle (@dabttll) and @lukaszirngibl are demonstrating their drawing skills in Snapchat. While falling beyond the scope of this paper, the psychological, moral or ethical debates of these usages are significant and must be addressed. Even if many people are reluctant to use this app, those teenagers using it, and frequently sending selfies, confirm that it is entertaining.

As demonstrated by Kath Albury (Albury, 2013), teenagers do differentiate between sexting and joke-sexting. Most of the Snapchatter participants in my focus group judged that there was more teasing going on than other things. They acknowledged being were aware of, and responsive to, the feelings of others when sending just humorous content/selfies. For example, during one of the male focus groups, one of them received a snap. I asked if I could quickly see the image. He showed it to me. It was of a girl's legs wearing a grey jogging pants and a very high-heeled pair of shoes. On the left part of the photo only one word was written in red. In French it read: 'Avis?' which translated would be something like 'Opinion?'. Is this a joke-sext or a tease? The nuance is tiny. The boy smiles.

It is too early to gauge the multiple possible ranges of uses that Snapchat or any other transcient visual sharing app can inspire. In any case, my findings thus far align with the results of a broader American survey. Conducted by Roesner, Gill and Kohno, the research suggests that Snapchat's success is not due to its security properties, but rather because users find its logic gives them enjoyment (Roesner, Gill & Kohno, 2014). I discovered that for these groups, Facebook represented something more permanent, as an imprint that will last for too long; Instagram was used for beautiful photos, for playing the artists;

and Snapchat represents the *leisure*, the sharing, but most of all immediacy and amusement (Ibid.).

According to my interviewees, since it is transitory, average users do not have time to process it neither to rework it by applying filters and dressing it up in some way. They do not seem to know the aforementioned Snapchat artists, or even that doing transient art is possible. For them it is as-if it were a more authentic and raw representation of the self and the moment. The only alteration that can be made on the images through the app is scribble on them and/or write a very short line on it. For example, some of the comments my research subjects had about the feelings this ephemeral entertainment arose were: 'it is the place where one shows oneself with no fear, with no make-up and in pyjamas' (Maïmouna, 23rd May 2014). Another one said: Snapchat is the decadence, everything and no matter what, it is not serious. In general terms, in Snapchat you can always laugh (Midred).

In a Goffmanian (1959) sense most of these teenagers' ephemeral staged but also *non-staged selfies* conform *the real me*. 'I like the principle' (Midred). Even if presentation seems to be at the center of these experiences, participants are teasing through a sort of anti-performance logic to get attention. In a moment where wearable devices are gaining popularity, and where the self seems to be in the in the spotlight, Snapchat and its selfies could also be a stepping stone that denotes both a more spontaneous reporting with self-mediation and self-fashioning, as well as a sign that perhaps we are entering a moment of quantified-self, a life-logging wave (De Lange, 2010, p. 58).

Entrenched in the zeitgeist and impositions of an attention economy, Snapchat users can also make and quickly send 10-second videos. 'You have to go to the essential, and if you only have 7 seconds to watch a snap, you'd better look at it attentively' (boyd, 2014). Just some days before I held my first focus group, in May 2014, a new Snapchat update had been launched, including a real-time chat option. Participants' responses to questions about this version included: 'chatting or sending only text messages (SMS) within the app is quite difficult and thus we still prefer to send very short one-line texts written on the photo itself'. So, if one wants to comment on a Snapchat, it can either be through sending another Snap back, through regular SMS, through another app, or by using another means of communication. How did teenagers circumvent the textual length constraint this particular app has? One tells me: 'what we do is continue to respond through Snapchat but just with a black photo

behind..., I just take a picture of the table or of my jeans to be able to write on it'. This comment exemplifies how users can outwit platform affordances and tool-led media use to find their own ways to circumvent and appropriate the platform's logic to their needs. Moreover, when the receiver sees the snap the sender reads 'opened', an *immediate answer* protocol/paradigm applies and an instant answer is increasingly expected. This is also due to the fact that "the mobile phone also helps to create an imagined sense of nearness with other people (called co-presence)." (De Lange, 2010, p. 138).

These fleeting moments are *not meant* to be stored; they are a way to train ingenious instant image message use. They are ways to practice how to surprise, how to be funny, how to tease, how to seduce. And while immediacy is often read as authenticity, these instant image messages are understood as more intimate and genuine than the constructed and seamlessly self-curated Facebook and Instagram portraits. As a token, this playful self-mediation action/reaction dynamic is what these teenagers like. Immediate ephemeral experiences that could be more related to a *short-lived orality*, which projects its users into a low-cost near future, as metaphors that belong to an intimate and performative realm. All at the same time, these constant and ubiquitous fleeting selfies demonstrate that the present is ephemeral and priceless. Joining Facebook and even Instagram, some teenager parents closely track what their daughters and sons do. Contrarily, my interviewees' parents, at least for the moment, are not joining Snapchat. Coline said that, for example, if she sends her mother a Snap, her mother responds through normal SMS. 'My mom has not understood what all this is about, she is not in the instant.' Other girls said that they would not have their parents as contacts. Coline then added – 'in any case, usually parents do not understand the things of the instant.' In contrast to their parents, the Instant Image Message (IIM) has become their way of communication, even one of their ways of being.

Snapchat versions of life

Having declined a Facebook acquisition of three-billion dollars in November 2013, Snapchat's monetization mechanisms are yet to be unveiled. Currently, the number of mobile photos and videos one can upload to mobile photo sharing platforms like Instagram and Snapchat is unlimited, there is no possibility of a professional account and its usage is free of charge. However,

nothing ensures that licensed charged subscriptions will not be proposed in the future. By the end of 2014, many brands such as Audi, Taco Bell and McDonald's, have their Snapchat pages. They advertise through sending snaps, by offering a special discount or bonus to users that follow their ephemeral advertising instructions and/or games. Some American news media channels such as NPRNews, HuffPost WashingtonPost are also present. Counterpointing these advertising campaigns, perhaps an increase in the use of advertisements versus no-advertisement propositions can be the economic model for the survival of these photo/video applications (Kamradt, 2013).

Since November 2014, in a partnership with payments firm Square, 'Snapcash' will allow people to enter their debit card payment information securely and message their friends a dollar amount to be directly deposited into the recipient's bank account: a preview of what money exchange can be. The question of its economic model remains still unclear, but as I write more and more companies create their profile and enter strongly into this Snapchatting logic. In fact, Snapchat users could be sharing their images through MMS, but both due to speed and price, ephemeral exchanges stand as much more convenient: they are free of cost and do not engage any memory space in the device. Snapchat images circulate in different levels and make part of a more visual interpersonal communication that mainly becomes its '*raison d'être*' (Wang, Tucker, Rihll, 2011). Referring to consumer culture Wagner expresses: "In consumer culture, the value of an object or a service is expressed through its use, which is culturally constructed and cannot be isolated from its social context." (Wagner, 2011).

One might also want to ask: What makes these visual apps so successful? Emma (participant) replied: 'because it's the new thing...?' It was not really new, but I could not retort that to her. In fact, more important than the newness, is to consider the phatic aspects of this modality. Phatic expressions can be verbal or non-verbal but most of all what characterizes them is their social function. Rather than informative, they serve to start a conversation, salute someone, just say goodbye or acknowledge the fact of listening. The term refers to: small talk conversation for its own sake. Phatic communication is the term coined by Malinowski, B. (1923) in "The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Languages", and concerns those instances, which their function is to perform a social task, as opposed to conveying information. However, they fortify social ties and establish and maintain the chance of communication.

In Jakobson's adoption of the term "Phatic communication occurs when, for example, comments are made about the weather ('nice day'), inquiries about health ('how do you do?') or affirmation of some obvious state of the world ('we won!'). The phatic function endeavors to keep channels of communication open and to maintain the physical, psychological or social contact. Phatic exchanges confirm that communication is in fact taking place (e.g. eye contact, nods, idle chat) and reaffirm connectedness" (Vetere, Howard & Gibbs, 2005).

What happens with phatic images? How did we succeed in reaching a phatic and useful, selfie moment? Analyzing technology in society, researchers Victoria Wang, John V. Tucker, and Tracey E. Rihll defined the concept of *phatic technology* as a 'technology that serves to establish, develop and maintain human relationships' and 'where the essence of communication is relationship building not information exchanging' (Ibid.). Snapchat enables the circulation of phatic images. Moreover, as aforementioned, Snapchat is not only used for image exchange: it can entail ephemeral practices such as transient conversations, just amusement, but also advertisement and money exchange. Paradoxically, in larger cultural and economic trends, ephemeral selfies become more grounded daily. In a more personal exchange and in discussing all these visual app exchanges, a friend of mine responded me: "my intrigue, my desire, comes from my excitation". Clearly these visual exchanges can trigger cerebral tease and intrigue players almost like thrillers. However, it could also be the other way round: excitation can come from intrigue and desire.

Following Snapchat's initial uniqueness, on October 14th 2014, Skype (now owned by Microsoft) launched Qik, which, after many technical transformations, is now an app for disappearing video messages. Therefore, and in this visual mobile application consumption, it should be recalled that even if Snapchat was mentioned in *Time Magazine's* 2013 most remarkable persons, it is but one more app in the visual ecosystem. The addition and combination of all these visual applications and platforms aids and reinforces the passage of mobile imagery. It moves from device centered to app-based. It becomes a key part in the app economy[3], contributing but to its adoption and mone-

[3] The app economy refers to the array of economic activity surrounding mobile applications. Mobile apps created new fortunes for entrepreneurs and changed the way business is done.

tary capitalization. In all cases, it must be recalled that in 2014 Snapchat was declared as having been the fastest growing app.

If the movement to web 2.0 enabled a new set of visual practices, especially in terms of blurring the lines between professional and amateur images, private and public, apps like Snapchat point to a set of different practices. These ephemeral exchanges represent appreciation, interest, love, friendship but most of all trust (Mauss, 1923-1924), even within the most private circles. In the words of H. Berking, 'the gift makes feelings concrete' (Taylor & Harper, 2003, p. 9). Here the intangible is somehow concretized and cyclically made tangible yet invisible in larger public spheres. With sent and received images, people have something to talk about, something that might further facilitate a more targeted conversational exchange and discussion of experiences. These actions, in turn, could allow other stories to surface, while at the same time contributing to the financialization of data flows, and commodification of participation in larger public spheres.

Conclusion

This article analyzed and appealed to comprehend how these instances of mobile visual *mediations of the self* contributed to the construction of the selfie as a social and visual utility, enhancing its later appropriation as a worthy and phatic image. I studied visual narratives that relate to the selfie moment, mainly understood as a fleeting image. To demonstrate how, as one of my interviewees said: "*all we send is selfie*", topics of self-representation, affective evidences and empowerment were developed.

Using focus groups, I have concentrated this analysis on the study of self-created images, made through the photo app Snapchat that allows users to see the image for a short period of time before the image disappears. I asked: in what ways do teenage Snapchatters feel they might be circumventing a consumerist ecosystem predicated on image possession? It is arguable that Snapchat might be symptomatic of a desire to forego data archiving and instead just live and share self(ie)-fleeting moments. Of course, production of ephemeral sel-

The app economy encompasses the sale of apps, ad revenue or public relations generated by free apps, and the hardware devices on which apps are designed to run. In 2007, virtually no mobile apps existed. As of 2011, more than 25 billion apps have been downloaded. (Wikipedia).

fies via Snapchat is not totally free nor eludes a commercial application. Conversely, the practice demonstrates why it is high time to consider issues like transiency, immediateness and friendship when studying current and future mobile image production, consumption, circulation, and conceptualization. Midred, one participant, made a comment that could help unravel one of my introductory questions: is it the end of the photo souvenir jukebox? She said: "we are not going to remember the snaps, because these images are not very important and therefore they are not made to be remembered."

Most of my interviewees said that they had a Facebook and Instagram account, but that they used them much less. This means that they do use other image-permanent apps, and thus their Snapchat practice does not only represent an exclusive transient and discarding dynamic, but rather, a more nuanced representation of the self. In each one of the platforms they play with different engagements of intimacy and authenticity. Besides, the general declining desire for ownership among teens towards their mobile images seems also to be directly linked to other technological developments. Mainly, due to an increase in the penetration of the cloud-logic, and therefore of its use. Nowadays, the possibility of placing data in the clouds is cheaper, occurs more often and in some devices is even proposed by default. Backing up in the cloud becomes something common for these users. The data is backed up somewhere far away in the web, but does not engage the memory space of the device and correlates similarly to Snapchat's dynamic. Concomitantly, we could say that it is as if these adolescents became physically less attached to the images they produce, and therefore these mobile images no longer represent for them something they want to keep forever and archive irreplaceably or carry carefully in their pockets. It may also mean that they take for granted that everything is going to be archived anyway, if not in the device, then in the cloud.

These teenagers exemplify an audience that is formed and deformed by what they see online. Their public visual selfie opacity can thus be either useful or limiting to the work of visual and mobile culture researchers. Moreover, it also definitely is a sign of the commodification of excitation, that of bypassing public overexposure. Despite the conscious aim to grasp the desired yet unreachable object, it is by joining the force of sharing within the network that produces satisfaction. Just as once Instant Messaging impacted mediated communication, immediate image sharing is undeniably changing, fostering and conditioning new forms of social relations, setting the commodification

of users own images in the center (as we have for the moment seen through these teenagers' activity) as both objects and subjects of the system.

Amateur mobile images also rely on the lightness of immediacy, mockery, self-derision, but also on the cyclical pleasure of play, fun and confidence of ties, where these vernacular visual sharings are the sign and its images the symbols of how vulnerable and ephemeral trust can be. The fact that the sharing of these photos is short lived makes its production process answer more to impulses rather to reflection.

References

Albury, K. (2013). Young people, media and sexual learning: rethinking representation. *Sex education*, 13(sup1), S32-S44.

Allard, L., Creton, L. & Odin, R. (dir.). (2014). *Téléphonie mobile et creation*. Paris: Armand Colin, coll. Recherches.

Baron, N.S. (2008). *Always on: Language in an online and mobile world*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bourdieu, P. & Wacquant, L.J.D. (1992). *An Invitation t Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Boyd, D. (21 March 2014). Why Snapchat is Valuable: It's All About Attention. *apophenia*, www.zephoria.org.

Carlisle, R.P. (2009). *Encyclopedia of play in today's society*. Los Angeles: SAGE.

Casado, E. & Lasén, A. (2012). What is disturbing and why not to disturb. On mobile phones, gender and privacy within heterosexual intimacy. *Mobile Media and Communication*, Sage.

Chamorro-Premuzic, T. (13 March 2014). Sharing the (self) Love: The Rise of the Selfie and Digital Narcissism. *Media Network Blog, The Guardian*, www.theguardian.com.

David, G. (2013). The panorama between mobile visual platforms is a sentimental bond. *Ubiquity: The Journal of Pervasive Media*, Volume 2, Issue 1-2, October 2013, 146-163.

De Lange, M. (2010). *Moving Circles: mobile media and playful identities*. PhD Dissertation.

Fletcher, C. & Cambre, M.C. (2009). Digital storytelling and implicated scholarship in the classroom. *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 43(1): 109-130.

Goffman, E. (1959). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. Garden City, N.Y: Doubleday.

Gunthert, A. (2014). L'image conversationnelle. Les nouveaux usages de la photographie numérique. *Études photographiques*, N° 31, [On line]. Retrieved from http://etudesphotographiques.

Gye, L. (2007). Picture This: the Impact of Mobile Camera Phones on Personal Photographic Practices. *Continuum*, 21(2): 279-288.

Haddon, L. & Vincent, J. (2009). Children's Broadening use of Mobile Phones. In Goggin, G. & Hjorth, L. (Eds.), *Mobile Technologies: From Telecommunications to Media* (pp. 37-49). New York: Routledge.

Jurgenson, N. (7 Jan 2014). The Frame Makes the Photograph. *BlogSnapchat*, http://blog.snapchat.com.

Kamradt, G. (7 Oct 2013). 10 ways Snapchat can monetize. *Greg Kamradt*, http://gregkamradt.com.

Mauss, M. (1923-1924). Essai sur le don. Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés primitives. Article originally published in *l'Année Sociologique*, seconde série, 1923-1924. Online digital edition done by Jean-Marie Tremblay, Cégep of Chicoutimi, 17 February 2002. Retrieved from http://pdf.thepdfportal.com.

Notopoulos, K. (5 Dec 2012). The Snapchat Feature That Will Ruin Your Life, *BuzzFeed*, www.buzzfeed.com.

Roesner, F.; Gill, B. & Kohno, T. (2014). Sex, Lies, or Kittens? Investigating the Use of Snapchat's Self-Destructing Messages. *Franziroesner.com*. Retrieved from www.franziroesner.com.

Rubinstein, D. (2005). Cellphone photography; The death of the camera and the arrival of visible speech. *The Issues in Contemporary Culture and Aesthetics*, 1: 113-118.

Rubinstein, D. & Sluis, K. (2008). A Life More Photographic. *Photographies*, 1(1): 9-28.

Sarvas, R. (2006). *Designing User-Centric Metadata for Digital Snapshot Photography* (Doctoral dissertation). Helsinki: Helsinki University of Technology and Helsinki Institute for InformationTechnology HIIT. Retrieved from http://groups.ischool.

Sveningsson Elm, M. (2009). How Do Various Notions of Privacy Influence Decisions in Qualitative Internet Research?. In A.N. Markham & N.K. Baym, *Internet inquiry: Conversations about method* (pp. 69-87). Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Taylor, A.S. & Harper, R. (2003). The Gift of the Gab?: A Design Oriented Sociology of Young People's Use of Mobiles. *World*, 267-296. Retrieved from http://research.microsoft.

Verstraete, G. (2010). Introduction. Intermedialities: A Brief Survey of Conceptual Key Issues. In I. Blom, J. Schröter & G. Verstraete (eds.). *Intermedialities: Theory, History, Practice. Issue of Acta Universitatis Sapientiae. Film and Media Studies*. 2: 7-14. Retrieved from http://issuu.com.

Vetere, F.; Howard, S. & Gibbs, M.R. (2005). Phatic Technologies: Sustaining Sociability through Ubiquitous Computing, Workshop paper, Ubiquitous Society Workshop, ACM CHI 2005, Portland, Oregon, USA.

Wagner, K. (2011). Moblogging, Remediation and The New Vernacular. *Photographies*, (February 2013): 37-41.

Wang, V.; Tucker, J.V. & Rihll, T.E. (2011). On phatic technologies for creating and maintaining human relationships. *Technology in Society*, 33: 44–51. Retrieved from, www.academia.edu.

Zhou, T. (15 August 2014), A Brief Look at Texting and the Internet in Film. *Every Frame a Painting*, www.youtube.com.

5. Persona, Celebrity, and Selfies in Social Justice: Authenticity in Celebrity Activism

Samita Nandy
Centre for Media and Celebrity Studies (CMCS) (Canada)

Abstract: Digital photography of self portraitures generates contradictory responses in celebrity activism. These photographs, also called 'selfies,' are often expressive representations of self-indulgent portrayals as well as social advocacy. The question of authenticity is central to the contradictions of selfies, and is heightened in the aesthetics and politics of fame. A rigorous theoretical and methodological examination of the celebrity is hence imperative to addressing authenticity and to examining the effective use of selfies as pedagogical and advocacy tools. Academic research and media reports show that celebrities play a vital role in social advocacy, political lobbying, raising awareness, and generating funds for compelling causes. In the process, however, confession of intimate details, commodification of emotions, and promotion of self counteract effects of social justice that many celebrities aim to promote.

In this chapter, I aim to show how selfies via mobile communication can act as reflective biographical accounts in celebrity activism. In fact, these digital self-portraits can be integrated as a part of cultural productions such as media interviews, diary entries, and unedited footage, and offer a nuanced understanding of celebrity activism. For the purpose of this study, a major focus is offered on the conceptualization of celebrity personas and role of emotions in fame. In tabloid representations of celebrities, gossip, rumour and scandals act as narrative devices that aim to assimilate society on moral grounds. The irony is that celebrities are often exploited in unethical ways.

This chapter concludes that cultural productions of reflective biographical accounts can resolve the ironical role of emotions in fame and advocate social causes through celebrity activism. Selfies, in particular, can act as participatory and subversive forms of art in which affective actors can blur hierarchical boundaries and mobilize multiple sensory

Mobile and Digital Communication, 101-122

perceptions, engaged learning, and advocacy of social causes. The relationship between emotions and fame is contested in media, and calls for practice-based research that can restore emotions in effective social campaigns.
Keywords: Persona, Celebrity, Fame, Photography, Selfies.

Persona, Celebrity and Selfies

A glimpse into celebrity culture shows that many celebrities advocate for social issues in human rights, animal rights and environmental sustainability. These celebrity activists not only voice opinions through public events and media representations, but also use selfies via mobile communications to promote their causes. An inquiry that may emerge is: How far is celebrity activism effective? Can 'selfies' or 'hashtag activism' effectively advocate causes in celebrity culture? In order to address the above questions, it is important to address the relationships among persona, celebrities, and selfies.

The word persona has its etymological origins in the Latin word 'mask' (Barbour, Marshall, and Moore, 2014). The display of the public self as a 'mask' has been present since the Greek and Roman eras. When studied from the dramaturgical approach of sociologist Erving Goffman, we can understand the use of the persona as a performance of a 'mediated self' in everyday life. In contemporary times, the mask veils personalities to such an extent that the persona is not even a partial representation of self. It is rather a reconstructed representation with simplified dichotomies that are not complex to understand. Public personalities comprise of complexities and context-based understandings, and celebrities and media scholars are not exempt from those understandings. Yet, both celebrities and media scholars can restore complex realities through the process of reflecting, performing, and activating connections with contexts. The process of performing is not static but rather in flow with repeated actions. There are also gaps within the repetitions that unfold the unknown of what is being textually written, felt, and contested. In either case, the liminality of interviewing / interviewed body as a performative text allows audiences to accommodate its inconsistent facts and marginalized re-

presentations of emotional states. The performative practices in liminal spaces can embody multiplicity of hope and care in humanity. These practices are often overlooked in simplistic uses of 'masks' in fame. It is possible to maintain an authentic persona despite its mediation. However, the gap between persona and self is widening in celebrity culture and contests the historical role of the persona in art.

Artists have evolved metaphorically as a personality brand, whereby the brand is a 'differentiating mark' and 'value indicator' (Rentschler, 2005). This metaphor of the brand offers multiple possibilities for exploring individual experience as an artist, persona and value indicator. A glimpse into Table 1 (Davis and Chun, 2003) maps the relation between the artist, his / her persona, and its value. From a Marxist perspective, the personality brand stands in for the artist and brings exchange value. Sub-metaphors such as names, signatures, emblems, logos and national identity among many other cultural constructions further the value of the personality brand. A good example of such branding is the representation of the Swiss chocolate producer, Lindt, which has created and sustained a valuable national brand of Switzerland. A parallel can be seen in the construction and maintenance of the celebrity persona. Indexical expressions of the celebrity persona can be artworks and activism that have exchange value and reflect and reinforce the brand of the celebrity (Wheaton & Nandy 2015). When a celebrity persona is glorified, the value of its art or activism is inflated. If the celebrity is scandalized, the value of its art or activism is consequently deflated.

Table 1: The artist as metaphor

Indicator	Metaphor	Sub-Metaphor
Artist	Brand as differentiating mark	Brand as name
		Brand as logo or symbol
		Brand as emblem
Persona	Brand as person	Brand as personality
		Brand as relationship with stakeholders
		Brand as national identity
		Brand reputation
		Brand national narrative
Value	Brand as asset	Brand financial value
		Brand as investment
		Brand as early female entrepreneur
		Brand as social capital
		Brand as social caché

Source: modified Davies and Chun 2003

The way in which the exchange value of a celebrity persona changes indicates that a celebrity is not necessarily a person. A celebrity is rather a media text that is constructed by technologies (Nandy, 2015). Without this media construction, a celebrity does not exist. Chris Rojek (2001) says that media representation is "the key principle in constructing and consuming the celebrity" (p. 13). These media texts representing celebrities sociologically function as a system of signs. The signs of fame are red carpets, awards, luxurious garments, caught-unaware stills in public / private settings, and close-ups in security-guarded places. While some signs of fame express extraordinariness, others express ordinariness. There is a question of authenticity of fame in the tension between the paradox of the 1) extraordinary and ordinary, and 2) fame's presence and absence that creates and sustains curiosity, appeal and desire towards a celebrity. Celebrity texts are thereby incoherent – they are sustained by contrasts between the performing 'presence' and 'absence,' i.e., what happens on-stage and off-stage (Ellis, 2007; Geraghty, 2007). Richard Dyer (2004) states, ordinariness as well as its difference from extraordinariness "must be embodied as true and natural" and hence the star "image insists on her or his authenticity" (p. 157). The question of authenticity is addressed within the paradox of ordinariness and extraordinariness. In fame, the rheto-

ric of authenticity of the ordinary is particularly questioned and legitimized as one of the most valued meanings within the political and economic system of celebrity culture, and is reinforced by the popular use of selfies in digital media.

The need to construct authenticity through traditional and digital media can be traced back to the nineteenth century Romanticism. Following the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution, Charles Guignon (2004) notes, Romanticism was the undercurrent reaction to the twin impacts of rationality and the mechanization of technology on nature. Guignon specifies the impact of technology on nature in the following three ways. First, a sense of wholeness appears to have been lost with the rise of modernity and mechanization. Second, truth is "discovered with total immersion in one's deepest and most intense feelings" (p. 51). However, the primordial source of nature in self and environment, at large, is lost in rational reflection and the scientific methods. Third, the self is the highest and most encompassing form of originality, but it is undermined by standardized practices of technology. In the industrial society, dominant institutions influence using these technologies to reconstruct an authentic self that is lost by the impacts of society. The authentic self is free-spirited and complex, as seen in natural settings, but simplistically reconstructed to conform to ideological practices favoured by dominant institutions.

In celebrity culture, authenticity is constructed and maintained in a way that simply manages or negotiates competing ideologies through signs of fame. It also resolves cultural tensions and addresses existing problems of social identity occurring due to ideological differences. In the process, there is often confession of intimate details, commodification of emotions, and promotion of self that counteract effects of social justice that many celebrities aim to advocate. Gossip, rumour, and scandals act as narrative devices that aim to integrate society on moral grounds. However, the irony is that many celebrities are exploited in unethical ways. The ironical use of emotions is evident in the production, circulation, and reception of confessions and disclosure of intimacy by celebrities in traditional and digital media.

A deeper understanding of the relationship between celebrities and emotions is necessary for finding ways to reverse or limit processes that lead to narcissistic interests and neglect in both traditional and digital media, particularly in the use of selfies. As demonstrated in *The Emotions Industry* (Nandy,

2014), emotions refer to feelings that range from pleasure to distress and can be expressed in spontaneous or imagined ways. These emotions are part of sensory faculties and cognitive processes that reflect and reinforce perceptions in personal and social contexts. Konijn (1997) explains that imagined emotions differ from spontaneous ones in the sense that the former has greater degree of control and can result in social behaviour. Imagined emotions are often socially constructed, and linking them to well-known personas can offer instant gratification to fans. These emotions differ from spontaneous emotions that offer direct insight into authentic personalities. Nunn and Biressi (2005) and Aslama and Pantti (2006) contend that public disclosure of private emotions and intimacy acts as signs of direct access to authenticity and affective dimensions. They point out emotional limits that most celebrities encounter in social, economic, and political contexts. A semiotic and discourse analysis of celebrity texts shows why and how emotions are commodified in celebrity culture. Redmond (2007) points out we live in a "confessional culture" where disclosures of emotions can act as therapeutic tools. As seen in tabloid media and in selfies, these emotional confessions form part of a therapeutic discourse that could negotiate tensions developed from the repression of an authentic self. The confessions also help to repair the damage to famous personas that are imagined, created, and consumed by scandalmongers and gossips. In fact, as seen in tabloid journalism and in social media, celebrities act as "emotional laborers," whereby the market power of "emotional work," paid or unpaid, contributes towards maintaining an affective economy (Biressi and Nunn, 2005). To this end, gossip, rumours, and scandals about celebrities on social media act as narrative devices to develop pleasure, intimacy, and cohesiveness among fans and followers. These narrations, albeit mythical, aim to integrate society on moral grounds. In the process, emotions of celebrities are often consumed in unethical ways, leading to psychological distress and confessions as saleable news. The ironical use of emotions is evident in the revelations of intimate details of their life. The production, circulation and reception of these celebrities then negate the role of mainstream journalism or citizen journalism in providing value-free information, and undermine artistic talent for which many celebrities become famous. The prolific use of confession and intimacy simply acts as a form of constructed authenticity.

