The Cell Phone And Its Technosocial Sites of Engagement

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Abstract

This paper provides examination of the effects of widespread mobile telephony on the social and spatial relations of individuals in the postmodern state. This is the realm of cyborg anthropology, which, according to co-developer Donna Haraway, "explores the production of humanness through machines" (Gray 1993:342). The widespread adoption of the cell phone has morphed five aspects that Zygmunt Bauman (2000) considered to be the basis of share human life: emancipation, individuality, time/space, community, and work. Changes to individuality and community can be described through an analysis of the constructions of public and private space. When the public sphere becomes completely private the social sphere will become public again, but the field of interaction will be global instead of local. The conclusions gathered from an analysis of these spaces will be used to show how cell phones have changed the construction time/space and emancipation of the human in the postmodern state. This paper discusses the effects of mobile telephony on emancipation, individuality, time/space and community through the theoretical lenses of Erving Goffman, Victor Turner, Marc Augé, Donna Haraway, and Bruno Latour.

Introduction

Never before in the history of humanity have human beings been interrupted by strange noises coming out of little boxes that live in people's pockets. The reach of technology into personal life used to be limited by size; early technologies were bulky and non-mobile. It was the cell phone gave that human voice real-time mobility.

Mobile phones are part of a great network of similar creatures that have evolved side by side with humanity since its inception. They cry, and must be soothed back into silence. They must be fed with electricity, and they look silly if they are not upgraded. They also cost their owners a significant amount of money every month. They might as well be infants. Mobile Phones are related to the first tools, because they are extensions of the hand, and like that first tool, they can also be changed and upgraded as needed. In the past, humans had primitive hammers and bows and arrows. Today, they have cell phones.

The face-to-face nuances of everyday life are now interrupted by the cries of technology. The apparatus makes perfect strangers spew out private information they would never normally disclose in public, and some cell phones aren't even an extension of the hand anymore, but

have been compressed into tiny objects capable of fitting into the ear canal. Smaller devices make users capable of communicating without looking as if they are using a device at all.

Mobile telephony has ushered in social geographies that are no longer entirely public or entirely private. The mobile phone allows place to exist in non-place, and privacy to exist in public. Never before have people been able to disembody their voices and talk across any distance, in almost any place. Cell phone technology has thus changed the dichotomies of place and non-place as well as the private and public dichotomies into a technological-human hybrid.

This paper provides an examination of the effects of widespread mobile telephony on the social and spatial relations of individuals in the postmodern state. This is the realm of Cyborg Anthropology, which, according to co-developer Donna Haraway, "explores the production of humanness through machines" (Gray 1993:342). The widespread adoption of the cell phone has morphed five aspects that Zygmunt Bauman (2000) considers to be the basis of share human life: emancipation, individuality, time/space, community, and work. This paper will discuss the mobile's effect on emancipation, individuality, time/space and community through the theoretical lenses of Erving

Goffman, Victor Turner, Marc Augé, Donna Haraway, and Bruno Latour. Changes to individuality and community can be described through an analysis of the constructions of public and private space. The conclusions gathered from an analysis of these spaces will be used to show how cell phones have changed the construction time, space and the emancipation of the human in the modern state.

The primary research was based in and around Redwood City and San Francisco, California, and Portland, Oregon. Field studies of these areas netted hundreds of observed instances of cell phone use. These sites included both open and closed spaces such as busses, airports, conferences, hotels, classrooms, libraries, personal vehicles, parks, restaurants and coffee shops. In addition, forty formal interviews and approximately one hundred informal discussions were conducted with college students, working professionals, and businesspeople. E-mail interviews were also conducted through *Facebook*, the world's current social networking site. All of the contributors were cell phone users, except a female college student who said she could function perfectly well without one. In many instances a cell phone user would become self referential in my presence and would elaborate on their own cell phone use.

Many researchers have discussed the effects of cell phone use on human interaction. Finnish researcher Richard Ling (2002) is perhaps the most prolific author in the subject area. His discussions of cell phone use and human interaction are heavily structured by the theoretical arguments of Erving Goffman. He builds upon Goffman's ideas to analyze the nonverbal ways that users signify the beginnings and ending of cell phones conversations. He also investigates the sociological reasons why cell phones are so annoying, the use of cell phones in inappropriate situations, and constructions of privacy in public spaces.