In evaluating aesthetics of fame and ways in which sensationalization of persona can be reversed or limited, it is important to consider the function of

sensory emotion in media, traditional and digital, and in mediated versions of biographical accounts. As theorized in *The Emotions Industry*, the function of emotions in celebrity culture is twofold: it is both the cause and the effect of the economic demand of fame (Nandy, 2014). Nunn and Biressi (2010) offer perspectives on celebrities that explain the significance of the two-fold use of emotions in representations of celebrity personas. For them, the emotional labour of celebrities has the ability to limit or repair reputations that are often damaged by scandals. Biographies and confessional reports in media can then overcome betrayal of public trust in the economic demands of fame (Ibid.). Redmond (2008) sheds light on the role of the body in his theoretical explanation of confession as a particular form of emotional labour. From Redmond's perspective, "the sinful body, particularly in a historical context, can be found guilty and punished if it does not repent or if the repentance is not accepted as genuine" (p. 42). In celebrity culture, the confessional body plays a role in repairing damage and maintaining famous personas. For these personas, exhibitionism, testifying, and bearing witness of trauma can relieve a burden of responsibility and facilitate public acceptance including acclaim. In examining the aesthetics and politics of fame, the confessional body of celebrated personas can be considered as a biological site of pleasure and distress in their emotional labour. In fact, emotional distress for the mental health of celebrities can be the effect of selling their unconventional pleasure as a piece of scandal. The conditions of their mental health can be overlooked in favour of scandalizing abuse and violence as forms of pleasure in celebrity culture. These cognitive contexts are important to consider in evaluating their actions. However, as mentioned in *The Emotions Industry* (2014), selling news about mental health creates an illusion of repairing reputations, thereby generating further media attention and the economic demand of persona in fame. The confession of emotional expressions operates as a narrative device to popularize a personified self and, in the process, sells media content to a large audience. Some biographical and media reports scandalize feelings of pleasure and create stress in maintaining a celebrity persona. Other reports expose emotional distress as a selling factor for celebrities (Fairclough, 2008, Wright, 2008). In both cases, media often commodify creative drives, emotional expressions, and sensory responses that are central to the talent required for performing arts and activism. These personified expressions are key to building a brand in marketing arts and activist causes. In fact, the activism

can be strengthened due to the artist as a metaphor, using the 'differentiating mark' and 'value indicator' of the artist's brand as social assets. Activism, as portrayed through biographies among other forms of life writings, is then an effect of artists acting as metaphors of a personality brand.

The ironical use of emotions as an expression of an authentic persona is common practice for gaining social recognition in both celebrity culture and in everyday life, as seen in the use of selfies. In fact, many celebrities use selfies and have made the ordinary practice of taking digital self-portraits as a part of their popular practices. In other cases, ordinary users implement selfies extensively to the point of becoming micro-celebrities. In either case, the irony of emotional expressions both questions and addresses the authenticity that mediated personas seek. However, the ironical use of emotions often leads to an overemphasis of narcissistic expressions that contests the urgent need of social causes. There is thus a growing concern about representations of ordinary emotions and this concern calls for solutions to the ethical needs of self expressions in fame-based practices.

In the consumption of the persona, there is a mark of a shift from developing merit-based talent in past forms of heroism and leadership to mediating emotional selves. In celebrity culture, the ironical use of emotions has particularly become an object of trade and discussion. Yet, celebrities and ordinary selfie users have personal stories and aspects to their personas that can serve as living examples of celebrating artistic talent and social change. This is not to say that celebrities are necessarily innocent victims in the constructions of their personas. In fact, celebrities have agents and publicists that play a significant role in filtering and disseminating the image of their persona via media. However, the "media often report actions out of context, misinterpret facts and create paradoxical conditions for emotional distress that is further sold as profitable content" (Nandy, 2014, p. 229). The irony is further reflected and reinforced by the production, circulation, and distribution of selfies by celebrities, fans, followers, and critics in popular culture.

Selfie is a popular genre of digital photography in which a person takes a photo of self. The origins of the selfie date back to the beginnings of self-portrait painting. In those times, artists used mirrors as tools for self-depiction and generated a form of autobiographical photography that pre-existed the camera phone. The (selfie) shot is either reflected off of a mirror or the user reaches out with his/her arm, pointing the camera back toward oneself. Des-

pite its artistic influences and creative intention to capture or share memories, digital photography of self portraitures generates contradictory responses. Celebrities, fans, aficionados, and ordinary users implement digital tools to filter and manipulate their persona through the use of selfies on Instagram, WhatsApp, and other mobile communication devices. These photographs can be expressions of narcissistic emotions as well as social advocacy. The question of authenticity is central to the contradictions in selfies, and is heightened in the aesthetics and politics of fame. A rigorous theoretical and methodological examination of the celebrity is hence imperative to addressing authenticity and to the effective use of selfies as pedagogical and advocacy tools. The impact of social media and, in particular, mobile communication devices for photographic practices needs to be considered in celebrity culture.

In general, most users curate a feed that chronicles personal relationships and individual experiences. For them, looking through their portraits may tell us who they are. However, the standard forms of representations create homogenized aesthetics that can weaken the sensibility that selfies enable. One of the resulting problems is that selfies are disconnected from the social, psychological, economic, and political contexts in which they are produced, circulated, and received. As a result, selfies are often free floating signifiers that may express nothing but a cultural mark of a "me-generation" associated with social narcissism and lack of an authentic self (Fallon, 2014). For many critics, there is thus a cultural decline of self with the prolific use of selfie. At the same time, selfies have enabled an aesthetic sensibility among some users. From the perspective of Walter Benjamin (1998), the user acts as a producer in selfies. In fact, selfies are multi-authored, especially due to the interactive exchange that occurs during the interplay between the feed and the stream in mobile communication (Fallon, 2014). Selfies can also be an expression of a subversive form of art in which users can act as affective actors and blur hierarchical boundaries. In doing so, users mobilize multiple sensory perceptions, engaged learning, and advocacy of social causes. The advocacy of social causes is not limited to the distribution of digital portraits through hashtags, as indicated by Joss Hands' @ *is for Activism* (2010). 'Hashtag activism' is promoted by selfies as well as instant messages in a social network, where usernames are often indicated by @. From the perspective of sensory aesthetics, the impact of these forms of activism through personal narratives is worth considering within a larger framework of social justice movements.

Some celebrities use selfies to advocate for their social causes. These selfies also influence appreciating their artworks, especially if they engage in social, political and personal change. Ellen DeGeneres' selfie at the 86th Academy Awards is a good example of influencing social change. Her selfie got re-tweeted more than three-million times. The re-tweet of the 'star-studded selfie' led Samsung to donate a total of $3 million to two of her favourite charities: the Humane Society and St. Jude Children's Research Hospital. Similarly, Michelle Obama and Malala Yousufzai participated in taking photos of self in which they held signs that depict the UNICEF hashtag #BringBackOurGirls in support of girls abducted in Nigeria. Also, Naomi Campbell, Tom Hiddleston, and Nigella Lawson among many other celebrities participated in the UNICEF #WakeUpCall hashtag activism in which they took selfies to support children refugees in Syria. These forms of activism contest disempowering acts of tabloid journalism. In tabloid journalism, emotional expressions of celebrities are often commodified and sold for media profits. In the case of selfie activists, the reverse can take place: charitable donation to a social cause. Both academic literature and media reports show how many celebrities help with political lobbying, raising public awareness, and generating funds for social causes.

However, selfies can also be expressions of consumerist narcissism and corporate interests in celebrity activism and in everyday life. As Dan Brockington (2009) argues, celebrity endorsements support corporate capitalism and its attendant ills that are the root causes of many social problems. If a celebrity activist is scandalized, his/her scandal becomes newsworthy and transforms into saleable content that further drives publicity, boosts profits, and supports corporate interests. Celebrity activists such as Jimmy Saville and Rolf Harris are good examples of such infamous acts. Jian Ghomeshi is another scandalous example of alleged abusive behaviour while ensuing as an advocate of many intellectual and social pursuits. Activism can get lost in the process of media production, distribution, and consumption of gossip, rumours, and scandals. The sensation of scandals shifts attention away from the contexts of social action and impact of activism, and affective values of both the celebrity persona and its indexical substitutes are tarnished and devalued (Wheaton and Nandy 2015). The deviant personas then act as conditions of fame, which carry both narcissistic and economic interests. These challenges set grounds for future research on methodological questions: How can we res-

tore celebrity activism in the process of losing personas? In particular, how do we still value the good deeds by celebrity activists, while acknowledging the ironies of personas, celebrities, and activism? Can traditional media and mobile communication make a difference to the ironies that have existed in popular media practices? In addressing these questions, it is important to focus on how the indexical substitutes of celebrity persona are devalued in the wake of scandal, and thus how pivotal the role of persona is to inflating or deflating exchange-value of celebrity as a monetary form (Wheaton and Nandy, 2015).

Future Directions

This section discusses how effective parts of celebrity activism can be restored through the ethical use of persona, especially through selfies in wider media research and practice. This section also aims to show how academics can use similar persona and biographical methods that celebrities have used in the past, and restore expressions/actions through their own scholarly presence in traditional media and in mobile communication. In the process, scholars can help in reclaiming effective parts of celebrity activism, while not overlooking ethical dangers of the celebrity.

In future directions of studying traditional media and mobile communication, scholars can consider methodological ways in which they can restore art and action enabled by celebrity activists. It can be argued that their power has influenced good use of their personas in artistic and activist pursuits. It has also ironically led to abuse against themselves and/or other victims as objects of trade through their fame. While celebrities have responsibilities in the construction and distribution of their own persona, consumers also hold accountability in successful functions of this objective. Indeed, there are some aspects of their persona that lead consumers to like them and make their persona work (Wheaton and Nandy, 2015). A complete tarnish of their persona is then not only inconsistent, but diminishes the causes they have effectively supported in the past.

Ethical questions in the ironic use of sensory emotions can be addressed by scholarly reflections on biographical accounts of celebrity personas in public discourses of fame. In understanding personas, it must be noted that the source and essence of expressing authenticity are often rooted in untold per-

sonal journeys and in emotional responses to those journeys. Personal expression plays a significant role in developing authentic talent and in re-thinking dominant representations of emotions in fame. Biographical narratives and critical reflections help unfolding personal expressions as authentic sources of talent. For Redmond and Holmes (2007), writing the history of celebrity texts and the analysis of their changes demand self-reflection on celebrity culture in which the texts are written, both textually and visually. In historicizing fame, writers reflect and reinforce fame in a way that is not static and objective. It is rather a subjective process. The same reflection can be applied to famous personas that are integral to the process of constructing them. As celebrities largely exist within representation, it is necessary to draw on written stories about celebrities when mapping the history of fame (Redmond and Holmes, 2007). In writing about the ordinary/extraordinary lives of personas, biographical and autobiographical texts become sites of truth and knowledge that have an affect/effect on those who creatively read them. These texts

> become a complex set of signs that can be inter-textually read in relation to films, photographs and other texts representing celebrities. Celebrity culture is, then, not limited to the media representations of famous personalities within popular discourses, but includes biographical texts that historicize them and explain social changes within a self-reflective framework (Nandy, 2014).

The scandals, gossip, and rumours tarnishing celebrity personas are appropriate examples of commodification of personal expressions that once included advocacy of artistic and social issues. Kris (1979) suggests that narrative formulas, such as anecdotes about celebrated artists, relate either to the career of the artists or to the effect of their artistic or activist works that impact the public. In cultural production of interviews and diary entries, confessions and intimate details of an artist's life offer insights into emotions through which his/her artistic and activist talent developed. As discussed earlier, the confessional body is a biological site of pleasure and distress in emotional labour offered by celebrities (Redmond, 2008). In this perspective, the reverse is also possible: writing and historicizing biographical accounts of fame can perform, release, and reclaim personal expressions in critical spaces of artistic inquiry. Writing and historicizing biographical accounts of public personas can restore

emotional expressions that are integral to their art and activism. In the process, scholars can also offer living examples of celebrating artistic and activist talent beyond discursive practices that commodify them in celebrity culture. In academia and in media interviews, scholars can reflect on biographical accounts of personas in celebrity culture as well as their own scholarly personas that bear witness and act as living examples for social change.

The significance of personal narratives and reflections can be observed in biographical accounts of the famous artist Frida Kahlo. Popular representations and media commentaries tend to mythologize, commodify and, at times, scandalize Frida Kahlo in art history. At the same time, her portraits and diaries offer opportunities to witness the depths of her sensory emotions and catharsis as primary sources of her creative works, and to consider her as an art form as well (Lindauer, 2011). In celebrity studies, Will Visconti's scholarly writings offer further examples of deep learning practices that help restore sensory emotions and personal expressions with which a celebrity performs his/her talent. As mentioned in *The Emotions Industry*, Visconti studies the life and representation of Marchesa Luisa Casati, a celebrated art patroness and muse in art history, and passionately speaks of her artistic persona. Visconti draws on feminist theory and discloses intimate details of her life practices. He presents the power of her vulnerability and passionate drive of love for self as driving forces in creating her spectacular legacy, artistic persona, and lifestyle as a celebrated muse. In fact, his representation is "an excellent model in which his spoken words perform embodied passion and extend boundaries of textual and discourse analysis" (Nandy, 2014). Although bearing witness of the celebrated muse is beyond scope, his personal reflections have become a living exemplification of his own performance of authenticity, inspiring scholars, critics, and artists to express nuances and subtleties in the creative drive for enabling personas. Casati's love and desire to become immortal through art led to intimate connections with men who were artists and other creative figures. In these connections, Casati was generally more interested in long term creative fulfillment and sensory aesthetics than in sex. In his presentation at the inaugural Celebrity Studies journal conference, Visconti used performative elements such as balanced postures, various intonations, and pauses to express her love and intimacy with depth, dignity, and thoughtfulness that contrast ways in which media and other institutions analyze or scandalize intimate details. The essence of demonstrating intimate

fine points from life expresses nuances and subtleties of creative drives that construct a public persona as a piece of art itself. In fact, celebrated personas such as Luisa Casati are "authors/creators whose bodies were the artworks or texts that they created, so [...] the link is much more explicit between life and art, rather than the application of biographical criticism in relation to someone like Dickens" (Visconti, 2013). The reflection on personal narratives and their contexts is significant to restoring sensory emotions with which a celebrity performs art and activism. For Louis Smith (2012), writing about heroes and heroines does not exist in isolation as "contexts exist in life and contexts exist in writing lives" (p.13). These contexts can be restored by educators, media professionals, and reflective practitioners by engaging in biographical narratives and situated experiences, leading towards "accenting of agency of teachers in daily give" and expanding research agendas (Ibid. p.27).

Celebrity studies scholar Olivier Driessens further argues for interviewing celebrities, and suggests methods to expand research agendas that will be beneficial for both academic and media institutions. For Driessens, ethnography has been more generally valuable to study celebrity culture. However, he focuses on interview as a particular method that has received rare attention in media studies. Driessens (2014) observes that

> interview has hardly been used to study individual celebrities. This is due to not only the dominance of textual analysis, but also the challenges posed by celebrities as a research population [...] instead of studying celebrities as agents and respondents, most research efforts have examined fans' consumption of celebrity (p.2).

In expanding the research agenda of celebrity studies, Driessens points out methodological challenges in accessing celebrities and suggests ways in which researchers can surpass cultural intermediaries, such as managers, who control the celebrity's agenda, and fills methodological gaps in studies and practices of celebrity personas. Driessens' call for scholarly interviews with celebrities can be extended to interviews with scholarly personas in media, and to the performance of biographical elements in the interviews. As Smith (2012) states, "biography should move beyond narration and storytelling of the particular into more abstract conceptualizations, interpretations and ex-

planations" as it is partial and limiting in scope (p.18). In fact, "current biographical forms and formats should be only seen as tentative guidelines", and "innovative or experimentalist set of values" should be considered by scholars in their own creative inquiry (Ibid. p.29). Although writing biography is an active constructionist activity in which personas, data, and contexts are considered, Smith contends that serendipity is important as well. As often found in interviews, serendipity "needs to be noted as a significant possibility in both purpose and strategy" (Ibid. p. 30). It contrasts more formal intellectual approaches," which can be an "illustration of reconstructed logic rather than logic in use" (Ibid. p.30). The serendipitous moments are often lost in sensationalizing and scandalizing celebrity personas, but can be consciously restored through autoethnographic narratives in scholarly interviews offered by researchers and practitioners in media.

The essence of performative elements responds to failures of written communication in media and in other forms of communication. Despite the fact that communicative texts such as media reports and legal documents have been widely produced, abuse and violence continue, thus demanding attention beyond linear forms of writing. From the perspective of sensory aesthetics, oral communication and movement of the body in reflective biographical narratives can be considered in both scholarly and popular treatments of celebrities. In interviews and in other forms of conversations, contexts, nuances, and subtleties are often expressed through symbolic practices as well as temporal and spatial arrangements. The performance of gestures, postures, smiles, facial expressions, tones, and pace are often part of an autoethnographic narrative and bearing witness that draws on personal experiences. These performative elements can be included in scholarly interviews, creative praxis in teaching, research, and writing on celebrity personas. The usage of these elements will enable celebrity studies scholars to become living examples of social changes in popular culture. Tami Spry argues that performing autoethnography is a method of scholarly praxis that recognizes the body as a site of knowledge and discourse. These performative acts include emotional expressions and are based on familial scripts that structure our sense of identification in personal and professional lives (Spry, 2001). The ability to recognize lack of authentic expressions and emotions in celebrity culture is often grounded in social contexts and in emotional loss in personal life, but not acknowledged in practices that privilege profits and other social assets in media practices.

To demonstrate the loss and reclamation of sensory emotions, scholars can accommodate and embrace our wider connection to others that is often not articulated in celebrity culture. Yet, it is the driving force for arts and activism for many celebrities. These sensory emotions include feelings of physical loss, egoistic pleasures, and tears of pain characterized by multiplicity, dislocation, and liminality. In *Performing Pedagogy: Toward an Art of Politics*, Charles Garoian (1999) refers to liminality as "an aesthetic dimension, wherein socially and historically constructed ideas, images, myths, and utopias can be contested and new ones constructed" (p. 10). Performative elements in scholarly interviews about celebrity personas reconstruct our notion of self that can be free from social conditions. The spatial arrangement of interviews can involve open spaces of inquiry that is often denied in dominant media representations of celebrity art and activism, but is essential to creation of life that celebrity activists tend to influence. Conversational panels with media scholars, public personalities, journalists, policymakers, and an interactive live audience can open dialogues that are not privileged in tabloid journalism. In fact, scholars can act as journalists and interview celebrities, using performative elements as pedagogical tools while historicizing fame and personas, and contributing research as informed opinions. Furthermore, an integration of selfies, diary entries, life-writing, performance ethnography, and other embodied acts within media interviews can facilitate a reflexive relation between scholars and public personalities as subjects of journalistic enquiry and modes of their representation. The use of hybrid texts/genres, in association with performative elements in interviews, can develop subversive reading strategies rather than dominant textual effects that fans often accept in celebrity culture. Critical performance pedagogy has been suppressed in favour of consumerist voyeurism and profitable drives in dichotomous practices. However, the body as a performative text in media can resolve tensions in the dichotomy.

Since the study of celebrities directly engages with popular arts through reflection and action, it holds a unique position and function in resolving tensions in tabloid representation through artistic expressions. It can also strengthen celebrity activism beyond discursive frameworks that commodify it and support social justice that many celebrities aim to advocate in the political economy of fame. Both media interviews and selfies can use verbal words and non-verbal expressions to represent shifts from reflection to action based on emotions in a communal manner, and to enable transformative pra-

xis for action, freedom, speech, community, and life. The use of biographical methods in scholarly interviews about celebrity personas activates ethics in liminal spaces of experiencing and interpreting celebrity culture. bell hooks (2001) contends that although popular culture carries immense representations of love, it is often romanticized and offers limited opportunities to explore its complex meanings and actions. She specifically argues, "[...] our nation, like no other in the world, is a culture driven by the quest for love (in movies, music and literature) even if it offers so little opportunity for us to understand love's meaning or to know how to realize love in word and deed" (p. xxviii). In fact, as seen in the consumption of celebrity culture, most emotional expressions are either romanticized or scandalized whereby the persona is a 'brand product', and human figures are turned into objects that can be used or abused and traded in fame. In the process, emotions are lost in celebrity personas, leading them to victimize others or becoming victims of abuse in the media sensation about them. The lack of humanity in our contemporary culture prompts hooks to propose practices that involve "care, commitment, trust, responsibility, respect and knowledge in our lives" (Ibid. p. 94). In adopting critical pedagogical tools, such as autoethnographic narratives in traditional and digital media, academics, artists, and activists can effectively demonstrate ironies, address questions of authenticity, and fill ethical gaps in misrepresentations of emotions. These tools enable embodied acts where the creative body is an agency of change and connects personal and social actions in aesthetics and politics of fame. When personal experience and evidence are interpreted in a collective setting, self-reflexivity, dialogue, and collaborative action can occur for social change in celebrity culture.

Conclusion

This chapter adopted qualitative methods to analyze uses and representations of emotions in celebrity culture. In particular, the chapter discussed the integration of biographical methods and performative elements as a way to restore emotions lost in mediated personas. The objects of analysis were texts, images, and discourses in tabloid journalism and in selfie compositions. Studies of celebrities offered opportunities to explore the complex ways in which their personas are constructed and the emotional elements that need to be restored. In fame, the function of emotions is twofold: it is both the cause and the effect

of the economic and social demands of fame. The ironical use of emotions is evident in the production, circulation, and reception of confessions and disclosure of intimacy by celebrities. The use of emotions helps in constructing and maintaining authentic personas as brands that are traded in the form of objects in fame. The objectification of celebrities shifts attention away from the creative spirit that unfolds talent and touches humanity. Context-based understandings of authentic emotions and social needs are often overlooked in celebrity activism, but those needs can be restored through a combination of cultural productions.

Media scholars and practitioners need to extend writing into ethnographic accounts and become living examples of exploring and restoring the emotions. Indeed, writing is an embodied act. Embodying personal narratives in the journey of teaching and learning of famous personas reassures possibilities of exploring emotions and the inherent ironies of celebrity culture. In future, an integration of celebrity texts within hybrid genres of cultural productions can contribute further critical readings of representations of personas in fame. The emotional exchanges in these performative practices can enable radical transformation of celebrity culture that have up to now been primarily guided by journalistic discourses and discourse analysis. For celebrity studies scholars, hybrid texts / genres in media interviews as well as in selfies open up liminal and unsettled spaces to explore, perform, and implement ethics in studies and practices of celebrity activists.

Selfies in mobile communication can act as reflective biographical accounts in wider media practices of celebrity activism. In fact, these digital self-portraits can be integrated as a part of cultural productions such as media interviews, diary entries, and unedited footage, and offer a greater understanding of nuances and subtleties in their artistic and activist drives. In all cases, the role of persona and its context-based understandings have significant impact on the effective function of traditional media and mobile communication in celebrity culture. Studies of celebrities and mobile communication should consider the applications of visual data in both still and moving images such as video diaries of self. The visual construction of data enables multi-sensual communication with gesture, posture, vocal expressions, and representation of artefacts and environment. In the process, mobile communication can allow wider readings and audience engagements in celebrity culture and in everyday life. The inclusion of personal narratives through performance texts such

as media interviews, public debates, and selfies empowers living examples of changes, first-hand experiences, and testimonies as verifiable data in liminal spaces. Literal and metaphorical expressions, verbal and non-verbal, both reinforce and contest dominant and ideal notions of romanticized personas. When idealized personas fail in reality, they get scandalized.

Performative elements in traditional and digital media act as an artistic method of critical inquiry and are steps towards restoring ethical actions in fame-based practices. Critical explorations through reflective biographical narratives in scholarly interviews of celebrities fit well within the scope of future studies of celebrities and selfie users in mobile communication. The texts, contexts, and exchanges in reflective biographical practices can enable a radical transformation of personas that have up to now been primarily understood through simplistic representations in traditional media and in citizen journalism. Reflective biographical narratives, especially in media interviews and selfies, can open new possibilities for restoring personal expressions with which a celebrity persona expresses authentic talent beyond political and economic structures that commodify it. In this respect, performative elements in interviews or self-presentations can act as a critical pedagogical tool that can help restore emotions, and strengthen Humanities and Social Sciences. The use of emotions in celebrity culture, in particular, is both the cause and effect of the economic demand of fame and is reinforced by the narcissistic use of selfies. Emotional loss and distress of celebrities reflect and reinforce the socio-economic framework in which they emerge. If representations and analyses of persona are central to understanding fame, the reflection on embodied acts of media scholars is also part of that understanding. In addressing moral and ethical issues of emotions in personas, the embodied act of writing, interpreting, and historicizing fame can be extended to performances of the body in traditional media and in mobile communication. The body as a performative text can then be analyzed in a way that unfolds possibilities of transforming reflections into actions, and restores the loss of emotions in fame.

References

Aslama, M. & Pantti, M. (2006). Talking Alone: Reality TV, Emotions and Authenticity. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 9 (2): 167-184.

Biressi, A. & Nunn, H. (2005). *Reality TV: realism and revelation*. London: Wallflower Press.

Biressi, A. & Nunn, H. (2010). 'A Trust Betrayed': Celebrity and the Work of Emotions. *Celebrity Studies*, 1 (1): 49-64.

Chapman, A. (2014). Changing 'The Term' of Engagement: Casting and Mobilizing Amateur Filmmakers in Recent Projects by Kostomarov, Rastorguev and Pivovarov. *Digital Icons: Studies in Russian, Eurasian and Central European New Media*, 11: 95-112.

Driessens, O. (2014). Expanding celebrity studies' research agenda: theoretical opportunities and methodological challenges in interviewing celebrities. *Celebrity Studies*.

Dyer, R. (2004). *Heavenly bodies: film stars and society*. London: Routledge.

Ellis, J. (2007). Stars as a Cinematic Phenomenon. In S. Redmond & S. Holmes (Eds.), *Stardom and Celebrity: A Reader*. London: Sage Publications.

Fairclough, K. (2008). Fame is a Losing Game: Celebrity Gossip Blogging, Bitch Culture and Postfeminism. *Genders*, 48.

Garoian, C.R. (1999). *Performing Pedagogy: Toward an Art of Politics*. Albany: SUNY Press.

Geraghty, C. (2007). Re-examining Stardom: Questions of Texts, Bodies and Performance. In S. Redmond & S. Holmes (Eds.), *Stardom and Celebrity: A Reader*. London: Sage Publications.

Holmes, S. & Redmond, S. (eds.) (2006). *Framing Celebrity: New Directions in Celebrity Culture*. Oxon: Routledge.

Knoblauch, H.; Schnettler, B. & Raab, J. (2006) *Video Analysis. Methodology and Methods. Qualitative Audiovisual Data Analysis in Sociology*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Konijn, E. (1997). *Acting Emotions: Shaping Emotions on Stage*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Kris, E. (1979). *Legend, Myth, and Magic in the Image of the Artist: A Historical Experiment*. New Haven, Yale University Press.

Kris, F. (2014). Streams of the Self: the Instagram Feed as Narrative Autobiography. In H. Moura, R. Sternberg, R. Cunha, C. Queiroz & M. Zeilinger (Eds.) *Proceedings of the Interactive Narratives, New Media & Social Engagement International Conference*.

Lindauer, M.A. (2011). *Devouring Frida: The Art History and Popular Celebrity of Frida Kahlo*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press.

Marshall, P.D. (ed.) (2007). *The Celebrity Culture Reader*. New York and London: Routledge.

Nandy, S. (2012). *Celebrities in Canada: Fame and National Identity*. Doctor of Philosophy, Curtin University.

Nandy, S. (2014). Emotions in Fame. In M. Moshe (Ed.), *The Emotions Industry*. New York: Nova Science Publishers.

Nandy, S. (2015). *Fame in Hollywood North: A Theoretical Guide to Celebrity Cultures in Canada*. Kingston: WaterHill Publishing.

Redmond, S. (2008). Pieces of me: celebrity confessional carnality. *Social Semiotics*, 18.

Redmond, S. (ed.) (2010). *Celebrity Studies*. London: Routledge.

Redmond, S. & Holmes, S. (eds.) (2007). *Stardom and Celebrity*. London: Sage Publications.

Rentschler, R. (2005). An early painter's persona as metaphor, in *Marketing: Building Business, Shaping Society. Proceedings of the 2005 Academy of Marketing Conference*, Dublin Institute of Technology Faculty of Business, Dublin, Ireland, pp. 1-13.

Rojek, C. (2001). *Celebrity*. London: Reaktion Books.

Smith, L. (1994). Biographical Method. In J. Goodwin (ed), *SAGE Biographical Research*. London: Sage.

Spry, T. (2001). Performing Autoethnography: An Embodied Methodological Praxis. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 7 (6): 706-732.

Turner, G. (2004). *Understanding Celebrity*. London: Sage.

Turner, G. (2010). Approaching celebrity studies. *Celebrity Studies*, 1 (1): 11-20.

Visconti, W. (2013). In S. Nandy (Ed.), *Celebrity Culture and Social Inquiry*. Toronto: The Centre for Media and Celebrity Studies (CMCS).

Visconti, W. (2012). Spectacular Muse: The Legacy of Marchesa Casati. *Celebrity Studies Journal Conference*. Deakin University: Routledge.

Wheaton, H. & Nandy, S. (2015). The Value-form of Persona: Celebrity Scandal, Activism, and Commodities. *Persona Studies Working Papers Symposium*. Deakin University, Australia.

Wright, S.A. (2008). *Blinding Lights: The Negative Effect of the Media on Celebrities*. California Polytechnic State University, USA.

6. Mass and Multitudes: "Old" and "New" Ways of Being in Public

João Carlos Correia
Universidade da Beira Interior

Abstract: The "old" concept of masses (studied by Freud, Gasset, Adorno, Canetti, Elias, Blumer among others) seems to be vanished from the recent research in digital media, as if it was a primitive way of being in public. Not denying the social importance of well-structured publics with a clear agenda and rational goals, one tries to bring to light the relevance of the mass behavior and mass propaganda in digital media, frequently expressed in forms of digital sociability (flaming, digital hooliganism and bullying) that seems to be forgotten by some approaches. Simultaneously, one tries to identify emerging forms of sociability that act politically with internal discussion and critical intervention. Nowadays, one assists to the rebirth of political activism. After the cynicism of 80th and 90th (Sloterdijk,1987), people seem to be awaking from political apathy, as the first years of the second decade seems to announce.

Keywords: Mass, Publics, Forms of Sociability, Political Activism, Digital Media.

Introduction and proposal

The "old"concept of masses (studied by Freud, Gasset, Adorno, Canetti, Elias, Blumer among others) seems to have disappeared from the recent research in digital media, as if it were a primitive way of being in public.

Notwithstanding the social importance of well-structured publics with a clear agenda and rational goals, one tries to bring to light the relevance of mass behaviour and mass propaganda in digital media, frequently expressed in forms of digital sociability (flaming, digital hooliganism and bullying) that seems to be forgotten by some approaches.

At the same time, one tries to identify emerging forms of sociability that act politically with internal discussion and critical intervention. Nowadays, the rebirth of political activism is evident. After the cynicism of the 1980s and 90s (Sloterdijk,1987), people seem to be awakening from political apathy, as the first years of the second decade seem to announce.

Suddenly, some phenomena occurred in Cairo, Madrid, and Lisbon, Greece. Activists began to occupy streets and squares, building their own agenda and causes in a process that seems highly flexible, autonomous and susceptible of being understood by the concept of multitudes. Simultaneously with mutations in activism, power suffers a structural change in its strategies and probably also in its very nature, being easier to gain or lose it. There is a strong acceleration of social dynamics (v. Naim, 2015; Hardt and Negri, 2000)

In this approach, our attention is focused on other particular social interactions generally referred to as multitudes that, by their features, seem to be productive to analyse when compared with masses.

Considering several ideal types of publicness, in the broad sense of acting in public, one finds it as a strong, complex and contradictory social variable pervasive in many different ways in the history of humankind and in the construction of political identities.

Mass critique and its critics

For a long period of time the social sciences have worked with ideal types of sociability to explain political and cultural dynamics. Among these, the public and the masses were the most frequently groups mentioned and studied by scholars.

An ideal type approach from Wright Mills became famous
In a mass,

> "(1) far fewer people express opinions than receive them; (2) for the community of publics becomes an abstract collection of individuals who receive impressions from the mass media. (3) The communications that prevail are so organised that it is difficult or impossible for the individual to answer back immediately or with any effect. (4) The realisation of opinion in action is controlled by authorities that organise and control the channels of such action. (5) The mass has no autonomy from institutions; on the contrary, agents of authorised institutions penetrate this mass, reducing any autonomy it may have in the formation of opinion by discussion". (Mills, 2000:34)

The concept of mass seems to be surrounded by suspicion: the concept would sometimes be considered elitist, others too literary or empirically unsustainable. Consequently, it would have disappeared due to the Internet, acclaimed as an ecosystem adapted to enlightened publics.

On the other hand the concept of "public" appeared as exempt of all kind of suspicions which were very similar to those that are applied to the more optimist versions of the Enlightenment. "Public" would mean normative and devoid of political effectiveness.

Generally, in literature "mass" is characterized by anonymity, uniformity and conformity, described as potentially fanatical and framed by the lowest common denominator. It gives expression to the unconscious motives, reinforced by the cumulative character and circular and reciprocal stimulation/excitation, It can assume several types: casual (have momentary existence, loosely organized); conventional (the behaviour is expressed in a pre-established and regulated manner, having limited duration); a mob (characterized by the obsessive presence of a target or objective driven to the action, which in general is destructive and aggressive); panic mass (the reciprocal stimulation within the group intensifies the panic, increasing the irrational character of the action, facing the escape of a common danger); expressive, when the excitement is discharged without pre-established rules by simple physical movement that aims to loosen the tension, and not a particular goal or proposal.

Mass critique became suspicious of being conceptually impressionist because of its somewhat apocalyptic tune, nourished by artistic approach. The capitalist urbanization, social *locus* of the appearance of modern masses is a strong sociological background represented in all its aspects in music, literature, and cinema. With regards to mass behaviour, one may well think of the London street mobs of Dickens, of the mass surveillance present in Kafka and Orwell (Literature) or of the de-humanization previewed by Chaplin (Modern Times, 1936), Jacques Tati (Playtime, 1967), King Vidor (The Crowd, 1928) and Kazan (A Face in the crowd, 1956).

Masses are indeed well documented in literature, the philosophy of movies and human sciences. Canetti, one of the winners of the Nobel Prize of Literature wrote one of the 21st century major essays on "mass".

It's really worth reading some quotations, where the accuracy of the scientist is enhanced by the expertise of the literary observer:

> "Within the crowd there is equality. This is absolute and indisputable and never questioned by the crowd itself. It is of fundamental importance one might even defining a crowd as a state of absolute equality.
>
> A head is a head, an arm is an arm, and differences between individual heads and arms are irrelevant. It is for the sake of this equality that people become a crowd and they tend to overlook anything which might detract from it." (Canetti, 1978, 29)

Regarding the reciprocal excitement of dance:

> "In the rhythmic crowd, on the other hand (for example the crowd of the dance), density and equality coincide from the beginning. Everything here depends on movement. All the physical stimuli involved function in a predetermined manner and are passed on from one dancer to another. Density is embodied in the formal recurrence of retreat and approach; equality is manifest in the movements themselves. And thus, by the skilful enactment of density and equality, a crowd feeling is engendered. These rhythmic formations spring up very quickly and it is only physical exhaustion, which bring them to an end." (Canetti, 1978, 30)

When writing about mass leadership, Canetti uses a strong metaphor:

> "Mass crystals are the small, rigid groups of men, strictly delimited and of great constancy, which serve to precipitate crowds. Their structure is such that they can be comprehended and taken in at a glance. Their unity is more important than their size. Their role must be familiar; people must know what they are there for. Doubt about their function would render them meaningless. They should preferably always appear the same and it should be impossible to confound one with another; a uniform or a sphere of operations serves to promote them." (Canetti, 1978, 73)

By its beauty and assertiveness, the book brings some of the qualities of a major essay. Nonetheless, it also brings with it all the imagined dangers that the more descriptive and quantitative thought might fear: Canetti analyses rivers, rain, sea, and forests as metaphors of mass symbols. For instance, the German army is described as a forest in movement (Canetti, 1978: 75).

Mass critics were often accused of Leftism. They would aim to be enlightened avant-garde representatives despising ordinary people. This kind of critique will be applied to different dimensions of mass society research: mass consumption (early Baudrillard, 1981; 1991), mass media (Adorno, s/d; 1995) and loss of autonomy and individuality (David Riesman, 1969). The paradigm would be the Frankfurt School with some peculiar contributions coming from Walter Benjamin, particularly sensitive to the innovation brought to media changes.

Mass critics were also accused of Conservatism, supporting elites against mass democracy and populism. German thought and particularly the influence of some readings on Freud, Nietzsche and Heidegger would be responsible for this charge.

Mass critics would follow an apocalyptic tune making predictions on cultural chaos, exhibiting melancholic grief for humanist culture. The problem can and must be equated bearing in mind its connections with the *volkisch* spirit, as a driven force for mass movements built around collective identities. For instance, for Franz Strich "Romanticism is the expression of the deepest tendencies of the German soul" (cit. in Löwy and Sayre, 1997, 24). However, those connections are ambiguous. It goes together with nationalism (Wagner, for instance) and it can appear in mass movements. Yet, it also appears

in a strange and subtle melancholy for the lost community (see, for instance, Benjamin, 1987-a), to support a Marxist critique of mass society.

Sloterdijk contributed with an interesting diagnosis of some historical moments particularly concerned with Critical Theory:

> "Critical Theory was based on the presupposition that we know this world a priori, through Weltschmerz (world-pain).What we perceive of the world can be ordered in psychosomatic coordinates of pain and pleasure. Critique is possible inasmuch as pain tells us what is "true"and what is "false."In holding this view, Critical Theory makes the usual "elitist"assumption of an intact sensibility. This characterizes its strength and its weakness; it establishes its truth and restricts the scope of its validity" (Sloterdijk, 2000: 11).

The return of the oppressed: critique comes back

Careful observations must be considered as far as these critiques are related. Warily, the narratives of humankind can and should be studied as testimonies from a particular culture, historical moment or sociological context.

This does not imply any kind of suggestion to leave science. One is not accepting some postmodern critic (Fayarebend, for instance) that almost claims we forget the division between science, literature and even common sense. Using James's concepts, we have multiple provinces of knowledge – a pragmatist concept also present in the phenomenological school. Each one of these different provinces of meaning has different attitudes and goals. Trust, in the domain of faith; doubt and accuracy in science; imagination and creativity in arts.

Each one of those schools of thought and each one those authors is sufficiently complex to be studied simply as a kind of apocalyptic material interesting to some subjects on the history of ideas. In spite of his Marxist ideas, Benjamin understood that the changes on reception brought about by the cinema and the radio and the changes opened (many years before the Internet) to surpass the wall between audiences and producers. Adorno and Horkheimer (1995), and Benjamin (1987-a; 1987-b; 1987-c; 198-d) made some impressive foresights on populism, propaganda, aestheticization of politics and the

return of some ritual dimensions of institutional politics. As scientists, one must read them with cautious distance, and particularly, without prejudice and with a strong awareness of the historical contexts. Time does not affect the accuracy of the classics. Marshall McLuhan (1974) would remember the ritualization of society. Riesman (1969) theorized the other-directed theoretical type. Just some four years ago, Sherrill Turkle (2011) used it again in *Alone Together* applying it to mobile devices. Finally, all these authors have sharp intuitions concerned with the future of politics in what is related with media (the importance of secrecy and the principle of publicity).

The most definitive works of critical theory belong to a well-defined tradition in social theory. This tradition is concerned with evaluating the impact that different types of sociability have on the character of their members, and the moral alternatives that citizens may follow with regard to / their society. The distinction between other-directed and autonomous personalities, to take only one example, crucial in Riesman's work, which is embedded in similar distinctions made by Durkheim between organic society and anomie, by Toennies between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, by Cooley between primary and secondary groups, and so on. One must stress the productive continuity that their work partakes. One of their primary achievements has been a mapping out of the conflicting orientations of men who exist amidst drastic social and cultural changes, and to express it with contributions from psychology and psychoanalysis.

Additionally, one must bear in mind the general goals of those works: they were not – most of them- just empirical research on media and propaganda, nor did they intend to be. In the seminal works of Riesman (*Lonely Crowd*, 1969), Canetti (*Masses /Crowds and Power*, 1979), and Adorno (*Dialectic of Enlightenment*, 1995), the masses are more than a product of contextual conjuncture and context. "Crowd" is present in history along with humankind since the first pack of primates. The "foundations" of culture are permanently confronted with ancestral forces that present themselves in specific historical moments. The hateful and beautiful fires from Riefenstahl movies leave us something that we try to forget but it is present inside us: humankind is highly capable of mass cruelty.

Mass media and TV critics are just a part of ancient history. The *Dialectic of Enlightenment* is not just a critique of capitalism, and fascism. It is a Freudian and Nitzschean critique of a particular stage of reason. In some

moments of their work, an encounter occurs between media studies and social theory, including anthropology. They must not be confronted with small narratives on sociology of reception, but with narratives on reception that have a strong theoretical assumption in the domain of culture and politics (for instance, Raymond Williams).

From the end of ideology and the emergence of Cynicism to the rebirth of Activism

During the first years of the most recent stage of financial globalization, a blanket of apathy, cynicism and technological euphoria fell upon politics. In the late nineties, the most influential discourse was the techno-libertarian ideology wherein converged elements of the underground culture and neoliberal discourse. This culminated in a political project of economic and societal regulation (known as new economy) deeply focused on strengthening the market regulatory imperatives. A mix of social cybernetics, digital Darwinism, neoliberal economic theory and cultural libertarianism compounded this political and economic project. Those elements were added to the praise of individual freedom, entrepreneurship and creative innovation (Lovink, 2009: 11).

During those controversial times, cyber libertarians increasingly called for imaginative potentialities introduced by computer mediated communication. The concept of identity was often connected with notions such as fluidity, flexibility and non-linearity.

The dominant perception of politics, particularly among youngsters, seemed to be identified with the world of technocracy, efficiency or realpolitik but also of corruption and abuse of power. Another way would be a spontaneous form of humorous cynicism as a critical strategy of political distance. Such points of view with their strong disbelief in politics may well remind us of, with due reservations, , the latent distrust on words and values taken for granted, the degradation of 'words with authority', words related with modern values ('democracy', 'reason') that have become dramatically devoid of meaning (Safatle 2009: 1, Slotedijk, 2000).

Sloterdijk (2000: 4) claims: "Today the cynic appears as a mass figure: an average social character in the upper echelons of the elevated superstructure."

In 2001, during the World Social Forum of Porto Alegre there was an explosion caused by the demonstrations against globalization and capitalism.

The rebirth of activism would once again become more evident in the demonstrations of '*Indignados*', the name given in Spain and Portugal to young protesters against austerity, youth unemployment and labour precariousness. Since 2008, Europe has been undergoing through an unprecedented change with very different dimensions marked by widespread insecurity that undermines the trust and interdependence where civil societies lay their foundation (Judt, 2010: 22). In this scenario of of uncertainty, hundreds of thousands of young people in Portugal, Spain, Greece and United Kingdom have joined together in groups against youth unemployment, huge cuts in social welfare and austerity measures taken to allegedly fight against public debt and increasing deficits. Those movements that are just now crossing Europe and influencing elections and governments are often identified with the new social movements, from which are certainly inheritors but with particular features due to new particular contexts:

a) decreasing social mobility, reaching a generation of middle-class youth distinguished by the use of cultural and technological skills;

b) Proletarianization of qualified persons endowed with cultural capital and creativity;

c) Circulation of media platforms, adaptable to more flexible forms of public intervention;

d) Proliferation of new discourses sensitive to various forms of collaborative expression in digital media.

A new time was arriving after the defeat of fights, after the "triumph of the weak thought" (Negri e Zolo, s/d: 1). New kinds of movements are arriving, their future being, in Negri's thought, the construction of a web of movements. The multitude would become global: "a multiplicity of singularities already mixed, capable of immaterial and intellectual labour, with an enormous power [potenza] of freedom". (Negri ad Zolo, s/d: 8)

Simultaneously, this happens in a world where the nature and functions of power are changing, according to a common diagnosis of Marxists philosopher and former chairs of the World Bank, as the following quotations seem to confirm.

Moises Naim states :

> "We know that power is shifting from brawn to brains, from north to south and west to east, from old corporate behemoths to agile start-ups, from entrenched dictators to people in town squares and cyberspace. But to say that power is shifting from one continent or country to another, or that it is dispersing among many new players, is not enough. Power is undergoing a far more fundamental mutation that has not been sufficiently recognized and understood. Even as rival states, companies, political parties, social movements, and institutions or individual leaders fight for power as they have done throughout the ages, power itself—what they are fighting so desperately to get and keep—is slipping away. Power is decaying. To put it simply, power no longer buys as much as it did in the past. In the twenty-first century, power is easier to get, harder to use—and easier to lose. From boardrooms and combat zones to cyberspace, battles for power are as intense as ever, but they are yielding diminishing returns. Their fierceness masks the increasingly evanescent nature of power itself. Understanding how power is losing its value—and facing up to the hard challenges this poses —is the key to making sense of one of the most important trends reshaping the world in the twenty-first century." (Naim, 2015: 14)

Michael Hardt and Negri do not claim the end of power, but they identify some common features:

> The declining sovereignty of nation-states and their increasing inability to regulate economic and cultural exchanges is in fact on of the primary symptoms of the coming of Empire. The sovereignty of the nation-state was the cornerstone of the imperialisms that European powers constructed throughout the modern era. By "Empire", however, we understand something altogether different from "imperialism." The boundaries defined by the modern system of nation-states were fundamental to European colonialism and economic expansion: the territorial boundaries of the nation delimited the center of power from which rule was exerted over external foreign territories through a system of channels and barriers that alternately facilitated and obstructed the flows of

> production and circulation. (...)The passage to Empire emerges from the twilight of modern sovereignty. In contrast to imperialism, Empire establishes no territorial center of power and does not rely on fixed boundaries or barriers. It is a decentered and deterritorializing apparatus of rule that progressively incorporates the entire global realm within its open expanding frontiers. Empire manages hybrid identities, flexible hierarchies, and plural exchanges through modulating networks of command. The distinct national colors of the imperialist map of the world have merged and blended in the imperial global rainbow. (Hard and Negri, 2000: xii-xiii)

In spite of the fact that the ideological and philosophical roots of both statements are completely different and, in the end, opposite in their essence, both identify something similar expressed in the notions of "diversity" and "interdependence". Traditional power is losing its strength.

Masses and multitudes and digital communication

Many thinkers considered that digital devices, particularly those emerging with web 2.0 and social networks, were the protagonists of an ideal narrative of democratic participation. The concept of mass and mass media would become obsolete. Others believe that the Internet and social networks together with mobile devices exhibit many of the features of the traditional concept of masses.

The sceptical approach claims that one cannot neglect the social and political components of power over the media system, including the Internet. In fact, this perspective is accompanied by an idealized vision of the political and economic power structures that cross social networks. The societal, economic, and political constraints involved in the communicative process remain hidden, and therefore unacknowledged.

Secondly, the participation of audiences does not necessarily mean the increase of citizenship quality. A tendency toward conformity, visible in the fact that people prefer to form groups with whom they agree was found, generating polarizing effects that increased the possibilities for people to dismiss alternative points of view (Sunstein 2001: 49). More recently, social networks with

their causes and thematic groups can be held responsible for a fragmented environment with negative impacts on the rational and democratic dialogue (Fenton, 2009: 8-9).

Research alerts us to domination processes in a / the virtual world. The introduction of social interaction technologies bear evidence to connections between the online and the off line world. Social Web initiated the possibility of merging various social interactive features of the Internet in one platform.

One must face the fact that disclosure of personal information in social media and phenomena such as surveillance and data-veil lance are highly valuable to the economy and politics. The domestication of bodies and behaviors is statistically relevant for an economy increasingly dependent on immaterial concepts such as memory, culture and identity. Additionally, one must consider the critical importance of understanding what the autonomy of public discourse inside global platforms of social network strongly dependent on global major corporations like Facebook, You Tube, Twitter and many others objectively means.

Also, many scholars take into account the permanent and ubiquitous connection established among individuals making themselves more dependent on preconceptions that are dominant in the communities to which they belong. The adoption of this point of view includes the suspicion of a social regression induced by new media, due to the re-tribalization of the social world radicalized by the Internet. In spite of allowing access to a huge diversity of contents, research showed that users, wherever they are, often remain confined to their private worlds, connecting by e-mail, Skype and message service with their usual acquaintances. (Fidalgo, 2011).

Sheryl Turkle describes an experience with her daughter during a trip to Paris, when she decided to call by cell phone to one of her close friends to schedule a dinner. Walking through distant places, users carry with them their homes and their offices, talking to the same people on the same issues as if they had not left the neighborhood. Social media and mobile communication seem to induce the return of some characteristics of life style which seem more adjusted to pre-modern relationships. At least in some situations, this universal and ubiquitous presence of significant Others seems to be unsuitable with an idea of a cosmopolitan vibrant public sphere. On the contrary, it allows behaviors adjusted to the idea of multitude as conceived by Tarde (cf. Fidalgo, 2011, 69), very similar to the traditional concept of masses.

Despite those phenomena, urban *cosmopolis* are full of liquid multitudes ready to act. (Brazil riots, March eleven started quickly and with the click of a button the signal was often to come to the streets). Supporters of this point of view argue that web 2.0 and social media allow social movements to build support through their own websites, without constraints, empowering social movement groups to produce their own ideas, news, agendas, discursive practices, strategies, tactics, – indeed, their identity – and generating a phenomenon of cyberactivism. ' (Nah 2009:1296).

The new generation of Internet technologies has facilitated the involvement of citizens in the observation and interpretation of events. In this perspective, they may influence how the average public perceives social movements in a more supportive and positive way. Some media theorists talked about 'technopolitics', a term used by movements that fight the neoliberal hegemony by digital means. Some recover the old concept of tactical media, meaning the use of the cheap 'do it yourself media' or 'self-media' by groups and individuals who feel excluded from public dialogue and hegemonic culture.

> "By the end of the nineties the post-modern 'time without movements' had come to pass. The organized discontent against neo-liberalism, global warming policies, labour exploitation and numerous other issues converged. Equipped with networks and arguments, backed up by decades of research, a hybrid movement – wrongly labelled by mainstream media as 'anti-globalization' – gained momentum' (Lovink and Schneider, s/d).

Facing the question in this paper, some conclusions seem important, bearing in mind further work:

a) Sociability forms, in their various expressions, either masses or multitudes, have different compositions where rationality and passions are more or less present in different levels;

b) Those multiple expressions of different rationality are an anthropological constant feature of human sociability; they are not an abstract reality distant from concrete human life and it has many ways of being in history. The digital communication is no exception;

c) This means an epistemic difficulty to the building of an ideal-type, without giving voices to the social actor;

d) The definition of different kinds of sociability can't be found without the research on the social agents that think about themselves as public actors on a public stage. What does it mean to them to act in public within the digital world? Following Weber, Geertz or Taylor that problem is directly related with the core problem of subjective meaning of action, in this case of political action: difficult to evaluate without listening to the voices that collectively create and re-create the dynamic and never ending ties of political action.

References

Adorno, T. (s/d). *The stars down to the earth and other essays on the irrational*. London: Routledge.

Adorno, T. & Horkheimer, M. (1995). *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. London: Verso.

Baudrillard, J. (1981). *Sociedade de consumo*. Lisboa: Edições 70. (La Société de Consommation, 1970).

Baudrillard, J. (1991). *Simulacros e simulações*. Relógio d'Água (Simulacres et Simulation, 1981).

Benjamin, W. (1987-a). «O narrador». In *Obras escolhidas: magia e técnica, arte e política*. São Paulo: Brasiliense. (1936)

Benjamin, W. (1987-b). «A crise do romance: sobre Alexandersplatz, de Döblib». In *Obras escolhidas: magia e técnica, arte e política*. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1987. (1930)

Benjamin, W. (1987-c). «Experiência e Pobreza». In *Obras escolhidas: magia e técnica, arte e política*. São Paulo: Brasiliense.

Benjamin, W. (1997-d). «A obra de arte na era da sua reprodutibilidade técnica». In *Obras escolhidas: magia e técnica, arte e política*. São Paulo: Brasiliense.

Canetti, E. (1978). *Crowds and Power*. New York: Seabury Press.

Correia, J.C. (2011). '12 de Março de 2011: que 'causas' suportam as redes sociais', Conference delivered at the Political Communication Working Group of the 7th Congress of Portuguese Society of Communication (SOPCOM), Lisboa, 15 a 17 de Dezembro de 2011.

Fenton, N. (ed.) (2009). *New media, old news: journalism and democracy in the digital age*. London: Sage.

Fidalgo, A. (2011). Conetados e tutelados. In J.C. Correia & R. Maia (2011). *Public Sphere Reconsidered. Theories and Practices* (pp. 63-70). Labcom Books.

Hardt, M. & Negri, A. (2000). *Empire*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts London, England.

Judt, T. (2010). *Um tratado sobre os nossos actuais descontentamentos*. Lisboa: Edições 70.

Lowink, G. & Schneider, F. (s/d). 'A Virtual world is possible. From tactical media to digital multitudes' in Artnodes, Intersections between arts, sciences and technologies. Available at www.uoc.edu. Last time consulted on May 27 2012.

Löwy, M. & Sayre, R. (1997). *Revolta e melancolia*. Bertrand Editora: Lisboa.

Lovink, G. (2009). *Dynamics of critical internet culture (1994-2001)*. Institute of Network Cultures: Amsterdam.

McLuhan, M. (1974). *Understanding Media*. Editora Pensamento: Cultrix.

Mills, C.W. (2000). *The Power Elite: New Edition*. Oxford University Press: New York.

Naím, M. (2015). *The end of power: from boardrooms to battlefields and churches to states, why being in charge isn't what it used to be*.

Nah, S. (2009). Social Movements and Journalism. In C.H. Sterling (ed.), *Encyclopedia of journalism*. London: Sage. Ne

Negri, A. & Zolo, D. (2002). El Imperio y la multitude Un diálogo sobre el nuevo orden de la Globalización (Primera publicación en italiano en Da Reset, octubre del 2002. Traducción al inglés: Arianna Bove Traducción al español: Eduardo Sadier – febrero). Available at: www.busateo.es. Last time consultation: 22-2-2015.

Riesman, D; Glazer, N. & Denney, R. (1969). *The Lonely Crowd A study of the changing American character*. Yale University Press: New Haven and London.

Safatle, V. (2009) Sobre um riso que não reconcilia: notas a respeito da ideologia da ironização. *A Parte Rei*. 55 Janeiro de 2009.

Sloterdijk, P. (1987). *Critique of Cynical Reason*. University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis and London.

Sunstein, C.R. (2001). *Republic.com*. Princeton University Press: Princeton.

Turkle, S. (2011). *Alone together : why we expect more from technology and less from each other*. Basic Books: New York.

Wilhelm, A.G. (2001). *The digital divide: facing a crisis or creating a myth*. The MIT Press: Cambridge and London.

7. Effectiveness of Crowdsourcing for the Appearance of a New Public Sphere

Koldo Meso Ayerdi, Simón Peña Fernandez & Diana Rivero Santamarina
University of the Basque Country

Abstract: Technology and the new tools available to us have changed many fields of our life, especially those related to the way in which we communicate, organize ourselves and obtain information.
This context has seen the development of the figure of the "prosumer" and "user generated content", favored by the phenomenon of collective intelligence and the power of multitudes. The formerly passive audience now has the possibility of participating in the whole news process, from information gathering to the elaboration and distribution of content.
From this starting point we can reflect on the existence of "other journalisms", which include citizen journalism. This is a phenomenon helped by the technological empowerment of the population, which has now become an active audience with the capacity to monitor the big media corporations in a global context of crisis of the media and institutions.
Technological democratization offers us a choice in favor of openness and transparency in the mass media, where citizen collaboration and participation become a further option when it comes to contributing solutions to common problems. This joint form of working has served different platforms in elaborating rigorous news reports thanks to user collaboration. News crowdsourcing is not an alternative model to conventional journalism; instead it is a complementary model.
The effectiveness of crowdsourcing and crowdfunding (micropatronage of projects) indicates that we are facing the emergence of a different public sphere, one in which communities support and feed new media as against those of the old order.
keywords: Crowdsourcing, Public Sphere, Active Audiences, Journalism, User Generated Contents

Mobile and Digital Communication, 139-158

Introduction

As Walter Lippmann explained in his book *Public Opinion*, in complex societies like ours the mass media provide the information we need for everyday life (Lippmann, 2003). But not only do they inform us, they also choose and organize hierarchically our daily menu of relevant news. Together with prominent social, economic and political agents, they set the agenda of citizen concerns, placing certain affairs in the forefront of current affairs and silencing or avoiding others (McCombs, 2006). As Bernard Cohen (1963: 13) points out, "The press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about".