Next to Ling, Sadie Plant (2001), an anthropologist hired by *Motorola*, developed an extensive ethnography on the types of cell phone users and their rituals. Mizuko Ito (2002) discusses Japan's modern state and how cell phones reconnect Japanese students to community in an increasingly isolated urban environment. Oulasvirta et al. (2005) developed the theory of the 'Resource Competition Framework' (RCF) to describe how individuals prioritize real world and virtual tasks in competiion. Christian Licoppe and Jean-Phillipe Heurtin (2005) of Oslo as well as Kirsten Sadler, Toni Robertson, Melanie Kan, and Penny Hagen (2005), of Sydney discuss the management of availability of communication through mobile phone use. Anne Sofie

Lægran (2004) discusses the use of technology in cafes. Genevieve Bell (2006) discusses the use of text messages in Asia. Raul Pertierra (2005) discusses the sociocultural effects of mobile phones in Philippine society, and Leslie Haddon (2000) of Oslo, Norway discusses the social consequences of mobile telephony, including parent-child relationships and cell phone use.

Much has been written about the effects of technology on humanity. Bruno Latour (2005) describes the relationship between humans and technology through his theory of Actors and Networks. Donna Haraway (1991) helped to develop the intellectual framework of Cyborg Anthropology, which can be applied to the relationship of cell phones and humans. Sandy Stone (1991) discusses the development of technological networks of communication from their genesis as texts.

The Actor Network and the Technosocial Hybrid

Cell phone use is a ritual event that changes participants from mere humans into compound beings that are both social and technological. The compound human that results from the participation in the ritual of mobile communication can be termed a technosocial being. The word technosocial is a word used by many researchers to

describe the concept that all technology is social in its manifestation. Early humanoids used paint to color the walls of their homes and developed the first form of tool-mediated social communication. It was that early hybrid interplay between human and tool that began the first technosocial humanoid legacy.

Donna Haraway and Bruno Latour have carved out the subsection of Anthropological study that deals with humanity's best non-human ally. Donna Haraway writes that, "a cyborg is a hybrid creature, composed of organism and machine" (Haraway 1991:1). The study of human co-production of the organism and the machine lies in the realm of Cyborg Anthropology.

The compound self that the human and technology creates is described by Bruno Latour's (1987) Actor Network Theory. Actor Network theory grants a social role to non-humans, in that they can also be Actors in Networks of social interaction (Latour 2005:10). Prior to the advent of Actor Network Theory, humans and non-humans weren't linked together into relationships that could be traced.

A human alone can perform as Actor in the Network of face-to-face relationships, but when the human interacts with technology a compound Actor emerges capable of performing as part of a larger

technosocial Network. Sandy Stone (1991) identified Robert Boyle's 1669 early letter writing society, as one of the first examples of 'text as apparatus' (Stone 1993:95). This letter writing society was one of the first technosocial Actor Networks. Writers that were part of the society interacted with paper and pen to produce words that were preserved and capable of being commented on after they'd traveled thousands of miles. In essence, this was one of the first technology-based public forums, or Internets. Cell phone use differs from letter writing only in that it offers the user a more instantaneous way to engage with and respond to the Actants on the Actor Network. Thus, cell phone use is a higher order Actor Network only because of its speed. All Actors on the cell phone Actor Network are hybrid technosocial users, both human and technological.

Constructions of Liminality

The ritual of picking up the cell phone and transitioning to a conversation that exists on another time/space plane is a liminal one. In 1967 Victor Turner defined liminality as a state between states, a 'betwixt and between', a beginning state and a final state (Turner 1967:97). He developed the idea of liminality from observing rituals of

the Ndembu tribe of central Africa. He writes, "a ritual, especially a rite of passage, involves some change to the participants, especially their social status" (Turner, 1967:93). Turner used the term liminality originally to talk about the transitional state that rituals represent. It involves stages transitioning out of and back into ordinary life: pre-liminal, liminal (during the ritual), and post-liminal, or reintegration into everyday life. An adolescent can be considered as existing in liminal state, since the adolescent is no longer fully a child and not yet an adult.