Over the course of the XIX century, the development of so-called mass society not only involved the extension of political rights to an increasingly large part of the citizenry. Together with this effect, it also caused a modification of the public sphere so as to favor representatives of the political, economic and media powers to the detriment of the mass public. Thus, while power became concentrated in the hands of the supposed representatives of public opinion (political parties and mass media), the public itself acquired an increasingly marginal role in the decision-making process.

In this context, which extends beyond the mid-XX century, the mass media, organized as media companies, address massive audiences. And they do so by transmitting a complete flow of news stories, while the public's possibility of response is restricted to choosing between one means of communication or another. Without question, this implies a very limited capacity to select. Not only because the range of available mass media is relatively scarce, but because these mass media tend to elaborate news menus that are very similar (the theory of agenda setting), except for the evident distances of an ideological type separating them.

In conclusion, this state of affairs contributes powerfully to shaping a homogeneous view of reality in the public.

If, in addition, we consider another series of variables: a) the close relation existing between the big mass media and economic power, shown through advertising funding and through the ownership structure of the media themselves; b) the strategy of mutual support that arises on occasion between the mass media and a certain faction of political power; and c) the process of ver-

tical and horizontal concentration through the creation of multimedia groups with interests in the most diverse sectors of the content industry (Timoteo, 2005), then the resulting scenario is characterized by a decreasing relevance of the mass public in the process of public discussion. (Bowman and Willis, 2003).

Not only that. There are those who consider that today's press has betrayed the mission that it was originally assigned by liberal doctrine of watching over and controlling the excesses of the big powers. The opinion of the audience and of journalists themselves is equally conclusive. According to the Annual Report of the Journalistic Profession for the year 2009, commissioned by the Madrid Press Association, the mass media are completely politicized and do not serve the interests of the public, but their own interests and those of the political and economic powers instead. This politicized press can no longer act as watchdogs of power because power has taken possession of the media, exercising a tight control over the work of journalists and putting an end to the freedom to criticize (Ruiz, 2008).

In this context, information flow runs in only one direction, and the totality of the representations of public opinion appear with an asymmetry favorable to the political-economic elites that shape them (López García, 2006).

The paradigm change

In today's society, the concept of public opinion cannot be understood without referring to the development undergone by the mass media. The paradigm change can be considered the result of the development of the different applications of digital technology, and most particularly Internet.

Obviously, the public sphere as a whole has changed due to the transition from the traditional model of mass communication, strongly hierarchized and normally unidirectional, towards a model of network communication, which is multidimensional and horizontal at the same time. There has been a radical change in the way that we communicate and socialize.

The transformations of the digital mass media at the end of the XX century ran in parallel, on one hand, to the gradually intensifying application of the characteristics of digital communication (its multimedia character, the hypertextual organization of information and interactivity from different points

of view). And, on the other, to changes in the characterization of the audience addressed by these media.

Internet tends to gradually imitate the representation of the "broad public", that is, the audience composition of the big traditional media. But this audience is now found in a context where there is a tendency towards greater horizontality in its interrelation with the communication medium.

Moreover, this audience has available:

- A much more abundant media offer, at a lower cost or even free.
- The possibility of interacting with the communication medium, and even of becoming a sender, creating its own medium.
- The development of spaces of exchange, complementary to or independent of the big media, thanks to the use of different interactive tools.

The appearance and development of these digital technologies has meant the start of an incipient paradigm change that is affecting both the media ecosystem and the very configuration of the public sphere. From the point of view of the receiver there has been an increase in the information sources available. And from the point of view of the sender, the creation and development of social mass media no longer necessarily involves a considerable economic investment; above all, these media do not have to be configured following the journalistic and business criteria of the big traditional media.

All of this makes it possible to discern a scenario that is singularly differentiated from the preceding one. It is now the public that is undergoing a more significant evolution. It no longer depends on a limited range of big mass media for forming its view of reality. And, above all, the public can take an active role in selecting news and opinions, in publishing its own news stories and opinions, and in social interaction through different interpersonal communication media developed on the Net and on other digital devices.

Audiences starts to participate

Audiences have also started to participate in the processes of news production – at times in an autonomous way and at others in collaboration with the media themselves – thus challenging Lippmann's arguments.

The mass media, which are still largely concerned with providing current news, are no longer our sole source of information about what is happening in our setting. Wittingly or unwittingly, the media agora has gone back to being the public square of antiquity, where relevant affairs of the community were subjected to debate. However, there are those who argue that rather than a shift of the public sphere, what we are seeing are other agents and other paths for accessing it, which are no less worthy or democratic. "There is no single public sphere, nor is there a single public legitimized to act and reside in it" (Bonilla, 2002: 86). It is a question of trying to understand the public sphere as a necessarily open and fluid space that must accommodate debate.

These factors allow us to discern a new media ecosystem that is characterized by the passage from a vertical, hierarchized and normally unidirectional communication model, to another horizontal one, where communication takes place in very different directions and which is therefore multidirectional. Although the media companies continue to occupy a clearly central position, the public is no longer restricted to passively receiving information, as happened with the traditional media. It can now also interact with the information, modify it or interpret it individually or jointly with other users, generate news stories or their own opinions, and even become a source for the social communication media themselves. And while this is not sufficient for awarding a fully democratic certificate to the audience, it is altering the quality of communication (Rodotá, 2000).

The mass media are not only enjoying a broader freedom to inform, but in addition they are starting to behave as "platforms", from which citizens can express their opinions and communicate these to society as a whole.

As a consequence, the media ecosystem is becoming considerably more complex. The traditional model of communication must coexist with an active public. The latter is a polyvalent media consumer that can easily create new spaces for generating news stories and opinions, most often removed from the flow of mass communication; and, on other occasions, supported by the media themselves.

Through different platforms expressly created for this purpose and, on occasion, maintained and fed by the media themselves, citizens are holding this collective conversation without any need to meet each other.

The conventional media, armed with an enormous power of seduction, have disseminated values, attitudes and models of conduct in society. It would

be difficult to dispute that they possess significant power for conditioning climates of opinion amongst the citizenry. There is no doubt that they are highly influential. The hierarchic flow of information characteristic of mass society is not disappearing and even remains in conditions similar to those seen in the previous model. However, it is not possible to ignore the incidence of the new digital means of communication and, above all, the new public, which is at the same time the sender and receiver of all types of information.

In parallel, there is increasing discussion about the extent of the effects of the media's messages, their intensity and durability. Through their work as platforms for public debate, the media are attempting to satisfy the wish of audiences that they should function as spaces open to participation. The goal the media are starting to approach, albeit tendentially, is to ensure that all social actors can access them in order to express their reasoned opinions (Rodríguez Borges, 2011).

Consequently, the public sphere as a whole is undergoing significant modifications.

As mentioned previously, the sphere of power continues to elaborate an information transmission flow similar to the previous model. However, changes in the configuration of the public, in the social communication media system, and in how society itself is structured are determining that the information transmission flow, and also public discussion, can no longer take place in a unidirectional way. Audiences have gained the capacity to elaborate their own messages and to make them public, continuously interacting amongst themselves and even with the sphere of power, which is becoming less opaque.

Information transmission and the subsequent process of shaping public opinion are thus not only plural in character, but the result of a discursive flow (Sampedro, 2000). This is a multidirectional process (since there are multiple senders of information and there are also multiple effective participants in the process of discussion taking place in the public space) and, moreover, the action of digital technologies is accelerating it.

How to attract audiences

Contrary to the apocalyptic views of some critics, the new digital technologies have not created individuals disconnected from their social settings. On the contrary, there are studies showing how Internet users are developing a

sense of group identity through multiple tools and platforms (forums, blogs...). Furthermore, it has been observed that amongst these users there is "intense and intimate communication among participants and resolute commitment to coherent sets of values and norms" (Hodkinson, 2007: 629).

It is increasingly evident that the media want to attract and consolidate audiences. But for that purpose, according to Tíscar Lara (2008), they must influence certain key aspects:

- Connectivity. Being connected to their audiences and cultivating a relationship of proximity, articulating a sensation of sharing time and space, together with interests and concerns within the same community. This is not only a question of maintaining a dialogue with the audience, but also of building contexts so that users can identify with each other and create networks of mutual trust and collaboration.

- Service. In spite of the proliferation of citizen media, the mass media continue to occupy the leading positions as sources of information. But they can no longer make do with only producing and offering news stories. Now the media must provide services and prove themselves useful to users.

- Open, quality participation. The media are making great efforts to keep their audiences. They understand that loyalty is related to the service they manage to provide for that audience's needs. To that end, they show themselves to be open, they act as channels to ensure the audience returns, and they are ubiquitous in order to be indispensable.

- Orientation and energizing. The huge quantity of existing information requires that the audience show greater responsibility in locating, filtering and generating meaning from the available data. The media are a further link in the networks between individuals and professionals. The difficulty lies in ensuring that such participation is one of quality, that it adds value and improves the final product. The online media professional must demand "confirmations, proofs or impose filters to ensure that such participation is relevant and enriches the journalistic product" (Gómez-Escalonilla, 2004). However, this exchange of information requires a greater capacity of the journalist who, as Camus (2002) points

out, must train him or herself to manage information and, at the same time, efficiently deliver the news story.

But it is not enough to make the technology available and wait for it to produce results; instead it is also sometimes necessary to energize the conversation, the dialogue, and it is the medium that must also provide orientations on how to do this.

- Management of knowledge. Creating and maintaining a community involves identifying and promoting the quality contributions of its members, recognizing those who are most motivated to collaborate, and channeling spaces so that they can recognize each other and find common bonds.

Ways of rebuilding their reputation

The media have had to create contexts where their audiences can interact with the medium and with other users, where people feel the space to be their own, as a place of personal and community reference to which they belong (Lara, 2008). The media have to invent ways of rebuilding their reputation in new settings and for new publics that show other communication needs. They consider this to be essential. Nonetheless, they do not clearly see what formula will guarantee success. Thus, there are those that offered the possibility of commenting on news stories – something that is now fairly widespread in the online media – or even of exchanging multimedia content within the medium itself. This was the case of *USA Today*, where readers could create personal profiles and share their own multimedia documents.

In Spain there have also been examples of such types of project involving citizen participation: on *El País*, the *Yo, periodista* (I, Journalist) initiative, for sending in news material, and *La Comunidad* (The Community) – now disactivated – with close to 10,000 blogs opened in May 2007; on *La 2 de TVE* (Channel Two of Spanish Television), the program *Cámara Abierta* (Open Camera), where the public recorded videos telling their own stories; and on *Soitu.es*, the possibility of creating personal profiles and writing chronicles, which could be given prominence and remunerated by the medium.

The new digital technologies and Internet have helped to make it clearer that there is no breach between senders and receivers, as was believed. In

today's digital world consumers are at the same time senders and producers of content of all types. This has helped make it possible to exercise the right of reply between the parties, and has encouraged personalization of information, cooperation in a virtual public sphere and even content creation in a collective form (Perales, 2008).

There are also those who think that citizen collaboration is indispensable for professional journalists if they are to produce their work without this being an excessive load for them, and without it involving high costs for the media and newsrooms concerned. An example cited by Shirky is the newspaper *The Guardian*, which was one of the first to practice what is known as "crowdsourcing" applied to journalism.

What is crowdsourcing?

So what then is crowdsourcing? As described by Estellés and González (2012b: 284), crowdsourcing refers to a set of initiatives of a participatory type that are fed from other phenomena like open innovation (Chesbroug, 2003) or the collective intelligence (Schenk and Guittard, 2011).

Already in 2006, Jeff Howe defined crowdsourcing as an open call, initiated by a company or institution, aimed at an undefined and generally large network of people, with the goal of outsourcing a function (Howe, 2008). This same usage is also recognized by other authors (Oliveira, Ramos and Santos, 2009), although there are those whose definition focuses on the use of crowdsourcing as a process for problem solving (Brabham, 2008; Vukovic, 2009) or as a particular expression of "open innovation" (Sloane, 2011). Crowdsourcing stems from communities with similar interests that pool points of view.

Accordingly, we find as many definitions of crowdsourcing as there are initiatives of this type. However, there do seem to be points of agreement amongst authors such as, for example, that crowdsourcing initiatives must have at least two elements: a multitude of individuals that is *a priori* undefined and heterogeneous (Geerts, 2009; Schenk and Guittard, 2009) and the use of a call that is open to everyone (Pénin, 2008; Geerts, 2009; Burger and Pénin, 2010). For their part, Estellés and González (2012a), who were cited previously, present a definition making it possible to identify any type of crowdsourcing initiative on the basis of eight elements: a concrete task to be

realized; a multitude that participates with its contributions; benefit for that multitude; an initiator; benefit for the initiator; use of a participatory process; use of an open and flexible call; and use of Internet as basic infrastructure.

News crowdsourcing

The communication-Internet relationship has developed towards a more social level thanks to the establishment of Web 2.0 and the development of mobile technologies (Sánchez-Fortún, 2012). The development of technology is what enables the user to play an increasingly prominent role in the communication field. The capacity of integrating the contributions (information, content, data...) of a multitude of interconnected users in real time has led some authors to refer to the power of crowdsourcing. We are not dealing with passive subjects who simply consume information, but instead with active users who produce it. The key seems to lie in how to channel that flow of user-generated information towards effectiveness.

Kleeman, Voss and Rieder (2008) distinguish two typologies of crowdsourcing that are clearly related to journalism:

- Permanently open calls where crowdworkers provide information or documentation over an indeterminate period of time, as in the case of *iReport*, an initiative where CNN has made a set of online tools available to any amateur reporter for collecting images.

- Community reportering: users provide information on new products or tendencies about some type of online community, as occurs with *Trendwatching.com* or *Peoplesvoicemedia.co.uk*.

Burger and Pénin (2010) also propose a type of content area, in which a multitude collaborates with others to generate information based services (*Wikipedia*). In addition to the size of the crowd, its heterogeneity and diversity are also important.

In the communicative process, crowdsourcing resembles Schramm's concept of communication, which involves "sharing information, ideas or attitudes" (Beltrán, 1981: 16). According to Sánchez-Fortún (2012), it is even related to the concept of "citizen journalism", understood as: "The act of a citizen, or group of citizens, playing an active role in the process of collecting,

reporting, analyzing and disseminating news and information. The intent of this participation is to provide independent, reliable, accurate, wide-ranging and relevant information that a democracy requires" (Bowman and Willis, 2003: 9).

The term information crowdsourcing spread rapidly following an experiment carried out by Assignment Zero and directed by Jay Rosen, Professor of Journalism at New York University, in collaboration with the magazine Wired. Some 900 people took part in this project, which sought to analyze whether dispersed groups of people, working together voluntarily through the Net, could produce articles on something that was taking place and, sharing out the work, tell the complete story.

This idea gained meaning in developments such as the emergence of the citizen movement, in cases like Ushahidi, Demotix or iReport, where videos and photographs generated by social network users were essential for realizing the importance of different events. It became possible to report events that it would otherwise have been practically impossible to learn about due to lack of personnel in the places where they happened. Information crowdsourcing is a movement that is being exploited by some mass media to enable reporting of news stories where it is not possible for them to have a journalist present for different reasons, or when events arise spontaneously and are witnessed by citizens. In this respect, the advantages of crowdsourcing seem clear: it plays an important role in catastrophes and emergency situations, where those affected can act as sources of information on the ground and in real time. Furthermore, this collaborative work also serves for comparing the news stories that are produced, for seeing whether the different sources agree with each other.

Usa Today, The New York Times and *The Guardian* have recourse to audience participation to obtain testimonies for documenting their research. It was in this way that *The Guardian* uncovered the abusive expenditure of parliamentarians in the UK.

In Spain there have also been cases of crowdsourcing. We can highlight some cases:

- "*Yo periodista*" (I, Journalist), of *El País*. This was the space for citizen journalism of ELPAIS.com, where users could publish their information and news in five formats: text, photography, video, audio and downlo-

adable files. It was not a space for sending in opinions or reflections, but news stories. There are multiple tools on ELPAIS.com where Internet users can send in their comments, opinions and points of view on news items: Comments on news stories, comments on blogs, Forums, Surveys, Readers' sayings, Letters to the Editor. As in the rest of ELPAIS.com, the principal news stories of "*Yo periodista*" were opened to comments by users, who were able to comment on information sent in by other Internet users. "*Yo periodista*" was open to the participation of any adult citizen who wanted to publicize a newsworthy event. A team of journalists checked the information received, contacted the reader to corroborate the story and then published it. ELPAIS.com reserved the right to publish any news item that it considered convenient or to withdraw those that, once published, did not meet some requirement. When sending in a news item, Internet users could choose the section they wanted to associate the story with. These sections included: Municipal problems, Citizen achievements, Accidents, Demonstrations and protests, Meteorological disasters, Corruption, Environment, Urban planning, International, Photo complaints, Housing, Health, Education, Sports and Culture. If no clear category could be found to associate the story with, the "General" heading was designed for such cases.

- "*Cámara abierta*" (Open Camera), of *TVE* (Spanish Television), is the space for citizen participation on *La 2 Noticias* (Channel Two News). They neither expect nor want citizens to elaborate news stories in a professional way. Nor do they want them to repeat the classical narrative formulas of television news programs. Citizen journalism has the advantage that it can contribute a particular, personal and fresh gaze. And that is the goal they seek: to incorporate the new communication languages that are emerging on alternative media into professional television. The idea is: "If you have a worry or concern, there is now a news space where you can talk about it". This is because on Channel Two News almost all the videos received are broadcast on the program. In an independent form and in the author's own voice. It is clear that there is still a shortage of technical skills for making use of all the resources when it comes to recording, editing or using different formats. In this respect, they have tried to go a step further: first, by elaborating a series of tutorials for orienting the citizen journalist; and second, by facilitating, as far as possible, the work of anyone who wants to make something known on Channel Two News. Along the lines of: "if you are unable to, or don't know how, we do it for you", which means that they intervene in any part of the process when requested to do so by the citizen journalist. They have even provided cameras for filming on certain occasions.

- *Zu kazetari* (You are the journalist), of Basque Radio and Television (EITB), created by the team from eitb24.com. This is a tool of citizen journalism made available to people so that they can send in news stories, videos, audios, photos and texts that show a newsworthy event or complaint, for its dissemination as news. Current affairs and events, local and international issues... some topics might even be broadcast on the big media of the EITB Group, so long as they meet the requirements of technical and news quality.

- Soitu.es. Intended for concerned people seeking content that combines traditional journalistic rigor with the philosophy of Internet. Independent, useful and wide open to new ideas. With room for everyone who has something interesting to tell other people about. News occurred in a cascade just as it happened. Each reader evaluated the news stories,

because he or she was understood to have sufficient criterion for deciding what was of interest. Soitu.es, set up in December 2007, was a megaphone for broadcasting issues of interest that took place anywhere. Exchanging ideas was a priority. The readers, with their news stories, reactions and opinions, increased the offer and widened the viewpoint, raising the level of transparency. Information was filed under labels or tags, providing better channels for finding content. Sharing income with users who generated content, managing interactivity with the help of the users themselves, and placing a group of excellent bloggers at the center of the project, were the three steps that made Soitu a reference for newcomers and for old hands with the courage to change. It disappeared after the summer of 2009.

- Tuclip.com. *Antena 3* was the first Spanish television channel to react to the "Youtube" phenomenon in the distribution of audiovisual content with the launch of www.tuclip.com. This platform was created to involve spectators in the channel's content by sending in their videos, which were then forwarded to its different television programs. With the slogan "You also make *Antena 3*", the channel set up a technical and human unit that enabled each program to receive the clips, post them on the Internet platform and select those that were finally broadcast on television. By means of the www.tuclip.com website and adverts

with its presenters, *Antena 3* encouraged spectators to send in their videos through the portal or by mobile telephony. The best were posted on the Tuclip website, and also distributed according to their content to the channel's news and entertainment programs, like *Antena 3 Noticias* (Antena 3 News), "*Espejo public*" (Public Mirror), "*Buenafuente*" (Good source), "*En antenna*" (On air) and "*7 días, 7 noches*" (7 days, 7 nights). The videos that were broadcast on television received a payment of 100 Euros for the fact of being selected, and were eligible for a prize of 600 Euros if they were chosen as best of the week. All the videos were filtered before being broadcast to "guarantee their veracity". Which videos were never broadcast by the channel? "The limit lies in the legality that currently governs television content".

- Bottup.com. This was the first citizen journalism project in Spanish and was defined as "a not-for-profit social network where citizens publish their own news stories and where journalists work for them. Any citizen can freely register and obtain a 'Press Card' (profile) on this social network dedicated to current news from a perspective different from that of the traditional mass media". The aim of Bottup is to offer a platform so that citizens can decide on and transmit what really interests them, and can do so in a dignified and professional way. It is a platform, a free social tool, where journalists and users participate and collaborate. On the one hand, there is the passive audience that enters the platform to consume information and comment on it; then there are citizen journalists who register to obtain the Press Card and start to participate actively on the platform, generating their own information; there are also collaborating journalists: these are professional journalists who identify with the basic goals and principles of Bottup and collaborate with the newsroom to serve the citizen journalists; and there are also journalists on the Bottup staff who are professionals.

There is no doubt that crowdsourcing became possible, amongst other factors, due to the support of Web 2.0 applications that facilitate the connection of thousands of users who share information and resolve problems in a collaborative way (Burger and Pénin, 2010; Vukovic and Bartolini, 2010). It is worth underscoring the important role of social networks as tools when it comes to spreading messages and organizing existing communities.

However, it is worth pointing out that this movement of participation by the public with the mass media did not stem from the social networks or the Web, but emerged beforehand (García de Torres, 2010).

Currently, information crowdsourcing cannot be considered a majority movement, although an increasing number of applications and platforms based on this technique for informing can be seen.

To sum up, it is worth underscoring the role played by user generated content in the news field, since it has come to form part of the communication process, in which the mass media were until recently the sole creators.

But in the rapid development of information technologies, social networks and applications for mobile devices and tablets (which favor content creation), there are still professionals who have not yet realized the usefulness of this technique. This is because they perceive a threat to traditional journalism in information crowdsourcing and spontaneous movements on Internet. Information crowdsourcing raises questions that it is not easy to answer. In fact, it is a phenomenon that arouses certain misgivings in the mass media sector. Together with the issue of formal quality, content reliability is perhaps the big objection to integrating information crowdsourcing. It will therefore be the responsibility of the news brands to efficiently manage that information flow, channel it and, as far as possible, check it or warn of the nature of their sources.

The necessary professional management of credibility in information crowdsourcing means that some professionals consider it, in the best of cases, as complementary processes and not as viable alternatives of which to be distrustful. However, in this respect it is worth noting the statements of some authors who remind us that while user-generated information can be subjected to hidden interests, inaccuracies, distortions and biases, professional journalism is not immune to the same problems either (Nogueras, 2010).

Conclusions

The media have to try and approach audiences and consolidate them, understand their demands, organize collaborative spaces for articulating social initiatives and energize communities from the perspective of a more committed journalism. All of this involves building social networks of trust with their publics based on a model of open participation and democratic debate in the new public sphere.

Although the traditional media have barely changed their mechanisms of communicating with the public – i.e. hierarchized and normally unidirectional – it is increasingly difficult to ignore the existence of a much more plural, network model of communication within reach of that same public. The digital media, while they can normally be employed with similar criteria to the consumption of traditional media, also serve for putting users into contact with each other, establishing continuous spaces of discussion on any issue and exercising a particularly rich capacity of selecting information.

We are witnessing a change of the media – and even of the social – paradigm. The rapid spread of the new information and communication technologies amongst citizens, and the diversity of their social uses, are forcing the mass media to participate in incentivizing their use and, in this way, to establish a system of shaping public opinion based on citizens who ask, intervene and organize themselves (Rodotá, 2000).

Just as coffee shops and salons were the seed of the public sphere in the XVIII century, the new digital technologies are a fundamental medium for new forms of socialization, disseminating information, political participation and forming public opinion. The changes introduced by the new digital technologies and participatory audiences, with significant phenomena like crowdsourcing, thus represent a democratization or socialization of public knowledge of current affairs.

References

Beltrán, L.R. (1981). Adios a Aristóteles: La comunicación 'horizonal'. *ALAIC Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencias de la Comunicación*, 4(7): 12-36.

Bonilla Vélez, J.I. (2002). ¿De la plaza pública a los medios?. *Signo y Pensamiento*, XXI(41): 82-89.

Bowman, S. & Willis, C. (2003). *We Media. How audiences are shaping the future of news and information*. www.hypergene.net.

Brabham, D.C. (2008). Moving the crowd at iStockphoto: the composition of the crowd and motivations for participation in a crowdsourcing application. *First Monday*, 13(6), http://firstmonday.org.

Burger, T. & Pénin, J. (2010). The limits of crowdsourcing inventive activities: what do transaction cost theory and the evolutionary theories of the firm teach us?. *Workshop on open source innovation*, Strasbourg (Francia).

Camus, J.C. (2002). El rol del periodista en Internet. www.usando.info.

Cohen, B. (1963). *The Press and Foreing Policy*. Princenton: Princenton University Press.

Chesbrough, H.W. (2003). *Open innovation: the new imperative for creating and profiting from technology*. Harvard Business Press.

Estellés, E. & González, F. (2012a). Towards an integrated crowdsourcing definition. *Journal of information science*, 38(2): 189-200.

Estellés, E. & González, F. (2012b). Clasificación de iniciativas de crowdsourcing basadas en tareas. *El profesional de la información*, 21(3): 283-291.

García de Torres, E. (2010). Contenido generado por el usuario. Estado de la cuestión. *El profesional de la información*, 19(6): 585-594.

Geerts, S. (2009). *Discovering crowdsourcing: theory, classification and directions for use*. Master Thesis Innovation Management. Technische Universiteit Eindhoven, Netherlands. http://alexandria.tue.nl.

Gómez-Escalonilla, G. (2004). Periodismo digital. Nuevas exigencias para le profesional de la información. *Redes.com*, 1: 61-72.

Hodkinson, P. (2007). Interactive Online Journals and Individualization. *New Media & Society*, 9: 625-650.

Howe, J. (2008). *Crowdsourcing: why the power of the crowd is driving the future of business*. Gran Bretaña: Busiuness Books.

Kleeman, F.; Voss, G. & Rieder, K. (2008). Un(der)paid innovators: the commercial utilization of consumer work through crowdsourcing. *Science , technology & innovation Studies*, 4(1): 5-26.

Lara, T. (2008). La nueva esfera pública. Los medios de comunicación como redes sociales. *Telos*, 76: 128-131.

Lippman, W. (2003). *La opinión pública*. Madrid: Langre.

López García, G. (2006). Comunicación en red y mutaciones de la esfera pública. *Zer*, 20: 231-249.

McCombs, M. (2006). *Estableciendo la agenda. El impacto de los medios en la opinión pública y en el conocimiento*. Barcelona: Paidós.

Noguera Vivo, J.M. (2010). Panorámica de la convergencia periodística. *El profesional de la información*, 19(6): 652-657.

Oliveira, F.; Ramos, I. & Santos, L. (2010). Definition of a crowdsourcing innovation service for the European SMEs. In F. Daniel *et al* (eds). *Current trends in web engineering. Lecture notes in computer science* (pp. 412-416), 10th International Conference on Web Engineering ICWE 2010 Workshops, Vienna, Austria.

Pénin, J. (2009). "More open than open innovation? Rethinking the concept of openness in innovation studies". Working papers of BETA, Bureau d'Economie Théorique et Appliquée, UDS, Estrasburgo. www.beta-umr7522.fr.

Perales, O. (2008). Esfera pública y medios electrónicos. *Reazón y palabra*, 13(61), www.redalyc.org.

Rodotá, S. (2000). *Tecnopolítica. La democracia y las nuevas tecnologías de la comunicación*. Buenos Aires: Losada.

Rodríguez Borges, R. (2011). Esfera pública y medios de comunicación. La contribución de los *media* a la construcción de la ciudadanía democrática. *Daimón. Revista Internacional de Filosofía*, Suplemento 4: 79-93.

Ruiz, C. (2008). *La agonía del cuarto poder. Prensa contra democracia*. Barcelona: Trípodos.

Sánchez-Fortún, J.R. (2012). Nuevos modelos de conocimiento público colaborativo: el caso del crowdsourcing informativo. *Cuadernos de Gestión de Información*, 31-39.

Schenk, E. & Guittard, C. (2009). *Crowdsourcing: what can be outsourced to the crowd and why?*. https://halshs.

Schenk, E. & Guittard, C. (2011). Towards a characterization of crowdsourcing practices. *Journal of innovation economics*, 1(7): 93-107.

Sloane, P. (2011). The brave new world of open innovation. *Strategic direction*, 27(15): 3-4.

Timoteo, J. (2005). *Gestión del poder diluido. La construcción de la sociedad mediática (1989/2004)*. Madrid: Pearson Educación.

Vukovic, M. (2009). Crowdsourcing for enterprises. *Procs of the 2009 Congress on service – I. IEEE Computer Society*, Washington DC, pp. 686-692.