The intersection between face-to-face interaction and cell phone conversations is a 'betwixt and between' social space, in which a caller is neither fully engaged with those who are physically co-present, not fully mentally co-present (except for the technically mediated auditory connection) with the person on the other end of the line. Sadie Plant calls it a 'bi-psyche', and points out that “in a way the mobile has created a new mode in which the human mind can operate”, or that the cell phone user is operating as though in two worlds in the psychological sense” (Plant 2005:50).

The difference between cell phone use and the traditional rituals Turner had in mind when using the concept is that the caller is not

joining with others. Instead of going through a ritual transformation like a puberty rite or wedding which accomplishes a state of special connection Turner called 'communitas', the caller is both connected and detached; a solo situation, since the call-ee is not in the same physical space as the caller. The pre-liminal phase of the cell phone user is face-to-face interaction, and the luminal phase is the transformative period that makes the human into a technosocial hybrid.

Additionally, "the transitional-being or 'liminal persona' is defined by a name and a set of symbols" (Turner 1967:95). The 'cell phone user' is the name of the transitional-being, and the user is defined by a set of symbols that designate the cell phone user as a cell phone users. The phone is a symbol, as well as how the device is placed against the ear. The non-verbal actions performed by the cell phone user are also symbols.

The cell phone itself a liminal space because it is a space that exists as auditory signals in transit. It exists in between lived realities, and is a transitional communication medium. The signals constantly transition from other caller to the call-ee and back again.

'Put that Dog on Hold!' Canine Companions and RCF

Among those who regularly use the cell phone, new norms of hybrid technosocial behavior have begun to emerge. These norms of behavior have to do with constructions of private space in public spheres.

Antti Oulasvirta and her Finish collaborators discuss mobile devices as part of the 'Resource Competition Framework (RCF)" (Oulasvirta, et al. 2005:2). Cell phone users cannot focus both on the social setting at hand and the social setting provided by virtual conversation. As Oulasvirta states, "One must switch back and forth between tasks and external sources, temporarily leaving the switched-from tasks on hold or slowing them down" (Oulasvirta, et al. 2005:2). The RCF can be applied to individuals who are managing multiple tasks while in transit. When I asked college students if they could walk and text at the same time, a few told me 'yes, all the time'. Their enthusiasm signified that these students were very versed in their ability to text. Others told me stories of how they almost fell down the stairs because their minds were preoccupied with texting, rather than walking. I observed the manifestations of this 'technosocial task juggling' most often when I watched numerous dog walkers in both Portland and San

Francisco pause in their travels to either take a call or compose a text message.

Observation 1: Dog Walking and RCF

I watched a man walking his dog through the Pearl district of Portland, Oregon. I watched him try to text message as he walked, but as he became more serious about sending his text message he had to stop in the middle of the sidewalk. He could not text message and walk his dog at the same time. In order to fully concentrate on his text message he moved off to the side of the street and sat down on a nearby outcropping to compile his message. He sat down casually at first and then upright in a position of utmost concentration. During this time his dog acted completely confused as to why his owner was acting so strange. In any other case the man's actions would have signaled that something bad was happening. All the while his dog sat bewildered as to why his owner stopped moving and decided to sit down. The dog watched his owner in surprise, and tried to nudge him into moving again.

I watched five more instances of the same situation. Dog walkers

managing technosocial interactions while walking would generally stop when composing a text message, and would sometimes stop when an important phone call came through that demanded all of their technosocial attention.

In each instance the dog walkers put their external reality (the dog) on hold to perform tasks in cyberspace. Each time I saw this happen, I watched the dogs beg and try to get their owner's attention. None of the nudging worked; the owner was preoccupied with the technosocial cybernetic realm and was no longer connected to the dog. The dog was forced into a liminal space between walking and truly stopping because it could not get the attention of its frozen, occupied owner. The dog had been put 'on hold' like an office telephone.

Constructions of Public and Private Space

The cell phone has helped to restructure the public/private dichotomy by allowing the private to bleed into the public sphere. To investigate how the cell phone achieves this, it is essential to analyze the evolution of the cell phone from the landline telephone. It is possible to show the effect of the cell phone on the three main types of modern social communications: the interactions of public, the private, and the

group.

The public interaction consists of face-to-face or technosocial interactions conducted in the public sphere, or the area of a society accessible to public use. The private interaction consists of face-to-face or apparatus mediated discourse dealing with spaces that are not accessible to a wider public sphere, or the realm of the modern anonymous stranger. The third type deals with face-to-face or cyborgian dialogue among more than one participant. The third type I will use to explore how groups can be fragmented by the ring of a cell phone, and how those in a mobile user's proximity will react to a cell phone conversation.

The Landscape of the Landline

The private space that the cell phone is able to carry with it began with the cell phone's predecessor – the landline telephone. The structure of the cell phone as opposed to the landline telephone is what allows the private to carry into the public. Ten years ago, the ring-tone and the cell phone conversation were hardly a part of modern society's everyday social geography. Now, mobile telephony has made its "presence felt in almost every region of the world" (Plant 2000:26).

It is mobility that makes the cell phone capable of restructuring social interaction and impression management. To understand why the cell phone is capable of this, it is important to look at the beginnings of the cell phone, and the genesis of cell phone use.

The difference between the cell phone and the landline telephone is that the landline telephone is tethered by its cord to a single place. The telephone is limited by the length of its cord and its proximity to a phone jack. To those who had never experienced a telephone, the device was as foreign as the *Internet* once was in 1993. The fact that a human could speak into a machine and hear another's voice on the other side gives the appearance of personal schizophrenia.

Over time, the strangeness of the new dissolved into formal society and the landline telephone became very important for the modern society it came to support. Those living in suburban communities were less capable of reaching actual members of society on a daily basis. The telephone helped them to socialize in the isolated spaces of modern society.

As technology progressed, cordless telephones arrived on the communication landscape. They had a slightly larger reach, but the range of movement allotted to the user seldom made it outside the

house. The phone had to be placed back in its charging receptacle or it would run out of power and would not ring. Those who needed a phone while 'on-the-go' or in the city had to find a phone booth. Besides costing money, they were public phones, not private ones. The telephone user had to pay for 'borrowed' time. Because of this, public phones were not conducive to long conversations. Unlike the cell phone, the phone booth and the personal household/business telephone did offer some sort of privacy. They were constrained to location, and users could only carry them so far as the cord reached. Wireless telephones offered mobility, but were large and unwieldy, and users could not travel with them in their pockets.

Although the first cell phones were heavy and awkward, they allowed the first adopters (generally businesspeople) the ability to talk freely while walking or doing mobile tasks. When un-tethered from location, the mobile telephone was free to enter into the public social geography. Cell phone users were capable of having mobile conversations; conversations that could occur at any time in any place that carried a cell phone signal.

Today, computation devices are no longer held to the ground by cords but have become wireless and mobile. Telephones are no longer

confined to roadside booths or the office of the domestic home. The cell phone is the wireless device that ties computing and telephony together. In 1990 it was proposed that it was more likely that “the future in the first decades of the 21st century wouldn't be a virtual reality in which people put themselves into virtual worlds, but the opposite, in which tiny microchips in everything from pencils to chairs and walls will literally build computation into physical fabric of the world” (Weiser, 1990). He called this "Ubiquitous Computing".

Now, computing has become ubiquitous, and continues to colonize and structure the communications of an increasingly large number of people. The coffee shop I am currently sitting at is filled with the sounds of cell phone ringtones and conversations, and when I observe the tables of the coffee shop patrons, I cannot find one that doesn't have at least one cell phone present. It has become impossible to have a modern lifestyle that is not interrupted by the ring-tone.

Face-Saving and Cell Phone Use

Communication mobility comes with equal and opposite social costs. The widespread adoption of the cell phone did away with the former privacy of the phone booth/household. The chunk of private

space formally attached to the personal landline telephone entered into public space because the walls of the contained private space were no longer there to contain the sound.