Vukovic, M. & Bartolini, C. (2010). Towards a research agenda for enterprise crowdsourcing. In T. Margaria & B. Steffen (eds.), *Leveraging applications of formal methods, verification and validation. Lectute notes in computer science*, 6415: 425-434.

Note: This paper is part of the following research project: "Active audiences and Journalism. Analysis of the quality and regulation of the user generated contents" (Code: CSO2012-39518-C04-03, 2013/2015), funded by the Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness of Spain. The paper is part also of the scientific production of the Formation and Research Unit in Communication of the University of the Basque Country (UFI 11/21, UPV/EHU).

8. Joining the Spheres: The Smartphone between Public and Private

Gil Baptista Ferreira
ESEC - Instituto Politécnico de Coimbra

Abstract: The increasing use of social networks puts issues associated with the notions of public and private, and, among them, the issue of privacy under a new perspective. These issues take an added dimension with the sharing of information online, via mobile communication devices.

With this article we aim to understand the transformations of the notions of public and private in everyday life, taking as a focus of analysis the use of mobile communication devices. With specific reference to the smartphone, we will characterize the nature of the boundaries between public and private, permeated by new behaviors that raise new issues.

We'll start revisiting the notions of public and private in order to evaluate its application to "new situational geographies of social life" (Meyrowitz, 1986), to explore the following questions: "In what terms is it appropriate to think of public and private today?"; "How do we conceptualize the distinction between these two spheres?" And still: "How do we apply these concepts to the most common routines of everyday life?".

Taking into account the data collected under the *Public and Private in Mobile Communications Project*, we'll seek the answer to two main research questions: 1) "Are the notions of public and private still present today?" and 2) "Taking those notions as guidelines, to what extent do mobile phones contribute to a new way of thinking about public and private?". To conclude, the consistency between these data and the conceptualization proposed in the framework of this study will be evaluated.

Keywords: Public/Private Spheres, Privacy and Technology, Mobile Devices, Social Networks, New Media.

Mobile and Digital Communication, 159-171

Introduction

The use of social networks such as Facebook, Twitter or LinkedIn more than doubled since 2008. Generally speaking, the studies show a sharp increase in social networking activities, associated with the exponential increase in the use of technologies supported by the Internet (Madden, 2012). This increased use of social networks puts under a new perspective issues associated with the notions of public and private spheres and, among them, the issue of privacy. These issues take an added dimension when we consider the exchange of information online, via mobile communication devices.

If a set of studies shows that individuals nowadays are aware of the security risks associated with the use of social media (Madden, 2012), the truth is that other researches show that a significant number of Facebook users (the most representative social network) does not configure privacy settings to limit public access to their information (*Consumer Reports Magazine*, 2012). And, in the context of social networks, the kind of personal information typically shared includes pictures, full names, date of birth, e-mail address, physical mailing address, affiliations and interests, and sometimes even names of family members (Stutzman, 2006).

To the extent that the implications of these transformations cover several dimensions of individual and social life, there are several ways to approach this matter. The perspective that we follow in this text seeks to define the contours of the transformations of the notions of public and private in everyday life. We take as our focus of analysis the use of mobile communication devices and their role in these transformations. More specifically, and focusing our attention on the uses of a specific mobile device, the smartphone, we will characterize the nature of the boundaries between public and private, permeated by new behaviors that raise new issues.

We'll start by revisiting the notions of public and private, in order to evaluate its application to "new geographies situational of social life" (Meyrowitz, 1986: 6). We'll explore the following questions: in what terms is it appropriate to think of the concepts public and private today? How to conceptualize the distinction between these two spheres? And still, how to apply these concepts to the most common routines of everyday life and where to place the individual in relationship to them?

From here, and taking as object of empirical analysis the data collected under the *Public and Private in Mobile Communications Project*, we will seek to answer two main research questions: 1) to what extent are the notions of public and private still present? and 2) taking these notions as a frame, to what extent do mobile phones finally contribute to a new way of thinking about public and private? To conclude, the consistency between these data and the conceptualization proposed in the framework of this study will be evaluated.

New geographies of privacy and visibility

As described recently by Barnes (2006), we live in a world of a paradoxical privacy. On the one hand, individuals (Barnes refers to adolescents) reveal their intimate thoughts and behaviors online; on the other hand, from public administration agencies to marketing professionals, several instances collect and process personal data about us.

The work developed by Barnes demonstrates how many official records were transformed into digital files that can be searched through the Internet; like every time we use a shopping card, the seller collects data on our consumption habits; or even how the use of credit cards by businesses can create profiles more accurately each time, which trace many of our behaviors. Stored on servers is each detail of our daily routines, from our shopping preferences to our thoughts and communications. In spite of the fact that many people were unfamiliar with the fact that their privacy could be compromised, Galkin (1996) noted, for nearly two decades, as much of the information that people would like to keep secret is, in a perfectly legal form, in possession of some entity, company or government.

The new information and communication technologies have abolished distance and erected in its place a virtual proximity (or semiotics). And the same is true for temporal relations: email, mobile phones, video conferencing among others, are forms of communicative concurrency and proximity that affect and define the quality of the message (Fortunati, Katz & Riccini, 2003). As Sherry Turkle states, we are witnessing forms of sociality in which, within the framework of public spaces, people complain about the possibility of being in private, which is enabled by technology. “A walk in the neighborhood reveals a world of crazy men and women, talking to themselves, sometimes screaming, little concerned about what’s going on around them,

happy to have intimate conversations in public spaces. In fact, the neighborhoods have become themselves spaces that are, neither entirely public, nor injunctions entirely deprived" (Turkle, 2008: 122).

The electronic media have been widely characterized by their ability to eliminate, or at least reorganize the boundaries between public and private spaces that affect our lives, not so much through the content but changing the "situational geography" of social life (Meyrowitz, 1986: 6).

Today, it is particularly noted that technologies and mediated communication blur borders and promote convergence between public and private. This confluence is especially pronounced on a public carrier, a medium such as the Internet, and is particularly relevant for the development of interaction in online social networks (for example, Barnes, 2006; Boyd and Heer, 2006; Donath and Boyd, 2004). Convergence, while an intrinsic feature of the new forms of communication assumes central importance in this process, driving various kinds of reconfigurations and re-arrangements: 1) of the technology, in as much it modifies the way the individuals update and rewrites through a variety of distinct but converging resources; 2) of spaces, by changing the location of individuals; and 3) of practices, suggesting the continuity of activities through the social, cultural, economic or political categories.

There is a plasticity of the boundaries between public and private, through the use of mediated spaces that promote the privatization of the public and the private's publicity. As a result, the boundaries between public and private are permanently adjusted or dimmed in a process whose outcome is "the privatization of public space and a possible return of the home with political space" (Papacharissi, 2010: 126). The convergence emerges as a key element for promoting these trends, in particular when it multiplies or pluralizes our interaction spheres and their potential audiences - which, in themselves, also increase the degree of indeterminacy of the boundaries between the classical spaces.

Prospects of resurrecting the civic purity of public and private in the face of these growing and antithetical tendencies without highlighting these contradictions seem incorrect. The American researcher Danah Boyd subscribed the difficulty in making classic concepts operative to determine how public or private is each event or place. She accuses the classical scales of being pathologically ill-equipped to deal with the disruption caused by technologies of mediation. This means that, while public and private change so fast, behind

our eyes, it lacks language, norms and social structures to deal with it (Boyd, 2007).

Effectively, it is within the framework of social media, and the way they blend the public with the private, that these changes show themselves with greater eloquence. These changes produce what Boyd (2008) designates as "collapse of the context" of the performances of sociability. The context is an important defining element, which in the non-mediated interactions establishes the boundaries between public and private. Once the context collapses, a private non-spatialized field emerges. On the other hand, the public is presented as "a complex space of flows of information"; "public means be visible in this space, be able to be seen and heard by others" (Thompson, 2010: 29). To analyze this new reality, John B. Thompson deems it necessary to revisit the language we use to describe the new practices of communication. This means that we have to "get rid of temptation to think 'private sphere' in terms of physical spaces like home. (...) Today, when an individual is in the space of his home or room and enters the Internet, disseminating information about himself to thousands or millions of other people, in what sense is this individual situated in the private sphere?" (Thompson, 2010: 28-29).

Fractal spaces and continuity

We need a non-dichotomous conceptualization of the public/private distinction, both in a spatial as in a personal dimension. Susan Gal seeks to fill the gap between these two spheres when she addresses the public/private distinction as a "communicative phenomenon" (Gal, 2002: 77). Taking as starting point the usual dichotomous approach, she notes that most of the practices, relationships and social transactions are not limited by the principles associated with one or another sphere. In fact, "public and private coexist in complex combinations in the ordinary routines of everyday life." In other words: aspects that have come to be treated as wholly different in social life are not, after all, so far away from each other. What boils down to a clear thesis: "the public/private dichotomy is (...) a fractal distinction" (Gal, 2002: 78), in which each of the elements can be presented in smaller parts with the same characteristics as the whole, but with different scales and values.

In this process, both private and public are accommodated and ensnared, and are continuously renegotiated and redefined, always in relation to each

other. Thus, they are not truly dichotomous, although the participants can often 'squeeze' them into a single dichotomy simplifying what, in practice, is a complex feature (Gal, 2002). Public and private and the differences between them, are, above all, contextual and relational dimensions (Ford, 2011).

Christena Nippert-Eng addresses the public/private distinction from the perspective of the symbolic interactionism and, like Gal, considers the public and the private as situational (Nippert-Eng, 2010). In essence, her thesis is based on two linked ideas: 1) the public/private distinction is a *continuum* and 2) the 'true' public and private are generically ideal types. Those who live under this new version of public/private claim the ability to "choose carefully what is unveiled or hidden, for whom and how" (Nippert-Eng, 2010: 140). Nothing is ever truly public or truly private; we strive instead to give more or less access to information about ourselves based on what we feel to be "situationally appropriate" (Ford, 2011: 560).

Based on the criticism of an dichotomous interpretation of the public/private relationship, and considering social changes that occurred in the light of the new media, an alternative proposal passes for thinking the public/private pair, in their spatial and personal dimensions, as a *continuum*. The continuity here considered is anchored on the one side in the "private" and, on the other side, in the "public" without, however, fixating itself in a pure and permanent form, in any of these concepts. The promoters of this thesis advocate that this interpretation does not differ substantially from those made by Arendt or Habermas, among others, in particular when they suggest theoretical explanations that incorporate intermediate categories between the traditional public and private realms – meaning "social". On the contrary, any intermediate categories alternatives such as semi-publics or semi-private, shall be unsatisfactory to explain the public/private relationship, not doing more than "fixing", in these categories, events and interactions without highlighting the dynamic nature that they own.

An important development of this matter is carried out by Gal, when the author characterizes the public/private distinction as fractal. In her perspective, the boundary between the public/private pair is not the one expressed in the fracture between opposing categories- it is rather a fluid and negotiated line. Having this proposal as a reference, Sarah Michele Ford (2011) proposes a combination of the *categorical perspective* (based on the opposition between public/private categories) with a *fractal explanation* of the rela-

tionship between this pair. From here, she states that between purely public and purely private there is an infinitely variable number of settings that fall somewhere between the traditional categories of 'private' (especially things that occur or are said behind, physical or virtual closed doors) and 'public' (interactions and events that occur under the gaze of a sometimes unknown audience).

The conceptualization of the public and the private as a *continuum* is facilitated by social media software structure. The most common social networks exemplify this reality, particularly Facebook. This social network allows its users, as administrators, to have a detailed control of their personal content online through the constitution of groups with different access levels. Thus, any information can be public, private or have some access restrictions based on the network or associations from users defined lists. Facebook also allows users to determine individuals or lists prevented to access any content, the admission or the removal of anyone from the members' list and the implementation of privacy filters/visibility in the various contents.

In short: with these software tools, social networking users actively manage privacy and suit their personal content to specific audiences in a way that leads them to experience the public/private dimensions in the form of *continuum*. Some content may be entirely private, other content entirely public, but among them there is an indeterminate number of dynamic spaces of blocking and non-public and non-private postings. This allows, at best, and in a realistic manner, to characterize public and private spaces as negotiated, generally not pre-determined.

This malleability of public and private extends beyond social networks on the Internet, and is present in several dimensions of everyday life – sustained in the potential allowed by the new forms of communication. From the academic who works from home where he/she watches over a sick child (private domain), whereas at the same time he/she participates, through the internet, in an academic debate (public domain), or the dedicated employee who during the holidays uses the *smartphone* to read and respond to emails from work – each of these individuals live in a space that is not public or private in their pure forms. Instead, they move very fluidly between the two kingdoms. Well, this fast moving back and forth is a defining mark of the new relationship between public and private: living everyday life between the online and the

offline, individuals create and destroy interstitial spaces that cannot be classified as either public or private (Ford, 2011).

All these properties modify stark classical rules concerning the way we understood the public and private, and create a whole new understanding-not expressed-about these notions.

Public and private and the use of social networks through mobile phone – empirical study

The use of smartphones has become accelerated in recent years. Recent data indicate that 88% of adults in the United States use smartphones and, of these, at least 50% access social networks through these devices (Boyles, Smith and Madden, 2012). Initial studies on the use of smartphones focused mainly on the effects of its use in terms of integration in social networks (Park, Han and Kaid, 2012), their usability (Wessels, Purvis and Rahman, 2011) and on aspects relating to its use to access social networks (Lugano, 2008). On the other hand, empirical studies that evaluate the association between the use of smartphones and the public/private issues do not abound. To that extent, this study intends to be a contribution, in terms of available literature, to the empirical research on how the use of smartphones affects the notions of public and private.

In this article, we analyze survey data collected by the Online Media Lab (Labcom) of the University of Beira Interior, in the framework of the project "Public and Private in Mobile Communications", between July 15 and August 21, 2013, a period in which 74 responses were taken into account. Among the questions posed, in this article we considered those who respond more appropriately to an analysis of the distinction and connection between public and private spheres, in strict connection with the use of smartphones.

Research Issues

To what extent are the notions of public and private still present?

When questioning participants about how they feel when they're on the verge of making a phone call in the presence of strangers, 94.6% responded "I agree" or "totally agree", which reflects the existence of a notion of private domain – defined by the exclusion of strangers. However, when we question them about

the spaces and situations in which the mobile phone and their handling are understood as annoying or inconvenient, just two spaces are indicated (cinema and church), which means that, in most situations, no inconvenience is seen in the use of the mobile communication device, with all the potential pointed out above.

What uses do people give to the mobile phone?

The most basic functions, like "making calls and sending text messages" are the users' favorite several times a day. However, a second group of respondents use their device, also several times a day, to "visit websites, navigate the Internet, search information" and also to "visit social networking sites".

Another important aspect is the use of a mobile telephone to take pictures and produce videos. A number of 71% of respondents used the cell phone for this task / with this function between one to three times a week.

To film/photograph?

We found that 71% film/photograph at least between 1 to 3 times a week. Open questions were placed about the situations recorded with the phone and about the chance to share such content. The answers were grouped into categories, avoiding the dispersion of the data. The "moments of conviviality with friends and family" are the most filmed/photographed by the respondents (30 percent), followed by "travels and landscapes" (19 percent).

Share? Where?

Knowing the content that most individuals' record, it is important to know their habits of sharing, where they exist. Thus, a sort of balance between sharing photos and videos taken with the phone was found. The number of those who claim not to share any type of content it is higher: 45.9% share and 54.1 claims they do not. Among the visual contents shared are those in which friends and travelling are represented, but also everyday life situations. The shares occur mostly on Facebook, the leading social networking site mentioned in responses (65%), followed at a significant distance by Instagram (18%), another very well-known platform.

In which spaces is the smartphone used?

Following the conventional division between private spaces and public spaces, there was a balanced distribution between uses at "home and work" (28 percent), "home, travel and other public spaces" (27%) and individuals whose use is permanent and therefore done anywhere (28 percent). We can't say that there is a space with more evidence in relation to the other. It can be said that the "home" is almost always present in the responses, which may indicate that using mobile devices has become indifferent to either a private or a public location (meaning "outside the home") of the individual.

Discussion

From the data reviewed in this study, we can sustain that the notions of public and private dimension are still present. Specifically, the concern for the safety of an area of privacy and the existence of "strangers" are taken as relevant. However, the use of the smartphone pervades the various spaces and public and private situations, making these concepts relatively malleable. That is, not all public spaces are so public without a reserved area, which means that privacy is possible in public. But also from the private space (i.e., from home), where with a smartphone we can have public actions (attending an online debate or sending a professional email).

The fact that the spaces of mobile communication devices are undifferentiated and their ubiquitous presence highlights the collapse of context, before in this text. As a result, the private emerges as a non-spatialized domain and the public as a space of complex information flows. Despite this lack, the data of the surveys point to the "home" as a constant space for using the smartphone, where almost half of the individuals share videos and pictures, mostly on social networks – which implies thinking about the spaces of hybrid form, and interactions as a *continuum*, a back-and-forth constant where individuals manage, on a case-by-case basis, varying levels of privacy and publicity.

Finally, the data indicate the smartphone as a device for the participation in networks of extended sociality. The smartphone presents itself as a connecting device to networks of digital interaction, not in presence. These networks, and the type of use identified there, enables us to privatize the public (when we photograph and, doing that, "privatize" a common reality, a social event

or a landscape), and publicly the private (by the public sharing of images or information from the private sphere). In this process, some elements are more "public", others more "private" in a fractal manner, without settling, in a pure form, in any of these concepts.

Conclusion

It is important to note that mobile communication technologies as the smartphone, the Internet or interactive television are bidirectional. For this reason, they bring parts of the outside world into the "home", but also take elements from "home" to the outside world. Mobile communication technologies have the potential to dilute the historical conceptions of space, whose classical references are in the "home" and in the "agora" of the ancient Greece.

This research confirmed that through the use of mobile communication devices, the boundaries between public and private are permanently adjusted or dimmed in a process whose outcome is "a privatization of public space and a possible (return to the) "home" as a political space" (Papacharissi, 2010: 126). The convergence between the various technologies (telephone, video and photo camera, internet access, social networking applications) emerges as an element that promotes these trends and multiplies our spheres of interaction and their potential audiences. These audiences, some known and others unsuspected, also increase for themselves the degree of indeterminacy of the boundaries between the spaces.

Assessing the association between the use of smartphones and the public/private issues, this study reinforces a more general perspective about public and private in the age of digital technologies. As stated by Papacharissi: "Whereas in the past *public* had been used to demarcate the end of *private*, and *private* signaled a departure from *public*, these terms no longer imply such opposition, especially in terms of how they are architecturally employed for the construction of place. Spaces presented by convergent technologies are hybrid private and public spaces." (Papacharissi, 2010: 127-8)

References

Barnes, S. (2006). The privacy paradox: Social networking in the United States. *First Monday*, 11(9).

Boyd, D. (2007). Social Network Sites: Public, Private, or What?. *Knowledge Tree*, 13, May.

Boyd, D. (2008). Facebook's Privacy Trainwreck. *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies*, 14(1): 13-22.

Boyd , D. & Heer, J. (2006). Profiles as conversation: Networked identity performance on Friendster. In *Proceedings of Thirty-Ninth Hawai'i International Conference on System Sciences*. Los Alamitos, CA: IEEE Press.

Boyles, L.J.; Smith, A. & Madden, M. (2012). *Privacy and Data Management on Mobile Devices*. http://pewinternet.org. Retrieved 23-11-2014.

Consumer Reports Magazine. (2012). *Facebook & your privacy*. www.consumerreports.org. Retrieved 27-02-2015.

Donath, J.S. & Boyd, D. (2004). Public displays of connection. *BT Technology Journal*, 22, 71.

Ford, S.M. (2011). Reconceptualizing the public/private distinction in the age of information technology. *Information, Communication & Society*, 14(4): 550-567.

Fortunati, L.; Katz J.E. & Riccini, R. (Eds.), (2003). *Mediating the human body: Technology, communication and fashion*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum & Associates.

Gal, S. (2002). The semiotics of the public/private distinction. *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies*, 13(1): 77-95.

Galkin , W.S. (1996). Privacy: What is it? *Computer Law Observer*, issue 14.

Lugano, G. (2008). Mobile social networking in theory and practice. *First Monday*, 13(11): 3.

Madden, M. (2012). Privacy management on social media sites. *Pew Internet & American Life Project*.

Meyrowitz, J. (1986). *In the Sense of Place. The Impact of Electronic Media on Social Behavior*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Nippert -Eng, C. (2010). *Islands of privacy*. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press.

Papacharissi, Z. (2010). *The Private Sphere: Democracy in the Digital Age*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Park, K.-G.; Han, S. & Kaid, L.L. (2012). Does social networking service usage mediate the association between smartphone usage and social capital? *New Media and Society*, 15(7): 1077-1093.

Sheller, M. & Urry, J. (2003). Mobile Transformations of 'Public' and 'Private' Life. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 20(3): 107-125.

Stutzman, F. (2006). An evaluation of identity-sharing behavior in social network communities. *International Digital and Media Arts Journal*, 3(1): 10-18.

Thompson, J.B. (2010). Changing boundaries of public and private life. *Arrays*, 4(1).

Turkle, S. (2008). Always-On/Always-on-You: The Tethered Self. In C. Katz (eds.), *Handbook of Mobile Communication Studies*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Wessels, A.; Purvis, M. & Rahman, N. (2011). Usability of Web Interfaces on Mobile Devices. Paper presented at the Information Technology: New Generations (ITNG), Eighth International Conference 2011.

9. Liquid Spheres or Constelations? Reflections on Mobile Devices

Ana Serrano Tellería
Universidade da Beira Interior / LabCom.IFP

Abstract: Online communication and user performance in the mobile environment have produced a wide range of possibilities concerning time and space. Within this ever-changing ecosystem of coordinates in real and virtual worlds that are being altered and/or juxtaposed, users seem to experience different kinds of perceptions about what was traditionally considered 'public' and 'private'. In this gradation, emotion management and technological literacy appear to play key roles, while concepts like anonymity, authenticity, intimacy, identity or the Self flow intermittently in this media ecology.

Users' management of content and information, as well as the Self and social networking, have proved to be prominent aspects to consider. On the one hand, the fluidity of identity, cellular and nomadic intimacy, network privatism and the tethered, tutored and quantified Self should be highlighted. On the other hand, continuous partial attention, multitasking and/or multiplexing performance, the relationship between memories and places, the limitation of the impact of users' knowledge on their actions, strong circumstantial pattern behavior, the relevance of temporal priority in digital literacy and the lack of rationality in some attitudes and performances have become ingrained in users' behavior online.

Moreover, this media ecology is framed by the ambiguity and volatility of overall 'personal policies' and 'terms and conditions', which are added the liquidity and mobility of our society and technology itself and the architecture of exposure (of disclosure/intimacy) to the interface design of mobile communication and devices. Therefore, a reflection is proposed on the concepts of 'liquid spheres' or 'constellations' as a way of describing this dissolution of boundaries. The discussion is based on an international state of the art review as well as on the results of the project 'Public and Private in Mobile Communications', while applying

Mobile and Digital Communication, 173-198

quantitative and qualitative methods and focusing on Portugal.
Keywords: Mobile Devices, Liquid Spheres, Constellations of Spheres, Online Identity, Online Privacy, Online Publicity, Online Intimacy, User Profile.

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to reflect on user performance in the mobile ecosystem, especially concentrating on mobile devices and the management of public and private spheres. The international state of the art will be reviewed and an overall perspective of the results and conclusions of the European FEDER project 'Public and Private in Mobile Communications' will be given.

The specific objective is to expose the dichotomy that arises in the research process between the concepts of 'liquid spheres' and 'constellations of spheres' when describing users' notions and actions regarding this media ecosystem.

First of all, to introduce to the theoretical background that is considered fundamental throughout the analytical and methodological steps, as well as the conclusion and description, it will be useful to bear in mind the following citations throughout the article. As key parameters, they have defined and framed the scope of the research questions and procedures: some from the beginning, while others appear intermittently.

"First we shape our tools, thereafter they shape us," stated McLuhan, adding that "for the first time, technologies are simulating the nervous system". Flusser's 'Homo Ludens' "plays with information" (1988). Within this media ecology, Wellman (2001) described that "it was I-alone that was reachable wherever I was: at a house, hotel, office, freeway or mail. Place did not matter, person did. The person has become the portal".

In Bauman's 'liquid modernity' environment (2005), individuals become simultaneously the promoters of commodities and the commodities they promote, the merchandise and the marketer, the goods and the travelling salespeople; this is customarily described by the 'market conditions'.

Deuze's 'media life' (2012) maintains that "we are increasingly living 'in' the media, like a fish in water, rather than 'with' the media" and, remembering the description of daily life performance by Goffman (1959), people move between the front stage and the back stage, between public and private sphe-

res. Electronic audio visual media increasingly introduced elements of the individual "back stage"to the front, favoring the expression of personal characteristics and exposing areas that had previously been private, introduced Meyrowitz (1985).

In the world of Goffman (1959), said Sennet (2002), people behaved but had no experience of the media converting the private space into merchandise (Meyrowitz, 1985). Remembering McLuhan, the medium is the message and, it seems, even more on mobile devices, the (pro) consumer – (active) user has become the merchandise (Fidalgo, Serrano Tellería, Carvalheiro *et al*., 2013).

Human Being as a Communication Portal

In the preliminary state of the art review (Fidalgo, Serrano Tellería, Carvalheiro *et al*., 2013), four levels were defined following the 'technology of intimacy' concept. They attempt to identify the emotional and physical connections between human and technological systems (Bennett, 2011; Carnegie, 2002), since the line between them is increasingly blurred and may vary to differing extents (Boyce & Hancock, 2012): 'internal perspective', 'external extension', 'interpersonal interactions and societal reflection'. At that moment, it was very difficult to divide the different concepts from the literature into these different dimensions.

Another citation that appeared to be key to understanding one aspect of this liquidity was Arendt (1997), who explained that, in the creation of a common world, reality is not guaranteed by the "common nature"of men but because all are interested in the same subject. In this mobile, online ecosystem and 'media life', emotion and the scope of the 'common' seemed to be core features, for example in social media. Another interesting comparison was the explanation by Habermas (2010) of the rise of the 'bourgeois cafés' when discussing the creation and success of these networks, especially concerning open and closed circles and groups.

Thus, the review began with the perspective of the 'human being as a communication portal' (Wellman, 2001), in which the human condition is defined by the attitude and the way of dealing with the human ecosystem (see, for example, Bateson 1979, 1991). This notion of relationship and interdependence had been, in fact, addressed by authors such as Elias (1980: 134): "The image of man in relationships has to be before the people in the plural.

Obviously, we have to start with the image of a crowd of people, each one establishing an open and interdependent process".

Therefore, the 'human being as a communication portal' is constantly defined by his/her attitude and way of dealing with the surrounding environment, the public and private spheres and participation in the common space. In different dimensional coordinates of time and space, the Human Being becomes the manager of these spheres. The same action can be considered public or private in the same physical space depending on the specific situation. Heidegger's 'dasein', in Castells' 'space of flows' and 'timeless time', leads to a relationship of existence through appropriation/configuration of space that flows and in a time constrained by Aakhus and Katz's 'perpetual contact' (Fidalgo, Serrano Tellería, Carvalheiro *et al*., 2013).

Following the tensions that have arisen between 'time' and 'space' coordinates, the main research questions were: Does the amplification of human abilities, which are diluted in space-time dimensions, and a continuous flow of data alter the implementation of part of the identity in possible online profiles? Are we aware of these changes and are they voluntary? How can we control technology that allows us to flow in this way? Will new coordinates and dimensions in the definition of communication emerge? Are aspects of its analysis and the modes and models of communication also emerging? Is it possible to achieve a deep level of interaction with people we never meet?

Will the balance between authenticity and anonymity, privacy and functionality delimit the public and private spheres? Or are we dealing with a struggle between obscurity and hypervisibility that enables us to reach the spotlight of attention? What will the scope of the common space be? In this sense, and taking into account the importance of time priority as a variable, an analysis of the concepts of space appropriation, profile and wilfulness are proposed from a perspective that places the Human Being at the center, that is, as a communication portal.

Main Concepts and Reflections: International State of the Art Review

Grouped by period and theme, with the aim of establishing the evolution of academic reflections and to understand the path followed by the concepts, the starting point is the previously mentioned individual as a 'portal' by Wellman (2001). Furthermore, Ling (2001) introduced 'hyper-coordination' while La-

sén (2001) introduced the 'privatization of the public space' and the 'virtual private space' that always accompanies the user.

'Perpetual contact' has been used by Katz & Aakhus (2002) to reflect the mobile and online state, while 'cellular and nomadic intimacy' by Fortunati (2002) deals with its effects on users' personal dimensions of identity. Meanwhile, Sennet (2002) has indicated that personality in public considers – as a widespread belief – that appearance is an indicator of character, which causes anxiety in private individuals.

Digital media have been characterized by Kawamoto (2003) as a constant negotiation of rules in which norms and values are not clear; a decentralized model with a multimedia, flexible format, constantly changing, being updated, corrected and being revised; nonlinear content that is indifferent to distance; diverse resource sources with fragmented audiences whose feedback is extremely important.

Those features are intertwined with Bauman's metaphor of modern life, i.e. liquid life (2005): fluidity, transience, reticula and the dissolution of defined borders and boundaries (Aguado, Feijóo, Martínez, 2013; Serrano Tellería; Oliveira, 2015). The privacy policies and terms and conditions of the main online and mobile platforms and devices are described as ambiguous and confused (Fernback & Papacharissi, 2005).

Further to the correlation between the impact of digital technology and the digital features of liquid society (which refers to reflections on acceleration, dislocation, consumption and the role of identity), the mobile medium particularly fits the parameters of fluidization of technological, institutional and cultural dimensions of the medium previously described by McQuail (2006; Aguado, Feijóo, Martínez, 2013; Serrano Tellería; Oliveira, 2015). As for each particular user, Vincent (2005) has highlighted integration into the senses and attachment to the body as new forms of emotional attachment, and the possibilities of symbolic representation of the Self, while Stone (2002-2014) mentions the 'continuous partial attention' that can be seen in online behavior.

The modifications of tacit social interaction codes have been classified by Humphreys (2005) as: 'cross talk', 'listening in', 'dual front interaction', 'three way interaction', 'caller hegemony', 'disruption of hegemony and maintenance of hegemony'. They are framed by a society in which a "curious reversal" that has redefined the private sphere (characterized by the right to

confidentiality) as a sphere that has become prey to the right to publicity, Bauman (2008) has stated.

As a defining feature, the 'autonomy of mobile communication', more than mobility itself, has been highlighted by Castells (2008), who also added the concepts of 'space of flows' and 'timeless time'. In this sense, Katz (2008) has reported how these devices have improved several dimensions of freedom and increased our choices in life, while invading personal privacy and causing emotional, political and technological distress.

Turkle (2008) has discussed a state of being 'always on', while Rheingold (2008) has underlined the 'feeling of being there' in his description of 'smart mobs'. Major lines of analysis were started by Jeffery (2008) on the concepts of community, authority, domestication and etiquette, and space, while Ling (2008) has identified the relevance of mediated interactions and anxiety about not knowing others' state (remembering Goffman; also adding Sennet, 2002).

In this 'personal communication society', Campbell and Jin Park (2008) have suggested that key areas of social change are: the symbolic meaning of technology, new forms of coordination and social networking, personalization of public spaces and youth mobile culture.

With a special focus on this last group, Stald (2008) has observed a 'fluidity of identity' characterized by: availability; experience of presence at a time when social presence in the public space is being invaded by ongoing mobile communication; a personal log for activities, networking and communication of experiences, a role which has implications for the relationship between the individual and the group and for emotional experience; the learning of social norms.

Turkle (2008, 2011) has complemented 'always on' with 'the tethered self', in which the camera phone was described as one of the central devices of our lives (David, 2010). From another perspective, Fidalgo (2011; following Geser's meaning of social models, 2004, 2005 and Tarde's meaning of multitude, 1992) has considered how this permanent and ubiquitous connection is the cause of much tutored thought, the 'tutored self'.

Turkle (2011) has also discussed 'the multifaceted self', which faced 'the fear of missing out' (Turkle, 2011; Rosen, 2013) within previous concepts by Van Dijck (2007): 'mediated memories' and 'normative discursive strategies' in which users concretely dealt with interface design and manage the structure of these devices and platforms. Internal denominations range from 'architec-

ture of intimacy' (Turkle, 2011), 'architecture of disclosure (Marichal, 2012), 'terministic screens' (Markham, 2013), 'desire for more' (specifically regarding Facebook, Grosser, 2014) and 'interface design of exposure' (Serrano Tellería, 2014).

'Contextual integrity' has been underlined by Nissembaum (2010) as a relevant part of the process of perceiving and performing the public/private dichotomy and others linked to intimacy or personal spheres. To properly function in this environment, three dimensions of the impact of digital literacy related to online privacy have been identified by Jin Park (2011): familiarity with technical aspects; awareness of common and institutional aspects; understanding of current privacy policy; highlighting the limitation of the impact of users' knowledge on their actions observed. Complementing this perspective, Fathi (2011) proposed the following main areas: perspective of security, authentication against impersonation, leakage resilient schemes, identity based on encryption for privacy, anonymity for privacy, and private information retrieval for privacy and trust.

"We don't know all the ways in which we are being watched or profiled – we simply know that we are. And we don't regulate our behavior under the gaze of surveillance. Instead, we don't seem to care," summarized Vaidhyanathan (2011). This is a summary to bear in mind if we also consider awareness about the polysemic character of privacy and how it is determined in the functional differentiation of social communication systems indicated by Baghai (2012). Baghai has proposed an examination of privacy at the frontier between different social systems: a systemic reference of events and the functional relevance of communication.

Four different dimensions of digital literacy have been specified by Rheingold (2012): attention; the capability of detecting trash; participation; collaboration and the clever use of networks. Also, the properties of any social network have been identified as: persistence, replicability, scalability and the ability to be searched, including the importance of being aware of what we share and with whom we share it (to the extent that behind networks there are invisible and potential audiences that lie, unsuspected, between the public and the private). This is care that was also emphasized by Boyd (2014), who referred to 'invisible audiences' and, in general, to 'digital naïves', in her deep analysis of the specific case of young people. To these features, Brake (2014) has added the relevance of time and memory in social media, in which ac-

cessibility, durability, comprehensiveness, inequality and evolution were the main features to bear in mind.

Feijóo and Gomez-Barroso have explained (Aguado, Feijóo and Martínez; 2013) the two main ways to reduce privacy risk: by design and by law. Meanwhile, Aguado, Feijóo and Martínez (2013) have detailed the ubiquity, diversification and intertwining of consumption scenarios, with a marked tendency towards transversal use of the media and access modes (multi-use), and their insertion into social dynamics in which real identity games and systems become objects of consumption. Users' value perception of content is redefined and converts them into a new valuable resource of the digital economy: personal information.

The balance between affordability and affordances has been identified by Pegrum (2014) in media ecology, added to the characterization by Jenkins, Ford & Green (2013) of 'spreadability' and the tension within mass and collaborative culture itself.

The potential hazards of sharing personal information online – from concrete risks such as identity theft to more esoteric risks such as the erosion of personal autonomy as a result of surveillance – were too remote to influence user decisions; this is especially true, when compared to the immediate and tangible benefits of that same sharing process, countered Burkell (2014).

'The right to be forgotten' and other fairly theoretical proposals have arisen in the European Union, and are applicable regardless of the origin or geographical location of the supplier, while the USA and Asia are leaving the market to dominate this debate. They follow a process of trial and error to stimulate innovations that are offered to users, but this has proved to have somewhat uncertain benefits for society as a whole, as summarized by Serrano Tellería, Oliveira (2015).

Marcel Proust's 'social self' has been drawn upon to describe how influential ICTs are becoming in shaping our personal identities. Never before in the history of humanity have so many people monitored, recorded, and reported so many details about themselves to such a large audience. The impact of all these micro-narratives on everyone and on all subjects is also changing our social selves and hence how we see ourselves, representing an immense, externalized stream of consciousness, Floridi (2014) has stated.

The freedom to construct our personal identities online is no longer the freedom of anonymity; instead, it is the freedom associated with self-determi-

nation and autonomy insofar as users can manage it, as well as the uncontrolled searching of huge amounts of data. The online experience is a bit like Proust's account-book, but with us as co-authors (Floridi, 2014; Fidalgo, Serrano, Carvalheiro *et al*. 2013; Serrano Tellería, Oliveira, 2015).

In this ecology, and to sum up, we should bear in mind the lack of awareness about immediate risks, the lack of rationality among users when providing personal data, the relevance of temporal priority in literacy as well as the limitation of the impact of users' knowledge on their actions (experiences intimately related to memory), together with liquid spheres from a technical perspective and from the perspective of users' behavior. All this leads to a worrying environment if we also bear in mind that privacy policies and terms and conditions have long been described as ambiguous and confusing. Moreover, the relevance of language in the cognition process must be notable (Serrano Tellería, Oliveira; 2015).

From another but similar perspective, Van Dijck (2013) has spoken of 'normative behavior', specifically analyzing the structure of LinkedIn and Facebook and users' performances there. Social media profiles are not a reflection of one's identity, or neutral stages of self-performance, nor are they a means of self-expression, Horning (2014) has explained. Instead, they are the very tools for shaping identities, added Van Dijck (2013).

Walker Rettberg (2014) has discussed 'the filtered reality', resulting in 'the filtered world' that these platforms and devices produce, as well as 'the quantified self' as a consequence of the trend toward measuring everything and having blind trust in 'Big Data'. It has also been described as 'the algorithmic self' by Pasquale (2015).

'Multiplexing' versus 'multitasking' was another step forward in the description of how users handle general activities in this environment. It was introduced by Starner (2011), who also stated that: "When we multitask we do less well on more tasks".

On the ethnography of social media developers in Silicon Valley, Marwick's argument and main critique (2013) is based on the fact that people who are not effective neoliberal subjects (entrepreneurs) are filtered out of these devices and platforms. Fuchs (2014) has also critiqued its neoliberalism but also offers a counterpart description of its potential to generate a new type of communism.

'Dataism' was suggested by Van Dijck (2014) to refer similarly to 'the fantasy of knowing', 'subjective data visualization' if one completely trusts 'algorithms to find meaning' in these 'cumulative self-presentations', as indicated by Walker Rettberg (2014).

To complement the main features of social media and, perhaps, to better understand its success, Hermida (2014) has observed and related the natural and inner disposition of humans to share, after an analysis of user behavior on these platforms.

On the other hand, to find balance within this 'media life', "privacy, precisely because it ensures we're never fully known to others or to ourselves, provides a shelter for imaginative freedom, curiosity and self-reflection. So to defend the private self is to defend the very possibility of creative and meaningful life", argued Preston (2014).

Remembering the most notable characteristics of digital media, social media and mobile devices and users' performances caused by them to highlight, for example, the 'space that flows', 'localization' and 'mediated memories', Meyer (2014) released the long-held psychology-oriented hypothesis of "episodic memory formation", which states that memories are inextricably tied to a specific location in the brain.

'Modulations of intimacy', focusing mainly on self portraits, have been catalogued by Lasén (2015) and included 'presentation', 'representation' and 'embodiment'. Differing degrees of authenticity and playfulness also contribute to a double use of bodies, offline and online. She observed different behavior (public, semi-public, etc.) in the various media contexts (Nissembaum, 2010) as well as their conventions, which changed over time. She highlighted that public and private spheres were modified depending on the degree of preparation for tools and devices in which the degrees of 'authenticity' and 'choreography' – rituals – were notable.

'Network Privatism' was chosen by Campbell (2015) to categorize the evolution of a line of research that can be broadly included in research on 'Social Privatism'. He offered a perspective on arguments developed around 'new, diverse, weak and core ties'. The main doubt questioned by him was: "because we are linked anytime and anywhere, are we reaching in (core ties) at the expense of reaching out (broader, unknown)"?

A similar concept has been employed by Marwick and Boyd (2014), 'networked privacy', when delving into the world of young people and social media.

Lastly, Katz and Crocker (2015) have reflected on a type of 'video mediated communication' via Skype: 'virtual cohabitation', which included 'intimacy of the mundane' and 'virtual caregiving'; 'virtual accompaniment' and 'new interactions'. They highlighted how, in the case of interactions with babies and pets, some people give the impression of 'really' talking with them – even if babies and pets did not give any clue/signs of response.

Liquid Spheres: The Intermittent Flow between the Public and the Private

In the second stage of the research process, it was realized that the liquid hypothesis about the characteristics and features of the mobile media ecology, previously stated by Aguado, Feijóo and Martínez (2013), was also applicable to user perceptions and performances and to the inner interface design and structure of the same applications, devices and platforms (Serrano Tellería, 2014). Furthermore, this liquidity was also observed in terms and conditions, personal information policies and in the evolution of technology, specifically operating systems and their relationship with applications, devices and platforms[1] (Serrano Tellería, Oliveira; 2015).

On the one hand, operating systems delimit the programming environment, mobile platforms, user interface/experience and the norms with which app developers, providers and distributors should comply. On the other hand, environments – platforms – group together the relations between different actors in a channel and service content distribution, configuring the app stores in a specific way. They link (separately from network operators) the operating system and the user interface/experience, and the content management software/applications that serve to control user activity and the SDK, the software development kit (Aguado, Feijóo and Martínez; 2013).

[1] Platforms is used to mean Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn and Google +, while the environment (which can also be called a platform) relates to Apple iOS, Google Android, Blackberry and Windows Phone as operating systems with their relationship with apps and mobile services.

Therefore, firstly, an analysis was made on the interrelationships between operating systems and their environments, platforms and applications, specifically choosing privacy settings – Apple iOS (6.4.1), Android (2.3.5), Blackberry (5) and Windows Phone (7.5) – with the platforms Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, Google + and the applications Instagram, Vine, WhatsApp and Line. Secondly, a comparison was made between the privacy terms and conditions for each of the four platforms and applications mentioned. Thirdly, all these platforms and applications were installed. Finally, preliminary conclusions from an exploratory focus group and a survey performed in northern Portugal were added as a complement (Serrano Tellería, Oliveira; 2015).

The main results showed that the iOS 'closed environment' controlled everything about the smartphone: equipment, SDK, apps, market (App Store), as well as users, while Android 'Open Source' allowed for freewill behavior. Following this concept and regarding privacy, iOS controlled the user data from applications and platforms whereas Android either could or could not, depending on what was allowed for each application and platform and their relationship with Google as an intermediary. One important difference was that after accepting an installation, only an iOS user could alter the 'privacy settings' related to its environment, while in Android users had to reinstall if they did not agree with the whole package initially accepted. Moreover, iOS offered the possibility of altering GPS or contacts settings, for example, in each application or platform, whereas in Android users could only either accept or refuse for all of them.

In terms of security characteristics, the trend seemed to be for all the environments to become closed and less liquid. That is to say, they adapt to the requirements of users' privacy concerns, as will be explained.

The lack of control about how and who accessed the data and content published, according to the literature review and the exploratory studies, was what users were most concerned about but they also seemed not to take many prevention actions, apart from location and access to the list of contacts when installing or setting up applications. Avoiding synchronization and using a new email account for registration could be partial solutions to these concerns (Serrano Tellería, Oliveira; 2015).

One major example of the volatility and ambiguity of the terms and conditions analyzed can be found in Google, which cannot guarantee the full deletion of users' information accounts. None of them specify a data protec-

tion policy, leaving this question mainly up to users' common sense, and they must be aware of the possible updates to the terms and conditions. At this point, Google is working on a proposal for the 'right to be forgotten'.

The liquidity observed in society and in the mobile environment and between the public and private spheres can also be applied to the operating systems. iOS, Blackberry and Windows Phone started as solid spheres (lack of external versions in their market) but now experience a process of liquidity (allowing access to others, despite keeping tight control). Meanwhile, Android began by being totally liquid (open) and is increasingly becoming more solid (due to its concerns about privacy, for example, Amazon is becoming more closed). This tendency could lead to a convergence point where brands/developers and users have control over privacy. Both spheres/operating systems and their evolution are facing a process of liquidity (Serrano Tellería, Oliveira; 2015).

Bearing in mind the defining features of smartphones, like instantaneity and ubiquity; concerning literacy, continuous partial attention and its relationship with memory; the lack of rationality in some attitudes and performances; the limitation of the impact of users' knowledge on their actions; the strong circumstantial pattern behavior; the volatility and ambiguity of terms and conditions, added to the liquidity and mobility of our society and technology itself; users deal with liquid spheres in which there is not a clear awareness of the constant data flow and the deep risks involved (Serrano Tellería, Oliveira; 2015).

Therefore, users manage a constant negotiation of circumstances based on the evaluation of each scenario framed by ambiguity and immediacy, which also determine reflection (the time required to analyze) and perception of the risk involved in each action. Moreover, the possibility of receiving stimuli of all types constantly influences how priority levels are established and how users' privacy is protected in the different layers and stages, according to their possibilities (Serrano Tellería, Oliveira; 2015).

Within this second stage, another line of research was established that focused on the development of a proposed 'privacy education' syllabus (Serrano Tellería, Branco; 2014). An analysis of three focus groups of Portuguese adolescents – female, male and mixed – was carried out using the thematic analysis procedure and technique.

The main theme that emerged from youths was 'privacy in the digital space'. Owing to its complexity, this included several subtopics: (weak) 'privacy control strategies'; 'actor's ability to choose'; 'negotiation of actors' as to what is public and what is private; 'invasion of privacy'; 'violation of privacy'; 'alienation of control' and 'surveillance'.

The youths seemed to have a false sense of control over their privacy. They revealed the danger of social networks, including some serious situations that result in violations of privacy, which depend largely on the choices made by the subjects. This meant that they could be classified as 'digitally naïve', as previously stated by Boyd (2014). They also showed a lack of awareness about invisible or imagined audiences and about the characteristics and features of social media.

Managing Liquidity: The Emergence of Constellations of Spheres

The third and final stage of this research process involved the preliminary results and conclusions of the 'Public and Private in Mobile Communications' project, to be further developed in the third book. The method applied, to add to the exploratory focus group and survey previously cited (Serrano Tellería, Oliveira; 2015), ranged from online and offline surveys about general uses, data and images[2]; content analysis of privacy policies and terms and conditions (Serrano Tellería, Oliveira; 2015), student essays[3], social network

[2] Forthcoming publication, third book of the 'P&P' project. Serrano Tellería, Portovedo, Albuquerque (2015). *Negociação da Privacidade nos Dispositivos Móveis* (Negotiation of Privacy on Mobile Devices).

[3] Workshop 'The (Re) Construction of the Profile and the Digital Identity' with 44 students of BA in Communication Studies conducted by the author. Faculty of Arts and Letters, University of Beira Interior, Portugal. 19 December 2013.

analysis with Twitter, Reddit and Instagram[4]; focus groups[5], in-person[6] and telephone interviews[7]; ethnography-observation[8] and digital ethnography – Facebook group[9].

Previously, a simultaneous line of research was carried out, focusing on "the role of the profile and digital identity in mobile content" (Serrano Tellería, 2015a, 2015b) and the 'Constellations of Spheres' hypothesis emerged from its results.

New dimensions established to categorize the conclusions obtained were: 'overall users' habits and privacy', 'managing accounts and privacy' and 'managing media and privacy'. The reason was that they allowed different degrees of the 'technology of intimacy' proposal to be incorporated, respecting the fluidity between them and reflecting the new interrelations/dependence observed between them.

This research broadened its scope to an international review of empirical results and conclusions, later adding those from the 'P&P' project. Users worldwide were shown to be fully aware of the existence of 'Big Data' and consequently concerned with personal information and Internet safety. Most of them, however, lack the proper attitudes and knowledge to manage their

[4] Forthcoming publication, third book of the 'P&P' project. Serrano Tellería, Pereira (2015). *Instagram e a Visibilidade das Imagens dos Utilizadores* (Instagram and the Visibility of User Images). Another forthcomming publications, Serrano Tellería, Pereira (2015). *Twitter na Partilha de Estratégicas e Ferramentas para a Privacidade* (Twitter in the Sharing of Strategies and Tools for Privacy), *Reddit no Fluxo das Conversas sobre Privacidade* (Reddit in the Flow of Conversations on Privacy).

[5] Forthcoming publication, third book of the 'P&P' project. Serrano Tellería, Portovedo, Albuquerque (2015). *Negociação da Privacidade nos Dispositivos Móveis* (Negotiation of Privacy on Mobile Devices).

[6] Forthcoming publication, third book of the 'P&P' project. Serrano Tellería, Portovedo, Albuquerque (2015). *Negociação da Privacidade nos Dispositivos Móveis* (Negotiation of Privacy on Mobile Devices).

[7] 507 responses and 18 minutes long. Directed by Consulmark. January 2015. Ages: 15-24: 9.3%, 25-34: 14%, 35-44: 20.1%, 45-64: 38.7%, +64: 38.7%. Male: 54.9% and female 45.1%.

[8] Forthcoming publication, third book of the 'P&P' project. Serrano Tellería, Portovedo, Albuquerque (2015). *Negociação da Privacidade nos Dispositivos Móveis* (Negotiation of Privacy on Mobile Devices).

[9] Forthcoming publication, third book of the 'P&P' project. Serrano Tellería, Portovedo, Albuquerque (2015). *Negociação da Privacidade nos Dispositivos Móveis* (Negotiation of Privacy on Mobile Devices).

accounts in this ever-changing, challenging online mobile ecosystem. Despite differences between countries due to technological development and market implementation, which in most cases seemed to be in accordance with the users' habits and mobile incorporation into their daily lives, some overall tendencies have been identified.

Users recognized some of the existing and potential risks of surfing the web, but there is nonetheless a gap between their notions and their final actions. Half of these users allowed their personal information to be used in order to access different kinds of services for free, even though they acknowledged that the information they shared was personal.

Half of Internet users had concerns about apps' terms and conditions and data policies, which were difficult to understand properly, but, at the same time, they admitted to not reading them.

Specifically within the frame of the 'Public and Private in Mobile Communications' project, the results showed that half the users agreed to install an app firstly because others had done it before, and secondly because they trusted the companies or simply did not read the T&Cs or data policies. Clearer, user-centered policies and terms and conditions should therefore be developed.

According to the differences between countries regarding mobile appropriation-uses and performances, from the results of the 'P&P' project, basic functions like making calls and sending/receiving messages were still the main functions, while surfing the web was for secondary purposes. Other world tendencies showed that most mobile uses are "non-voice activities".

However, the Portuguese exceed the European average in terms of accessing and using social networking sites (SNS). Overall and worldwide, there was also a manifest tendency toward the increased use of SNS, in which young people played a leading role.

Internet users shared a concern about who had access to their content and the related lack of control. In the 'P&P' project, they had been shown to be unaware about potential invisible audiences to be dealt with and revealed a possible misunderstanding of the complexity and subjective interpretations of 'Big Data' and 'Dataism'.

Further research lines should analyze users' perceptions and performances and raise awareness about 'Dataism' and the consequences of apps, media, platforms and technologies as tools that shape our behaviors and online (and

consequently even offline) identities to best suit their (mainly commercial) interests.

Also within the 'P&P' project, they took preliminary steps to avoid data synchronization between accounts and contacts but mixed up the concepts of profile and digital identity, as described from a technological perspective. In addition, most users were not fully aware of the digital paths and footprints they made.

They highly valued the potentialities of mobile phones for sociability, work and, in the specific case of seniors, security; but, at the same time, they criticized how these devices, apps and platforms favored the mixing of public and private, intimate and personal spheres (e.g. receiving calls and emails outside working hours).

The main strategies employed were: using vibration and mute functions; time away from groups to politely answer a call; not providing much information on social networks and filtering/selecting close circles or groups of contacts to share content with; preventing the exposure of children's faces and revealing everyday habits/routines that could make it possible to draw a profile of the child; not enabling the location function on sites by limiting the GPS action and avoiding identification.

They believed that privacy depended on the ability to control use of the equipment, control content saved on their mobile devices and control the sharing of that content on the Internet, especially on social networks.

Almost half considered that images involved higher risks to privacy than textual information. The perceived risks placed on the network itself were mainly to do with the possibility of revealing intimate situations, the body or compromising visibility due to the possibility of handling images or decontextualization.

Exposure of privacy through mobile phone conversations in public was not so applicable. No one felt inhibited by the time to answer a call or talk on the phone, but often resorted to 'background' privacy protection strategies, keeping voice volume low, which made the speech almost incomprehensible to the audience, and body strategies (like putting a hand in front of the mouth to stop anyone realizing what is being said).

When handling mobile phones, some were alone and turned to the smartphone to mark their private space; others were in small groups (2 or 3 people) actively handling their devices and often communicating with little eye con-

tact. There were those in larger groups (normally younger people) who saw the machine as a means of interaction, used to share content or conversations about what they were doing or do on the device – an almost collective use of the device.

As for the users' perceptions and understanding of 'privacy', the results of the 'P&P' project matched those of Pew Research (Raine, L; Kiesler, S; Madden, M., 2013; Madden, 2014). A constellation of concepts emerged among users, which were translated into a correlation between Bauman's liquidity and this hypothesis about the liquidity of the mobile ecosystem (in part previously stated by Aguado, Feijóo, Martínez; 2013), and following a relationship with the fluidization parameters of the technological, institutional and cultural media dimensions described by McQuail (2006).

Liquid Spheres or Constellations?

The core conclusions are: sociability, coordination and the maintenance thereof as the main focus in mobile communication and users' performances online; the different perceptions about what 'privacy' is; strong circumstantial pattern behavior, constant negotiation of rules, lack of rationality in some attitudes and performances, awareness of some risks but not delving into them properly, lack of awareness about invisible audiences and awareness about the digital footprint and 'Dataism'; users seemed to deal not 'with' liquid spheres, but 'in' a liquid environment and media ecology, configuring a 'constellation of spheres' delimited by their 'autonomy' (rather than by their 'mobility') and framed by 'perpetual contact' and 'timeless time'. It ought to be highlighted that until another definition of 'online time' emerges, the scope of this research adheres to it, although inconsistency may be found as a defined time is required to form a sphere and therefore to configure the constellations.

The reason to propose the 'constellations of spheres' concept rather than the 'liquid spheres' concept to describe how users manage their 'public and private spheres' and the range of dimensions considered (e.g. public and semi-public ones) is based on the core consideration that users still have and demonstrate a clear notion about what privacy is. Despite the different user concepts and perceptions found, what is revealed suggests that, depending on specific situations and media contexts, users constantly configure and reconfigure their spheres from an individual perspective and from a common scope

perspective. The liquidity observed is rather linked to the media ecology that incentivizes some interrelationships or dependency between the formation and elimination of the same spheres within the overall constellation(s). Each user may have his/her own different constellation(s) of spheres, some of which are shared with (a) user(s), other(s) with other(s) and so on. It may also be applied to 'intimacy' and 'personal' aspects.

Therefore, the 'Human Being as a Communication Portal' deals with the management of the public and private, intimate and personal spheres by a mobile device that amplifies possibilities in a liquid media ecology. Challenges seem to be focused on the scope of the actions that may be recorded forever and that may escape user control. Autonomy seems to also play a key role in devices that are closely linked to user emotions.

References

Aguado, J.M.; Feijóo, C. & Martínez, I.J. (cords.). (2013). *La comunicación móvil. Hacia un Nuevo ecosistema digital*. Barcelona: Gedisa.

Arendt, H. (1997). *A Condição Humana*. Rio de Janeiro: Forense Universitária.

Baghai, K. (2012). *Privacy as a Human Right: A Sociological Theory*. Sociology. Sage.

Bauman, Z. (2005). *Liquid Life*. Cambridge: Polity.

Bauman, Z. (2008). Em busca da política. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar. *Search of Politics*, Stanford University Press.

Bateson, G. (1979). *Espíritu y naturaleza: una unidad necesaria (avances en teoría de sistemas, complejidad y ciencias humanas)*. Bantam Books.

Bateson, G. (1991). *Una unidad sagrada: nuevos pasos hacia una ecología de la mente*. Harper Collins Pub.

Bennett, P.N. (2011). Technological intimacy in haemodialysis nursing. *Nursing Inquiry*, 18(3): 247-252.

Boyd, D. (2014). *It's Complicated. The Social Lifes of Networked Teens*. Yale New Haven and London: University Press.

Boyce, M.W. & Hancock, P.A. (2012). The Interpenetration of Mind and Machine. *Proceedings of the Human Factors and Ergonomics Society Annual Meeting*. September, 56(1): 178-182.

Brake, D.R. (2014). *Sharing our Lives Online. Risks and Exposure in Social Media*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Campbell, S.W. & Jin Park, Y. (2008). *Social implications of Mobile Telephony: The Rise of Personal Communication Society*. Social Compass: Blackwell Publishing.

Campbell, S. W. (2015). Mobile communication and network privatism: A literature review of the implications for diverse, weak, and new ties. *Review of Communication Research*, 3(1): 1-21. URL http://rcommunicatio nr.org/index.php/component/jdownloads/finish/16/55?Itemid=0

Carnegie, T.A.M. & Fels, S.S. (2002). Beyond use: Toward a rhetoric of technological intimacy. *Technical Communication Quarterly*, 11(2): 214.

Castells, M. (2008). Afterword. In C. Katz (eds.). *Handbook of Mobile Communication Studies*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

David, G. (2010). Camera phone images, videos and live streaming: a contemporary visual trend. *Visual Studies*, 25(1): 89-98.

Deuze, M. (2012). *Media Life*. Polity Press.

Elias, N. (1980). *Introdução à sociologia*. Edições 70: Lisboa.

Fathi, H. (2011). Security and Privacy Challenges in Globalized Wireless Communications. In Prasad *et al*. (eds.) *Globalization of Mobile and Wireless Communications: Today and in 2020, Signals and Communication Technology*. Springer.

Fernback, J. & Papacharissi, Z. (2007) Online privacy as legal safeguard: the relationship among consumer, online portal and privacy policies. *New Media and Society*, 9: 715.

Fidalgo, A. (2011). Conectados e tutelados. Uma revisitação tecnológica da esfera pública,. *Public Sphere Reconsidered: Theories and Practices* (pp. 63-70). LabCom, Beira Interior University.

Fidalgo, A.; Serrano Tellería, A.; Carvalheiro, J.R.; Canavilhas, J. & Correia, J.C. (2013). Human Being as a Communication Portal: The construction of the Profile on Mobile Phones. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social* 68. Retrieved November, 8, 2014, from www.revistalatinacs.org/068/paper/989_Covilha /23_Telleriaen.html.

Floridi, L. (2014). The Facebook-ification of everything! Sex, authenticity and reality for the status update era. *Salon*. Sunday, Aug 31. Retrieved November, 8, 2014, from www.salon.com/2014/08/31/the_facebook_ification_of_everything_sex_authenticity_and_reality_for_the_status_update_era/?utm_source=twitter&utm_medium=socialflow.

Flusser, V. (1988). *On writing, complexity and the technical revolutions*. Interview in Onasbrück, European Media Art Festival. September 1988. Retrieved November, 18, 2014, from www.youtube.com/watch?v=lyfOcAAcoH8&app=desktop.

Fortunati, L. (2002). The Mobile Phone: Towards New Categories and Social Relations. *Information, Communication, and Society*, 514-528.

Fuchs, C. (2014). *Social Media: A Critical Introduction*. London: Sage.

Goffman, E. (1959). *The presentation of Self in everyday life*. Garden City. New York. /(1993): *A Apresentação do Eu na Vida de Todos os Dias*. Lisboa: Relógio d'Água.

Habermas, J. (2010). *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. Cambridge: Polity.

Hermida, A. (2014). *Tell Everyone: Why We Share and Why it Matters*. Doubleday Canada.

Horning, R. (2014). Social Media Is Not Self-Expression. *The New Inquiry*, November 14. Retrieved November, 17, 2014, from http://thenewinquiry.com/blogs/marginal-utility/social-media-is-not-self-expression/.

Humphreys, L. (2005). Cellphones in public: social interactions in a wireless era. *New Media and Society*. Sage, December.

Jeffery, B. (2008). Mobile Communications and the Public/Private Dichotomy. K. Ross & S. Price (eds) *Popular Media and Communication: Essays on Publics, Practices and Processes* (pp. 5-23). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Jenkins, H.; Ford, S. & Green, J. (2013). *Spreadable Media. Creating Value and Meaning in a Networked Culture*. New York University Press.

Katz, J.E. & Aakhus, M. (eds) (2002). *Perpetual Contact. Mobile Communication, Private Talk, Public Performance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Katz, J.E. (2008). Mainstreamed Mobiles in Daily Life: Perspectives and Prospects. Katz, Castells. *Handbook of Mobile Communication Studies*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Katz, J.E. & Crocker (2015). Skype in Daily Life: General Patterns, Emerging Usage, and Concerns. In J.R. Carvalheiro & A. Serrano Tellería (Eds.) *Mobile and Digital Communication: Approaches to Public and Private*. Covilha, Portugal: LabCom books.

Kawamoto, K. (2003). *Media and Society In the Digital Age* (pp. 33). New York: University of Washington.

Lasén, A. (2015). Digital self-portraits, exposure and the modulation of intimacy. In J.R. Carvalheiro & A. Serrano Tellería (Eds.) *Mobile and Digital Communication: Approaches to Public and Private*. Covilha, Portugal: LabCom books. Video of the conference available at URL www.youtube.com/watch?v=cduGxQoGU-I.

Ling, R. (2008). The Mediation of Ritual Interaction via the Mobile Telephon. In J. Katz (ed.). *Handbook of Mobile Communication*. MIT Press.

Madden, M. (2014). Public Perceptions of Privacy and Security in the Post-Snowden Era. *Pew Research*. Retrieved November, 18, 2014, from www.pewinternet.org/2014/11/12/public-privacy-perceptions/.

Marichal, J. (2012). *Facebook Democracy. The Architecture of Disclosure and the Threat to Public Life*. United Kingdom: Ashgate.

Markham, A. (2013). Undermining "Data": A Critical Examination of a Core Term in Scientific Inquiry. *First Monday*, 7 October, 18 (10). Retrieved November, 8, 2014, from http:// uncommonculture.org/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/4868/3749.

Marwick, A. (2013). *Status Update: Celebrity, Publicity, and Branding in the Social Media Age*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

McQuail, D. (2006). *Mass Communication Theory*. London: Sage.

Meyer, R. (2014). In the Brain, Memories Are Inextricably Tied to Place. *The Atlantic*. 12th August 2014. Retrievd 14 September, 2014, from www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2014/08/in-the-brain-memories-are-inextricably-tied-to-place/375969/.

Meyrowitz, J. (1985). *No Sense of Place: The Impact of Electronic Media on Social Behavior*. New York: Oxford University.

Nissembaum, H. (2010) *Privacy in context. Technology, policy and the integrity of social life*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Pasquale, F. (2015). The Algorithmic Self. *The Hedgehog Review*, 17(1) (spring 2015). Retrieved March 14, 2015, from www.iasc-culture.org/THR/THR_article_2015_Spring_Pasquale.php.

Preston, A. (2014). The Death of Privacy. *The Guardian*. Sunday 3 August 2014. Retrieved September, 11, 2014, from www.theguardian.com/world/2014/aug/03/internet-death-privacy-google-facebook-alex-preston?CMP=twt_gu.

Raine, L.; Kiesler, S. & Madden, M. (2013). Anonymity, Privacy, and Security Online. *Pew Research*. 5 September 2013. Retrieved 14 April, 2014, from www.pewinternet.org/2013/09/05/anonymity-privacy-and-security-online/.

Rheingold, H. (2008). Mobile Media and Political Collective Action. In J. Katz (ed.). *Handbook of Mobile Communication*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Rheingold, H. (2012). *Net smart. How to thrive online*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Rosen, L. (2013). Always On, All the Time: Are We Suffering From FoMO? *Psychologytoday*. Retrieved November, 17, 2014, from www.psychology today.com/blog/rewired-the-psychology-technology/201305/always-all-the-time-are-we-suffering-fomo.

Sennett, R. (2002). *The Fall of Public Man*. England: Penguin Books.

Serrano Tellería, A. (2014). Interface Design on Mobile Phones: The Delimitation of the Public and Private Spheres. In F. Paiva & C. Moura (Orgs.) *DESIGNA: INTERFACE International Conference on Design Research* (pp. 87-108). Portugal: LabCom, Beira Interior University. URL www.livroslabcom.ubi.pt/book/111.

Serrano Tellería, A. & Branco, M.L. (2014) Educação para a privacidade no espaço digital: de subsídios para uma proposta curricular. *XII Congresso SPCE. Ciências da Educação*. Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro, Portugal.

Serrano Tellería, A. & Oliveira, M. (2015). Liquid Spheres on Smartphones: The Personal Information Policies. *International Journal of Interactive Mobile Technologies*. 9(1). URL http://online-journals.org/index.php/i-jim/article/view/4065.

Serrano Tellería, A. (2015a). Emotion and Mobile Devices. In F. Paiva & C. Moura (Ogrs.) *DESIGNA 'DESIRE', International Conference on Design Research*. Portugal: LabCom.IFP, Beira Interior University – upcoming.

Serrano Tellería, A. (2015b). The Role of the Profile and The Digital Identity on the Mobile Content. In J. M. Aguado, C. Feijóo & I.J. Martínez (eds.). *Emerging Perspectives on the Mobile Content Evolution*. IGI GLOBAL. IDEA GROUP INC. EEUU. upcoming.

Stald, G. (2008). Mobile Identity: Youth, Identity, and Mobile Communication Media. In D. Buckingham, *Youth, Identity, and Digital Media* (pp. 143-164).The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Series on Digital Media and Learning, Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Starner, T. (2011). Multiplexing versus multitasking. *The Technium*. Retrieved 11 February 2014 from http://kk.org/thetechnium/2011/03/multiplexing-vs/.

Stone, L. (2002-2014). *Continuous Partial Attention*. Retrieved November 8, 2014, from URL http://lindastone.net/qa/continuous-partial-attention/.

Turkle, S. (2008). Always-On / Always-on-You": The Tethered Self. In J.E. Katz (ed.) *Handbook of Mobile Communications Studies* (pp. 121-138). Cambridge, Ma: MIT Press.

Turkle, S. (2011). *Alone Together: Why We expect More from Technology and Less From Each Other?*. New York: Basic Books.

Vaidhyanathan, S. (2011). *The Googlization of Everything (and Why We Should Worry)*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Van Dijck, J. (2007). *Mediated Memories in the Digital Age*. Stanford, CA: Stanford UP.

Van Dijck, J. (2013). You have one identity': performing the self on Facebook and LinkedIn. *Media, Culture & Society*, 35: 199. Retrieved November, 14, 2014, from http://mcs.sagepub.com/content/35/2/199.

Van Dijck, J. (2014). Datafication, Dataism and Dataveillance: Big Data between Scientific Paradigm and Ideology. *Surveillance & Society*, 2 (2): 197-208.

Vincent, J. (2005). Emotional Attachment and Mobile Phones. In P. Glotz, S. Bertschi & C. Locke (eds.), *Thumb Culture: The Meaning of Mobile Phones for Society* (pp. 117-122). New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Walker Rettberg, J. (2014). *Seeing Ourselves Through Technology: How We Use Selfies, Blogs and Wearable Devices to See and Shape Ourselves*. Palgrave Macmillan. Retrieved November, 8, 2014, from www.academia.edu/8482366/Seeing_Ourselves_Through_Technology_How_We_Use_Selfies_Blogs_and_Wearable_Devices_to_See_and_Shape_Ourselves.

Wellman, B. (2001). Physical Place and Cyberplace: The Rise of Personalized Networking. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 25: 227-252.

Note: Video of the conference available in: URL www.youtube.com/watch?v=q39TPaq8tBo

10. Privatism against Privacy? Technology and Culture in Mobile Communications

José Ricardo Carvalheiro
Universidade da Beira Interior / LabCom.IFP

Abstract: Mixing and confusing different meanings of the public/private dichotomy is something we have been warned against. Also on the private side of this conceptual pair, such caution is needed when approaching the ideas of privatism and privacy.
In this text we discuss the conceptual distinctions between these two concepts, reflecting upon the possible connections between them in the context of mobile media use in Portugal. Are the tendency towards privatism and the threat to privacy opposing movements or are they rather two sides of the same coin? Is there a generational shift towards a lack of a sense of privacy and a general trend towards disclosure of the self? In the use of mobile media, does privatism prevail and impose its impulses over concerns with privacy?
Drawing on a number of primary sources in the Portuguese context, we pay attention to such questions as part of the research project "Public and Private in Mobile Communications" developed at Labcom.
Keywords: Privatism, Privacy, Smartphone Users.

Mobile and Digital Communication, 199-222

In recent years, discourse on the public and the private have intensively related these two domains to questions of new digital and mobile technologies, but they have also indicated trends which may be perplexing in their apparent contradiction. On the one hand, the private has been said to take precedence over the public: civic disengagement and individuals focusing primarily on personal ties, leisure and careers. On the other hand, it has been noted that the private seems to be shrinking or disappearing: personal aspects of life are increasingly exposed and it is difficult to keep personal data out of the reach of others, whether states or corporations and social networks.

This chapter discusses the conceptual distinctions between two concepts involved in these terms – privatism and privacy – and attempts to explore and reflect upon the possible connections between them in the context of mobile media use in Portugal. Are the tendency towards privatism and the threat to privacy opposing movements or are they rather two sides of the same coin? Is there a generational shift towards a lack of a sense of privacy and a general trend towards disclosure of the self? In the use of mobile media, does privatism prevail and impose its impulses over concerns with privacy?

In an attempt to answer to these questions in the Portuguese context, a number of quantitative and qualitative primary sources are used that form part of the research project "Public and Private in Mobile Communications" developed at Labcom.

Privacy and privatism

Mixing and confusing different meanings of the public/private dichotomy, albeit the interrelations between them, is something we have been warned against (Weintraub and Kumar, 1997). Also on the private side of this rich conceptual pair, such caution is needed when approaching the ideas of privatism and privacy, for they refer to distinct aspects.

Tracing the polymorphism of the public/private divide, Weintraub delineates a number of broad fields, namely: the field of public policy vs. commercial economy and civil society; the field of the public sphere or civic realm vs. the market and administrative relationships; the field of public sociability vs. the domains of domesticity and intimacy.

But specifically in terms of a communication approach, it is useful to draw up a narrower scheme, even if it runs the risk of simplifying. Here, the pu-

blic/private dichotomy may be seen as a matrix formed of the axes of content and access.

		Content	
		COLLECTIVE	PERSONAL
Access	OPEN	Public	
	RESTRICTED		Private

It is evident that such a static scheme does not respond to the dynamism of communicative processes and cultural phenomena, in which, for example, personal relationships may well become topics of civic debate through the media, making the personal political. Or, conversely, affairs involving public representatives may be approached through media lenses that frame them as apolitical personalized narratives (Silveirinha, 2007).

However, the simplicity of such a scheme may help us to notice that the dichotomy has clearly opposed sides: that which is open and collective offers no doubt has to be seen as part of the public realm, while that which is personal and restricted also undoubtedly functions as private practice. In this era of seemingly shifting and blurring boundaries, it is in the other two boxes of the matrix that questions arise.

Coming back to our concepts of privacy and privatism, we see that privacy is an eminently communicational concept, insomuch as it depends on the notion of audience (its presence, its absence, its scope, its composition). Richard Sennett defined private situations as those in which one controls the audience by knowing to whom he speaks (Sennett, 1992: 92). We take privacy as the aim and/or practice of keeping personal affairs restricted, not accessible to unknown people. This involves communicating such topics only to known receivers or participants to keep control over the audience.

Privatism is a more complex concept and it encompasses a number of forms, partly because it has been used in a range of disciplines such as sociology, political science or urban studies. It was employed, in the mid-twentieth century, in analyses of Brazilian society and its Portuguese legacy to refer to an emphasis on the private world (said to be rooted in a pattern of colonization based on the fragmented action of powerful agrarian families) and the lack of a sense of the public and general domain.

Later on, Habermas coined the notion of civic privatism as a way to design "political abstinence combined with an orientation towards career, leisure

and consumption" (1976: 37). It was also referred to as "a family-vocational privatism", a "familial orientation with developed interest in consumption and leisure on the one hand, and in a career orientation suitable to status competition on the other" (Habermas, 1976: 75). The concept has further been employed to name a decline in engagement with organizations that link individuals to the public sphere, which is sometimes associated with state expansion (Wuthnow and Nass, 1988); civil privatism has also been used to discuss trends for disengagement in public discussion and deliberation (Ackerman and Fishkin, 2002).

The emphasis on forms of sociability also develops a significantly different sense of the term privatism. In his critical reading of Robert Putnam's book Bowling Alone, American sociologist Claude Fischer (2005) distinguishes forms of sociality in public and private spheres.[1] Fischer argues that what Putnam discusses as 'eroded social capital' might be better described as increasing privatism. The author specifies his concept of social privatism:

> Even if we stipulate, for the discussion, that Americans have withdrawn from public activities such as politics and civic clubs, the question arises as to whether they have withdrawn all the way into their isolated, lonely selves (ultimate individualism), or have withdrawn into a more private world of family, work, and friends – a story of greater, but still social, privatism." (Fischer, 2005: 159-160)

Since mobile media proliferation, a theoretical tradition has traced connections between their use and a withdrawal into privatism, although not always using the term. Gergen, for instance, maintains that mobile communication has played a critical role in a "shift from civil society to monadic clusters of close relationships" and that it "favors intense participation in small enclaves – typically of friends and family" (2008: 302).

The alleged shift from public sociality to private sociality and its relationship with mobile communications has been examined more empirically in

[1] Nevertheless, it is not quite clear whether he considers public sociality to be any social participation in public places (such as attending sports events), irrespective of whether or not it is being done with family and friends (what he later calls 'a more private world', which also includes work).

some research. The concept of network privatism has been used, and challenged, in the work of Scott Campbell as a way to empirically test "the proposition that intensive mobile communication in the intimate realm of social life can be detrimental to being connected to others more broadly" (Campbell, 2015: 3). Paying attention to the ramifications of diverse, weak, and new ties, Campbell contends that there is lack of evidence to support the idea that mobile media have the effect of producing private 'bubbles': he remarks that there is "a handful of studies pointing to the capacity of mobile communication to be supportive of weak tie contact"; and he also sustains that, in certain conditions, "mobile communication with strong ties can help open up the flows of political discussion (...) enhancing weak tie contact" (2015: 11).

Thus, while privacy within the public/private dichotomy is fundamentally opposed to the public in the sense of openness in the communicative processes, privatism is mainly opposed to the public in the sense of collective issues and political involvement, but it can also focus on sociality networks and even on cultural attitudes and values, as in Habermas' idea of "orientation" towards family, career, leisure and consumption.

Privatism is therefore a three-sided concept that involves social attitudes (the utmost prioritization of personal and private affairs of family, friendship, leisure, consumption and career), communication content (focused on the personal experience and personal relationships of kinship or friendship) and also sociability (circles focused on personal ties).

Privatism and the public

The concern here is not to evaluate whether or not privatism exists at the expense of public orientation. Rather it is to consider the relationship between privatism and privacy, trying to understand if, in a seemingly paradoxical way, the private realm's excessive valuation may become a force against maintaining privacy in a new technological context.

However, the relationship with the idea of the public is unavoidable since it is inherent to a dichotomy in which the terms only make sense in relation to the other. Thus, we should first pay attention to how Western societies nowadays tend to face public and private domains in terms of cultural values. The European Social Survey has indicated that throughout Europe private aspects are considered by people to be the most important in life, in comparison

with civic involvement (Torres and Brites, 2006). In Portugal, family has the highest score (average over 9 points on a scale of 0-10), followed by friends (8 points), job and leisure (7 points). Politics is at the bottom of the list (3 points in the scale); volunteering and religion do not score as low, but scarcely pass the middle of the scale (5 points). With some exceptions, the general trend is similar in all European countries.

Privatism is, thus, a culture, and a dominant one, but in contemporary plural societies it surely does not mean that the only thing valued at any time is the private realm and personal ties. Instead, there seem to be increasing forms of mixing. For example, the emergence of "personalized" forms of large-scale political mobilization have been noted in which individuals activate their social networks more or less loosely, which is another example of the blurring and dynamics between the personal and the public. Salient in these mobilizations is precisely the use of mobile and digital media as a means for people to collectively target diverse issues and engage in co-production and circulation of multimedia content. This is a trend termed by Lance Bennett as "digitally networked activism", which functions within a trend towards the "personalization of politics" (Bennett, 2012).

Apart from moments of large-scale political mobilization, the research we conducted in Portugal indicates that it is not a question of individuals choosing either a civic or private use of mobile media in their daily lives. In common circumstances, most people use such devices to commute, for example, between leisure and news. Among Portuguese smartphone owners, 79% say they use it for leisure activities (games, music, videos) and 77% state that they use it to consume news (National Survey data).[2]

Statistical correlation between the frequency of use of smartphones for leisure and for news (using the Chi-square test) shows that these two practices are highly related. People who access news on their smartphones generally also use them for leisure, and those who frequently use them for one of these

[2] Data referred to henceforth as the National Survey was collected from an inquiry applied to 507 respondents over 15 years old by telephone, taking into account age cohorts, sex, education levels and geographical regions. The survey found, unsurprisingly, that smartphone ownership in Portugal is related to age, gender and education. It is more likely that a smartphone owner is a man under 45 years old and reasonably educated (having attained at least secondary school level). Women over 45 years old with just a basic school level are the most likely to own a conventional mobile phone.

uses also tend do make frequent use of their mobiles for the other purpose. Only a small number of people use them just for one of these activities: frequent leisure users who never consume news make up only 16%, and no more than 13% of frequent news consumers never use mobile media for leisure. Conversely, the less frequently people use a smartphone for leisure, the less they access the news as well: almost 60% of those who never access the news do not use the smartphone for playing games, listening to music or watching videos.

Having said this, it should also be underlined that leisure is comparatively a more salient use of smartphones among Portuguese owners. A frequent use for entertainment [every day or several days a week] is practiced by 56%, while 45% access the news with the same frequency. This gap between leisure and news significantly varies according to age cohorts.

	Frequent use for leisure	Frequent use to consume news	Difference between *leisure use* and news access
All	56%	45%	+ 11
Youngsters (15-24)	88%	62%	+ 26
Young adults (25-34)	67%	59%	+ 8
Adults (35-44)	50%	33%	+ 17
Middle-aged people (45-64)	23%	25%	- 2

Source: National survey by the project Public and Private in Mobile Communications

While general use of mobile media is more intense among youngsters, they also consume news more often than older people, but the gap between frequent entertainment and frequent news access happens in general under the age of 45. Thus, intense general use of smartphones tends to be related to an even more intensive use for entertainment.

If we take news as a sign of orientation towards public issues, we have a first clue here that smartphones are significantly used by people under 35 for public engagement through the consumption of information, but also that

this is surpassed by other practices, potentially more oriented to privatistic worldviews.

Nevertheless, mobile media potential for public involvement cannot be approached merely at the level of news consumption because other, more active public practices may be enhanced with smartphones. This could be the case of using online social networks, sharing information about public issues or capturing images and putting them into circulation. In interviews held for the study, examples of such practices can also be found among youngsters:

> "For example, when there is some news item on TV, we immediately use our smartphones to discuss and find out other people's opinions, because other opinions also give us new ideas that we weren't expecting, other perspectives." (Male, 16)

But what happens, in fact, is that the general rates of online social networking are remarkably close to those for entertainment, while the activity of sharing news items through smartphones is practiced by just a small portion of those who use it for online networking.

	Often use online social networks on smartphones	Often share news on smartphones	Difference between *sharing news* and other uses of online social networks
All	53%	10%	- 43
Youngsters (15-24)	82%	17%	- 65
Young adults (25-34)	63%	13%	- 50
Adults (35-44)	49%	6%	- 43
Middle-aged people (45-64)	20%	6%	- 16

Source: National survey by the project
Public and Private in Mobile Communications

Thus, digital mobiles are extensively used by their Portuguese owners to access the news but have scarcely been a medium for something they are best able to provide: instantly sharing and commenting on collective affairs in the public sphere.

Disclosure of personal images

One of the most widespread uses of smartphones, besides phone calls and instant messaging, is for taking photographs or videos (94% of owners do it; 49% on an almost daily basis).

	Often	Never
Use online social networks	53%	22%
Share news	10%	50%
Take photos or videos	49%	6%

Source: National survey by the project
Public and Private in Mobile Communications

Capturing images with smartphones, whether photographs or video, is positively related to the use of sites for social networking: the Chi-square test again shows us that the more intensive the use of online social networks, the greater the likelihood of taking images in several situations, whether they are public (e. g. cultural events) or private (e. g. gatherings of family and friends). Conversely, most of those who do not use social networking sites do not take images often either. Overall, the images most often taken with smartphones are related to family: more than 87% use them to record such images.

To try and find out more about activities done using online social networking, a couple of issue-specific surveys were carried out, plus a number of focus groups and individual interviews. The aim was to gain a deeper understanding of attitudes and behaviors and their possible variations according to factors such as age and gender. These surveys were applied online, thus are not representative of the national population, but allow some insights about more educated users, who made up the overwhelming majority of respondents.

Results from such surveys indicate different attitudes to displaying personal data according to age cohort. People under 44 years old are significantly more predisposed to share personal interests than those over 44, and there is also a male tendency to care less about the consequences of personal exposure compared to female attitudes.

In a survey about the use of images, the vast majority (78%) declared that they shared photos on social networking sites and 89% said that they

display an image of themselves on profiles. Answers about the motivations for displaying images online suggest that the impulse for interaction (mostly with family and friends) surpasses concerns about risks that nevertheless may be perceived or suspected.

In interviews and focus groups, we find that even those who do not acknowledge the relevance of sharing private behaviors online are able to report that such a cultural atmosphere exists based on practices routinely performed by others who belong to their social circles.

> "There is a tendency to share and show everything, it is mostly short-term enthusiasm, you take a picture, you are with friends, let's share it on Facebook to see how many likes we get. It doesn't mean much to me personally, but some people enjoy that kind of excitement." (Male, 27, high education level)

> "People go to the restaurant and there is a nice dish, so they take a picture and put on Facebook that they are having lunch at X and that they are eating X... We have got to the point of saying: today I ate this for lunch, I ate this for dinner, I slept this many hours... Then, we are at the café with friends and there is not much talking, or rather the topic is 'have you seen this and that on Facebook?'" (Female, 28, high education level)

Among teenagers, the use of smartphones is easily assumed to include a salient and sometimes compulsive centrality of personal information flowing through social network sites, which they both consume and feed continuously, as in the following quotes from a female focus group (ages 17-19).

> "When we are not at home, we go to Facebook to see what's going on"

> "I always have it [the smartphone] in my hand. I don't even put it in my pocket anymore. And I also use it in places that I shouldn't, for example, in classrooms. I notice the difference a lot, because it didn't happen before, and now sometimes we can't resist."

> "I used to be in the classroom and rarely used my phone unless it was for a message or to answer someone, but now I connect to the net and I spend the whole class on Facebook (laughs)."

> "Social networks, mainly Facebook, have a lot of information. When we meet someone, or someone is mentioned to us and we cannot figure out who it is, we go to Facebook (laughs) to search for the name of the person (laugh) and see who it is."
>
> "When we go to places that we don't usually visit, we take photos... or photos of new meals, for example [to post them on Instagram]. We go to a restaurant and eat something different from our day-to-day food, so we take photos of us and of people, of our friends."
>
> "For example, I have one photo with M. which is: 'Us, cool, at the shopping center eating sweets', or something like that."

Although it is sometimes only admitted reluctantly, examples of images posted online by young adults are similar: family, friends, pets, holidays and cultural events or everyday situations which are used to strengthen ties within closed circles. When discussing the issue, adult participants in a focus group (aged 24-38, high education level) underline the difference between them and teenagers, but they end up reporting practices of personal displays among other adults that are also very common.

> Male, 33 – Boys and girls between 10 and 15 put everything they do on Facebook: their first kiss, first girlfriend, how many friends they have. But that doesn't happen with people between 20 and 30, because we are aware that others see it and we don't want to show off, like 'hey, my phone is better than yours, I bought a new pair of shoes from this brand and they cost that much'. Sometimes it's to cause envy...
>
> Female, 27 – I have two cousins, a boy aged 15 and a girl aged 16, and I notice that they have like 3,000 friends, and we don't, we have maybe 200 or 300. Some have more... but much fewer than they do. I think they add friends just to add them. If my cousin sees a pretty girl, he adds her.
>
> F. 28 – It relies on people wanting to display what they have. It is unthinkable for me to show a baby in the bath or something like that on Facebook, even if it is for an old aunt to see it somewhere

> else in the world. It is unthinkable, but that's what we see more nowadays.
>
> F. 27 – Even educated people do it, but it's a bit careless...
>
> Interviewer – What do you think is the reason for someone to share those kinds of pictures?
>
> F. 24 – They are not aware of what they are doing.
>
> F. 27 – It is because they are proud, mainly. I think it is because of pride...
>
> M. 33 – And to share their happiness, as well. (...) A colleague of mine does that every day, every day he uploads videos of her daughter.

The urge to disclose personal data is understandable in a context that values privatism, a perspective of private life as the possible locus of pride and happiness where it seems natural (albeit potentially dangerous) not to refrain from the desire to publicize it.

Technology and culture

Before turning explicitly to questions of privacy, it is possible to reflect upon the uses of mobile media mentioned in terms of technology and culture. It was James Katz and Mark Aakhus who invoked the concept of Apparatgeist in order to refer to the 'spirit' pervading the technological contexts inhabited by mobile telephony, and this cultural atmosphere produced in the social appropriation of the device is, according to the authors, the culture of connectivity, a logic of what they also called "perpetual contact" (Katz and Aakhus, 2002).

The influential analysis by Katz and Aakhus naturally underlines the character of mobile phones as communication tools, but apart from their salient feature as connecting devices, mobile digital media has also become a powerful and extremely flexible means for what, inspired by Georg Simmel, we might call the objectification of culture in everyday life, of which the production and circulation of images by common people is a part.

In his famous approach to culture, Simmel (1988) maintained there is always a dialectic tension between "life" and "form", subjective and objective manifestations of human activities, that are needed for cultural expressivity

and individual improvement. What is specific about modernity, according to Simmel, is the loss of reciprocity between "life" and "form": an excessively objective culture tends to decrease the space available for subjectivity. The expression of subjectivity in turn intensifies, as a defense mechanism, although it is nevertheless unable to reestablish a positive extension of the self through objects.

It is not the aim here to elaborate on whether the enormous proliferation of symbolic forms made by mobile 'prosumers' is a new chance for the development of subjectivity or an advance in the modern imbalance that favors objective culture. For example, does the increasing number of parents who participate in birthday parties, school performances or holiday activities through the lens of their smartphones and tablets actually enrich their subjectivity through the object or do they instead relinquish some subjective involvement?

It is simply intended to note how this turns an array of both daily practices and exceptional occasions literally into objects, and thus something that can be seen, stored, circulated and commented on. In fact, mobile devices with multiple functions allow users to perform, link and mix many different symbolic objects, and they also perpetually connect people *through these symbolic forms*.

It should also be noted that when the most prized social values are those of family, friends, leisure and consumption, the many items of objective culture turn out to be privatistic techno-crafts. For these reasons, we may see mobile digital media as a privileged technological resource for privatism, and a condition for it to be manifested in a collective network.

A century ago, Simmel – along with Max Weber and other social theorists – represented a line of thought which, while not technophobic, reflected on the nature of technological developments in critical ways. Today, new communication technologies tend to be presented to us as non-problematic, as a natural result of 'evolution', a statement that is continuously echoed in social discourse, as in our interviews: "technology evolves, so smartphones appeared, along with the possibility of accessing the internet." (Adult, male, 38 – focus group)

But communication technologies are cultural forms, as Raymond Williams has told us, not only in the sense that they are appropriated according to cultural contexts (and thus turn out to be submitted to different cultural uses in different places, by different people) but also in the sense that technological

developments and their outcomes in the form of practical devices are themselves cultural and political, and by no means just a consequence of science or only dependent on 'findings' (Williams, 2003).

Williams coined the notion of mobile privatization to point out vast transformations in industrial society in a way that matched mobility to an increasing centrality of private spaces and experiences. Today, an understanding of the new reconfigurations of the public and private should not exempt us from also paying attention to the dynamics of the capitalist economy, in which values are embedded in emerging technologies and its developments at global scale.

Broadcast media, as noted by Raymond Williams, can disseminate content through private spaces if the technology conceived and provided for reception guides audiences towards domestic consumption. But broadcast media was still dependent on *public information* – it could only exist by diffusing content which appealed to large numbers of people. Even the today much-noticed trend towards the 'personalization' and 'privatization' of the public sphere – using stories of personal drama, focusing on the mundane lives of celebrities, etc. – can only be effective in broadcast media insofar as they become public, not just in the sense that they are offered and made accessible to wide audiences, but also in the sense that they somehow find collective resonance through example, identification or discussion.

A great deal of private content in digital 'self mass media' (paraphrasing Manuel Castells) is private in a different sense from those personal stories we can watch on television or read about in magazines. They do not have the potential to become public because they are repeated in millions of variations of self displays and pictures with friends at dinners (the ones that reach vast audiences become 'viral' and pass into the broadcast media).

Nevertheless, this private content can be very effective for social bonding in small or not so small groups (Ling, 2008). Furthermore – this is the point here – they definitely have commercial value as information flows, precisely because they make up millions of symbolic objects flowing in a network structure. Contrary to the broadcast framework, being public or being private is not a criterion for the information that flows in the communication networks fed by digital mobile media.

The commercial value of millions of objectified small pieces of everyday culture is enhanced for corporations because it not only does not have to

bear production costs for them, but also because private people even pay, in time and money, to produce it themselves. Thus it should be no surprise that technological development in communications is oriented to give people the means possible to be perpetual 'prosumers', at any time, in any place, and obviously not for free.

It does not contradict economic goals if people also use mobile digital media for public ends, to access the news, for civic discussion, for political organization or cultural promotion. All these are information flows to be absorbed into the circuit of communication economic value, contributing to greater demand for technology and increasing the centrality of new media technology in late capitalist society.

As stated, the public/private divide lost much of it significance for corporations and the technological developments which are tied to them, especially when commercial players are both in the business of distributing content and innovating technology, as in the case of Google and the Android system.

The economic value of private culture objectification is not fully achieved if such things are merely stockpiled. A means of dissemination within groups must be provided, thus requiring devices to be simultaneously connective and performative. And, as the public potential of private information is low and its commercial value increases as they reach larger groups, it begs for mechanisms to enlarge the circles in which information circulates.

"The fate of information in the typically American world is to become something which can be bought or sold", was written in 1950, not by some anti-capitalist, but by Norbert Wiener, the founder of cybernetics (1989: 113).

Some social theorists have recently recalled the primary elements of digital technology, its cybernetic basis, as a science of control through feedback mechanisms (Hassan, 2004). In mobile digital media, as we know it today, feedback is crucially used in two ways. On the one hand, it has been designed for alerting, informing about the other people's reception (whether their response or lack thereof), providing structures that stimulate answers in ways that engage participants in ever evolving flows of communication. In this sense, feedback mechanisms within communication circles stimulate others to contribute themselves with their own items of privatistic objective culture. On the other hand, feedback provides commercial corporations and state organizations (and also members of social circles) with data obtained from users, and gives them the ability to monitor personal messages and individuals' actions.

Engaging in mobile digital communication today is to provide constant feedback of our actions, since every message is stored and processed, and this is where we should return to questions of privacy.

Privacy at stake

The commonly held idea that people, especially young people, do not care about keeping privacy anymore, or that they are not aware of what should be private, is contradicted by the data we collected among Portuguese users. There are many signs that people in general continue to view the notion of privacy as something relevant to them, and that they have tactics for dealing with it. However, in the new technocultural landscape, they face conditions of greater fluidity in the private/public dichotomy and the cultural construction of certain devices that seem to be incorporated by users.

For example, only 31% of Portuguese smartphone users say they do not install applications because they want to protect their contacts, location or photos. For the majority, applications apparently do not cause concern, and more than two thirds of them have already installed apps without even reading the permissions granted to them.

National Survey	Think smartphones are detrimental to privacy	Always read permissions before installing applications
All	20%	31%
Youngsters (15-24)	23%	27%
Young adults (25-34)	21%	36%
Adults (35-44)	14%	34%
Middle-aged people (45-64)	20%	28%

Source: National survey by the project
Public and Private in Mobile Communications

However, this does not necessarily mean people are not aware of risks to privacy, but rather that sometimes this awareness is surpassed by other factors, as in the following quote from a focus group:

> – Is there something about smartphones that you'd like to be changed?
>
> – The lack of privacy. I don't know half of the things I accept, because I don't want to read all the things they ask me. I accept things because I don't have time to read them all, and I also accept some things that I probably shouldn't, or would not agree to, and that annoys me. It should be clearer and simpler.
>
> – When you say yes, are you aware of the implications?
>
> – More or less. Not always. I feel like I'm doing something wrong, as if I was signing a contract without reading it. Maybe they are telling me that all data will be there available to everybody. I am more or less aware of that, but I do it all the same... (Female, 24, high education level)

That perceptions of risk are often not coherent with protection strategies is something our surveys tend to confirm, but they do not suggest that these perceptions are consistently lower in younger age cohorts nor that older users always act with greater care to protect their privacy.

Our online survey focused on personal data indicates that a larger majority of smartphone users over 45 years old perceive a risk of losing control over their personal data compared with respondents under 45, but the proportion of those who actively manage privacy settings both in apps and in social network sites is higher among younger people.

A very sensitive field for privacy questions for users' perceptions is social networking sites.

The sources of concern here tend to differ according to age: for the older group (over 45), problems arise mostly because they lack time or they find it difficult to manage privacy settings; among the younger ones (under 45), the most common reason is the very structure of the sites, which many see as designed to display and share data and thus require constant, but varying, caution if users want to protect themselves.

Because mobile media are embedded into everyday life and are used at any moment to record and objectify a diverse range of content, they increase the risk of displaying private matters, moreover when they are the most significant domains in users' lives.

> – Did you ever regret something on a social network site?
>
> – Yes. For example, thoughts... And then certain people that I didn't want to comment or to see it do... If I forget about the [privacy] settings... Sometimes, I end up thinking that I shouldn't have done that, or that I should have checked... (Male, 16, individual interview)

> – Do you think your mobile phone helps you keep your privacy or is it a means of other people getting into your life?
>
> – It depends. If it's about the internet, I think it isn't always... well, we don't always keep our privacy by posting photos, people always know where we are, they can locate us, and we don't always have our privacy, but it depends on what we post and what we write down there." (Female, 15, individual interview)

Degrees of concern also vary according to type of content on social networking sites. The perception of risks to privacy are more connected to the use of images than to other kinds of information, but this is precisely a domain where many users do not implement strategies to protect themselves accordingly.

Apart from those who often take and post images of private everyday life, others who try to stay at the margins of this movement may in the end conform to the collective dynamics generated both by the culture of privatism and by the structures of display and feedback technologically embedded in platforms.

> When people share a picture of me, which I didn't even know had been taken, that bothers me a bit. Then I tell them, but they do not always take it down, and then I let it go... (Male, 27, high education level)
>
> I usually don't ask [if others agree to a photo being posted], because I already know which people are fine with it, and which aren't... So, one is going to say yes, the other is going to say no. So, I post it. The ones who don't like comment that they don't like it, the ones who like it comment they like it, and that's

> the way it goes. If they don't like it... they shouldn't look at it. (Female, 17)

The fact is that respondents to the national survey state that photos and videos are mostly used to gather images from family and personal experiences, confirming its salient privatistic use, but they also report that they generally share it within circles of known people, a practice that seems to match privatism and privacy.

Playing with different accounts of the personal and the private, definitions of privacy are under negotiation, and we can find different attitudes and practices related to mobile phones. Particularly among teenagers, qualitative data collected in our research suggest the existence of at least three discourses about privacy in the Portuguese context:

One discourse says that to share personal content in social media means relinquishing privacy, because such content is not owned by the person anymore, it is out of their control, even though it is shared within known circles. In this discourse, any personal data delivered through digital mobile media in the flow of everyday life, especially images, is doomed to escape from the realm of privacy, largely because of the networking structure of communications and the very architecture of social sites. We could name this a discourse of suspicion, as in the following example:

> Everything we do has consequences, especially if you are in a social network, we have to pay a great deal of attention to what we publish (...) it's a great risk, because we may think some people are trustworthy, but in the end they are not and there is a risk that pictures will spread.

Another discourse considers privacy in nuanced terms, with social actors being concerned with evaluating it for some personal aspects of their lives but not for others. In this discourse, the personal level does not overlap with the private level. Keeping privacy is still valued, but there is a part of personal life that it is not a problem to publicize using technological mediation, since it is already part of everyday presentation in public, in many circumstances, whether mediated or non-mediated. Because actors consider that they decide and have command over the content in mobile and digital media, we may term it a discourse of control:

> Basically, we shouldn't share our private lives. Going out with friends is our private life, but one that we do in public. But a family lunch or an important meeting, that is private and should not be shared.

A third discourse applies the idea of the private, and the need for privacy, strictly for content that might put someone in danger, information that can be actively used against someone if revealed – and the content most associated with this are images of the body. All the rest may be explicitly termed by these adolescents as public, meaning that it is something they do not mind being known or seen by anyone, whether it is personal or not. In this case, the limits of the public expand over a wide range of personal matters, not necessarily through the choice and criteria of each actor's daily management of her/his data, but rather because there is both a cultural appeal for sharing personal content and a communicative environment that contains potential trends towards publicizing it. This might be called a discourse of transparency:

> – Can you give me an example of some content that you share through your smartphone and that you define as public?
>
> – Hum... I can't think of anything.
>
> – For example, a news event, or an image that doesn't involve you...
>
> – I don't usually publish that kind of content, it's more about me...
>
> – And the pictures you publish, do you define them as private or public?
>
> – Public.
>
> – Why?
>
> – Because nothing in them is intimate, it's more like something that everybody can see...
>
> – These pictures you share, do you share them with a closed circle? Is it for your friends on Facebook, or is it for everybody, how does it work?
>
> – It's just for my friends, not for the outside...

> – Within these friends, is there also a closer, smaller circle where you share other photos and content?
>
> – No.
>
> – How do you decide whether to publish or not to publish, and how do you define what is public and what is private content?
>
> – For example, I don't like to put photos in a bikini, because I think it is a bit intimate. Actually, I have one right now, but it's not a picture where I show much of my body, because I think it's something that is ours, it's intimate, and we don't have to show it to others.

Apart from the intimate, which fulfills the entire domain of what should remain private in this discourse, the rest of personal lives may well be transparent in our mediated, digital and mobile communicative environment.

This last quote is also indicative of a possibly shifting sense of the public, which here lacks its meaning of collective and focuses entirely on the meaning of accessible. The reasoning about the public/private that underlies this is clearly dominated by the logics of communication, while the sense of civic in the word 'public' seems to retreat.

Finally, this quote once again illustrates an existing difference between concerns about privacy and actions performed to protect it. This example shows that terming something as intimate and thinking it should be kept private does not always mean refraining from impulses to turn it into an object and introduce it into the networked flows of communication.

Conclusions

Privatistic uses of mobile digital media, marked by individualized entertainment and consumption of games, music and videos in private and public spaces (Groening, 2010), seem to be quite salient in the Portuguese context. A connection between this sort of mobile consumption and a retreat from the public realm, however, lacks more evidence, since high levels of entertainment on smartphones match with frequent news access in the everyday practices of Portuguese owners, and even the consumption of music and videos requires more detailed research on the topic in order to understand the presence or absence of political and collective meanings involved.

On the other hand, it seems clear that the use of mobile digital media for producing, exchanging and circulating an array of objectified forms of personal everyday life is also highly intense, and that the same production and 'sharing' is not done with images, comments or news items about public issues, in the sense of matters with collective resonance. This may be seen as a facet of privatism, since Portuguese owners use mobile digital media for what they value most, and in general they express a special importance afforded to family, friendship and leisure. The technological features of smartphones, whose development is driven by commercial goals at a global scale, explore this overwhelming prize for personal ties and personal worlds. They offer people the chance to turn everyday life into symbolic material for mediation in those circles, linking it with networked structures of communication that seem to match what David Riesman termed as other-oriented dynamics of the self and social relationships (Riesman, 1989) and that Rich Ling envisaged as ritualized forms of feeding and strengthening social bonds (Ling, 2008).

The relevant aspect of mobile technology and the 'prosumption' of media objects they prompt from personal existence is that it also became embedded in the impulses of daily life, and that it ties performance to production and to communication in virtually any time and place. This raises the question introduced at the start: is there a combination of cultural forces of privatism and technological development in mobile communications that is detrimental to privacy?

Portuguese users' perception of privacy in mobile media is related to the use of online social networks, and especially to images. Insofar as 'sharing' personal aspects of life on networking sites objectively means losing ownership and control over such data, we may talk about a rise of 'public privatism', a practice of personal 'transparency' that most users try to maintain within known circles, but which may easily flow out to uncontrolled audiences.

The results of our research do not suggest that everybody performs transparency as a norm, or even that all youngsters use mobile media to display their personal lives. Nevertheless, many accept or conform, with more or less reluctance, to potential external access over the personal and the risk of being monitored. There is a duality between a considerable impulse for public privatism, on the one hand, and the notions and practices of privacy, on the other, which makes every individual owner of mobile digital media either a trusting,

thoughtless user or demands everyone to constantly assess her/his actions and content as appropriately public or private.

Smartphones are becoming part of a technoculture in which the limits of privacy are often unclear and subject to everyday judgment. An important element here is an increase, introduced through new technological offers, through the social commodification of moments, thoughts and snapshots of life. This means social actors are not on their own in the negotiation of what is public and private, and corporations are a powerful player in influencing, transforming or erasing the dichotomy in order to expand the individualization of devices, the frequency with which they are used, the number of objects produced and how wide their circulation, regardless of whether content is personal or not.

References

Bennett, L. (2012). The Personalization of Politics: Political Identity, Social Media, and Changing Patterns of Participation. *Annals*, 644: 20-39. doi: 10.1177/0002716212451428.

Campbell, S.W. (2015). Mobile communication and network privatism: A literature review of the implications of diverse, weak and new ties. *Review of Communication Research*, 3(1): 1-21. doi: 10.12840/issn.2255-4165.2015.03.01.006.

David, G. (2010). Camera phone images, videos and live streaming: a contemporary visual trend. *Visual Studies*, 25(1): 89-98. doi: 10.1080/14725861003607017.

Fischer, C.S. (2005). Bowling alone: What's the score? *Social Networks*, 27(2): 155-167.

Gergen, K.J. (2008). Mobile Communication and the Transformation of the Democratic Process. In J.E. Katz (ed.), *Handbook of Mobile Communication Studies* (pp. 297-309). Cambridge/London: MIT Press.

Groening, S. (2010). From 'a box in theater of the world' to 'the worls as your living room': cellular phones, television and mobile privatization. *New Media & Society*, 12(8): 1331-1347.

Habermas, J. (1976). *Legitimation Crisis*. London: Heinemann.

Hassan, R. (2004). *Media, Politics and the Network Society*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Katz, J.E. & Aakhus, M.A. (2002). Conclusion: making sense of mobiles – a theory of Apparatgeist. In J.E. Katz & M. Aakhus (eds.), *Perpetual Contact: Mobile Communication, Private Talk, Public Performance* (pp. 311-318). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ling, R. (2008). *New Tech, New Ties: How mobile communication is reshaping social cohesion*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Papacharissi, Z. (2010). *A Private Sphere: Democracy in a digital age*. Cambridge: Polity.

Riesman, D. (1989). *The Lonely Crowd: A study of the changing American character*. New Haven/Londres: Yale University Press.

Sennett, R. (1992). *The Fall of Public Man*. New York: W. W. Norton.

Silveirinha, M.J. (2007). Obliterando o político: o pessoal no espaço público mediatizado. In E.B. Pires (org.), *Espaços Públicos, Poder e Comunicação* (pp. 255-280). Porto: Afrontamento.

Simmel, G. (1988). *La tragedie de la culture et autres essais*. Paris: Rivages.

Torres, A. & Brites, R. (2006). European attitudes and values: The perspective of gender in a transverse analysis. *Portuguese Journal of Social Sciences*, 5(3): 179-214. doi: 10.1386/pjss.5.3.179/1.

Wiener, N. (1989). *The Human Use of Human Beings: Cybernetics and Society*. London: Free Association Books.

Williams, R. (2003). *Television: Technology and cultural form*. London: Routledge.

Wuthnow, R. & Nass, C. (1988). Government Activity and Civil Privatism: Evidence from Voluntary Church Membership. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 27(2): 157-174.

Notes on contributors

Mobile and Digital Communication

...

Amparo Lasén

Professor of Sociology at the University Complutense de Madrid. research focuses on the usages, practices and presence of ICTs in relationship with affectivity, intimacy and the configuration of contemporary subjectivities. She was the Vodafone Surrey Scholar at the DWRC of Surrey University, where she conducted cross-cultural research on mobile phone practices. She has been academic visitor at the Department of Sociology of the LSE and researcher of the CEAQ (Centre d'Études de l'Actuel et du Quotidien) Paris V-La Sorbonne.

Ana Serrano Tellería

Ph.D Assistant Professor (Accredited by ANECA, Spanish Official State Agency). Posdoc, coordinator of 5 Ph.D candidates in the European FEDER project 'Public and Private in Mobile Communications' at LabCom, Beira Interior University, Portugal (April 2013 – 2015), European Union and MAIS CENTRO – Portuguese Government. Lecturer of Cyberculture (2013-15). Full grant (EEUU Embassy in Spain) for Seminar 'Entrepreneurial Journalism: A Renewed Hope' (2014), University of Cuenca, Spain. Extraordinary Ph.D Award (Creativity, innovation, impact and relevance; 2012), Ph.D. ('Initial Node Design on Cybermedia: A Comparative Study', 2010) and Bachelor in Journalism (2002) by the University of The Basque Country, Spain. Full grant (2006-08) and research contract (2008-10) to develop Ph.D by University of the Basque Country. First cycle of English Translation and Interpretation, University of Alicante, Spain (2000). Management of European projects and International Cooperation ones in Documenta (2012-13). Responsible of the Communication Department in the Territorial Development Agency "Campoo Los Valles" (2011). Master in Innovation Management, University of Cantabria, Spain (Full grant, 2010-11). Visiting researcher at the School

of Communication in Federal University of Salvador de Bahia, Brazil (Full grant of the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation, 2009). Cultural Management (2005), Master in Theatre and Performing Arts (2004-05), University of the Basque Country. Theatre teacher (2003-04). Online journalist in Elcorreo.com, Vocento, Spain (2002-03). Research interest: Entrepreneurial Journalism, Media Studies, Online Communication and Design, Performing & Stage Arts. Grants received from: University of Cantabria, SODERCAN – Government of Cantabria, University of the Basque Country (Spain), Federal University of Salvador de Bahia (Brazil), Ministry of Science and Innovation (Government of Spain), European Union, Marcelino Botin Foundation (Spain) and EEUU Embassy in Spain.

Diana Rivero Santamarina

Degree in Journalism at the Basque Country University, 2007, and PhD in Information Science, 2013, with the thesis "The professional situation of journalists in the main newsmedia of Basque Country". Currently professor of Journalism II Department at the same university. Her main research topic is the changes web formats have caused in journalistic routines, also taking into consideration gender perspectives.

Elizabeth Thomas Crocker

Is a graduate student in cultural anthropology at Boston University. She holds a master's in anthropology from Louisiana State University and is all but dissertation in her PhD program at Boston University. She studies how lived religion interlocks with our technologically embedded lives especially for communities who practice stigmatized faiths. Her current project examines the ways in which Haitian Vodou practitioners live parallel rather than fractured lives online through layered and separate social media accounts. In addition, she is a graduate research assistant for Professor James E. Katz and together they have explored social media practice and visual communication with mediums such as Skype and Snapchat.

Gaby David

Uruguayan, living in Paris, is a PhD Candidate in Visual Cultural Studies, at the "Centre of history and theory of arts" in the EHESS École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales. She holds a Masters in Fine Arts and is a Teacher of English as a Foreign Language. Her thesis project focuses on "Mobile images as a story of an intimate and vernacular appropriation".

Gil Baptista Ferreira

Professor Coordinator at the Polytechnic Institute of Coimbra, School of Education, and Director of the Degree in Social Communication of this School. Degree in Social Communication and Master in Communication Sciences from UBI, a PhD in Communication Sciences from the FCSH-UNL. He is a researcher at LabCom, Laboratory of Communication and Online Content (University of Beira Interior), and author of three books on communications and media. His fields of expertise are the sociology of new media and political communication.

James E. Katz

Ph.D., is the Feld Professor of Emerging Media at Boston University's College of Communication. In addition, he directs its Division of Emerging Media Studies. The Division addresses the process of how new media technologies are created and introduced to users, the effects they have on users, and how technologies and the content they produce are molded, co-constructed and reconstructed by users.

Dr. Katz joins BU from Rutgers University where he held the title of Board of Governors Professor of Communication, the highest honor the University can bestow on a member of its faculty. During his time at Rutgers, Katz served two terms as chair of the Department of Communication and also directed the Center for Mobile Communication Studies, which he founded in 2004. Earlier in his career, Dr. Katz headed the social science research unit at Bell Communications Research, which also honored him with the title of Distinguished Member of Staff.

Dr. Katz has devoted his career to analyzing the uses and social consequences of emerging communication technologies, especially the Internet and

telephone. He explores how they affect social interaction and what their uses reveal about human nature and organizations and was among the first to demonstrate their pro-social uses. He also seeks to understand what the future holds in terms of society and communication technologies and works with others to explore ways in which society can best prepare itself to make the optimal use of new developments.

Katz has published widely. Among his books are *Magic in the Air: Mobile Communication and the Transformation of Social Life, Social Consequences of Internet Use: Access, Involvement, Expression* (with Ronald E. Rice) and *Handbook of Mobile Communication Studies*. He is author or co-author of more than 70 peer-reviewed articles. His works have been translated into seven languages.

João Carlos Correia

João Carlos Correia holds habilitation and Ph.D from the University of Beira Interior, where he teaches as Associate Professor in the field of Media Studies, Cultural Theories and Journalism Studies. He was Visiting Professor at University Pompeu Fabra (Barcelona), UFMG (Minas Gerais) and Sofia University. He is Editor of the he journal "Studies in Communication", Chair of the Political Communication Working Group of Portuguese Society of Communication and Scientific Coordinator of the Research Unit Communication, Philosophy and Humanities (LabCom. IFP). His current field of research is New Media, Public spheres and social movements. Among his works are included the following: "Journalism and Framing: Supporting Ethnographic & Discursive Approach to News." In The Journal of Transnational 'Worlds of Power': Proliferation of Journalism and Professional Standard, Vol. 1, n^{o}1, 2015; "Le rôle des réseaux socionumériques dans la configuration des épistémologique societé" (in S. Proulx, J. L. Garcia and C. Heaton, La contribution en ligne:. Participatives pratiques à l'ère du informationnel capitalisme, 2014; "Online Journalism and Civic Life" (in The Handbook of Global Online Journalism, 2012).; The admirable world of news: theories and methods (Labcom Books, 2011); Communication and Citizenship: the media and the fragmentation of Public sphere in Pluralist Societies (Lisbon, Horizon, 2004).

José Ricardo Carvalheiro

Assistant Professor at the Communication and Arts Department, University of Beira Interior, Portugal. At LabCom reseach unit, he currently coordinates the project "Public and Private in Mobile Communications". His main research interests are in media history, cultural identities and migration. He also has recently coordinated the project "Media, Reception and Memory: Female Audiences in the New State".

Koldo Meso Ayerdi

Doctor in Communication and a lecturer in journalism in the Faculty of Social and Communication Sciences of the University of the Basque Country (UPV-EHU) in Spain, where he teaches subjects related to media models and online journalism ("Redacción Ciberperiodística" and "Periodismo en Internet"). He was also Director of the Digital Journalism Course of Asmoz Fundation, organized by the Basque Studies Society and the Department of Journalism II of the Faculty of Communication (UPV-EHU). He directs research projects about Cyberjournalism. His main research fields are new technologies and cyberjournalism. Actualy he is Director of the Department of Journalism II.

Samita Nandy

Holds a doctorate in media and celebrity culture from the Department of Media and Information at Curtin University, Australia. She is also the director of the Centre for Media and Celebrity Studies (CMCS) and writes as a cultural critic on fame. Her research focuses on celebrity activism and nationalism, and has been sponsored by international and national grants in Australia and Canada. Her international media relations and work led her to be featured on CBC News, CTV's Breaking News CP 24, OMNI TV, The Globe and Mail and Canadian Journalism Foundation among many more. Dr. Nandy has taught at the University of Toronto, Ryerson University, and Curtin University. Her work has been published in edited books The Performance of Celebrity and The Emotions Industry. Her forthcoming book Fame in Hollywood North: A Theoretical Guide to Celebrity Cultures in Canada will be published in 2015 by WaterHill Publishers. Email: info@cmc-centre.com

Scott W. Campbell

PhD is an Associate Professor of Communication Studies and Pohs Professor of Telecommunications at the University of Michigan. His scholarship helps explain mobile communication as a distinctive media context, its uses and consequences, and associated tensions between the private and public realms of social life. Scott's work is published in Journal of Communication, Human Communication Research, Communication Monographs, Communication Research, New Media & Society, and other scholarly venues. He has also co-edited two books and collaborated with the Pew Internet & American Life Project on a foundational study of teens and mobile communication. Scott serves an Associate Editor of Human Communication Research and serves on a number of editorial boards, including Journal of Communication, Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, New Media & Society, Mobile Media & Communication, and others. Before joining Michigan, Scott spent three years on faculty at Hawaii Pacific University. Prior to his academic life, he worked in the new media industry, including a project management role for Sprint PCS at the time they launched the first national digital mobile network in the United States.

Simón Peña Fernandez

PhD, Assistant Professor at the Department of Journalism II of the University of the Basque Country, has published more than thirty journal articles on Online Journalism, Communication and Social Networks and Social Innovation. He has also participated in twenty research projects at international, national and regional level.