Once the mobile phone was un-tethered from its cord it was free to colonize the realm of the mobile, or those situations outside of the office or home (Rheingold 2004). The disembodied chunk of private space is responsible for making public cell phone use so annoying. This colonization of personal time and space has major social consequences; cell phone users that clash with the privacy of others often do not notice they are doing so. The cell phone blocks the ability of the user to understand what others in real-life are experiencing when they are nearby. Cell phone use also crowds social space by enlarging the social sphere of the user. A user introduces a virtual person into the nearby social sphere. Though this person is really a disembodied voice that the individual responds to, the response of the caller to the call-ee is not compressed, and the decompressed dialogue takes up more space than a simple face-to-face interaction. A face-to-face interaction takes up two seats in a social setting, instead of one. The social interaction of a cell phone user takes up one and a half seats.

A society's cultural norms define the social forces that push

humans to interact in a way that is congruent with accepted social rules. Else, the individual may encounter what Erving Goffman (1982) describes as 'losing face'. Goffman describes the adherence to these norms of behavior and to societally instated rules such as 'face-maintenance or 'face-saving'. The modern individual must practice the techniques of 'face-saving' every day, especially in the public sphere, where the individual is surrounded by strangers. Ordinarily, face maintenance is a technique that makes public spaces livable and safe, because it keeps uncertainty in social interactions to a minimum and in doing so reduces the stress of the modern individual. Face-management is a condition of interaction, not an objective (Goffman, 1982:12). If the rules of 'face-saving' are not followed, the individual may risk 'losing-face', which could make the individual disliked or societally rejected.

'Face-saving' is essential to maintaining order in modern society. It keeps individual movements flowing smoothly and regularly, and it also keeps negative altercations among individuals to a minimum. To study face-saving is to study the traffic rules of social interaction. One learns about the code of social adherence as one moves across the social landscape. But as the individual travels he does not learn where he is going, or why he wants to get there (Goffman, 1982:12). A pointed look

at a mother with a crying child is enough to let the mother know exactly what society thinks of her. A sharp look at a staring stranger works in the same way. Non-verbal cues help individuals waste less time in letting others understand what correct and incorrect behaviors are.

The rules of 'face-saving' work in a society that is not interrupted by the private space that the cell phone brings to the public space. The cell phone user is not closed off to the considerations of others, but occupied in a virtual conversation. Users who talk loudly on cell phones do so because of their inability to perceive how their words affect each other. Richard Ling described social settings as a web of front and back channel interactions. He explains that the use of a mobile telephone in these spaces breaks in on the “complex of intended and unintended front and back channel communications that make up social interaction” (Ling 2002:5).

Earlier I applied Oulasvirta's concept of the RCF to issues of task management while dog walking. The RCF can also be used to discuss how mobile technology users cannot understand why they bother others. The cell phone does not disregard face management in the social setting, but the preoccupation with virtual tasks over external sources creates an arena of disconnect for the cell phone user. The user does not

understand how face is presented on the phone and how it appears to the social setting. The cell phone user still follows the rules of face, but prioritizes saving face for the person on the other end of the phone over others in real life proximity. This predication of saving face to the call-ee is a leftover remnant of the privacy that the landline telephone provides. Unlike the landline telephone, the cell phone no longer resides in a private room, but the norms of behavior towards the telephone still prioritize the call-ee over those in the vicinity. This predication can cause communication issues in group face-to-face communication situations. I was told by a numerous college students that they had difficulties with cell phone users who would interrupt their calls by holding face-to-face conversations during their call. When I asked a student to tell me something that annoyed her about cell phone users, she told me a story about her friend whom she often called when she was bored.

> Something Becca does whenever she answers her phone, whether she's answering it or calling someone, is that she's always talking to someone else so when she answers she'll be like 'hey', but she'll be talking to

> someone else in real life while she's answering her cell phone. So it takes like five minutes for her to actually answer, so that annoys me more than anything else in my life.

Richard Ling developed an experiment to determine whether the attention of cell phone users could be accessed by nonverbal cues. While walking down the street he would try to look into the eyes of cell phone users, and many did not meet his gaze. Ling states, "I simply tried to catch the eye of people who were walking towards me on the street while making a mobile telephone call" (Ling 2002:3). The absence of visual contact supports the ideas of the RCF distracting the caller from participating in the social setting. This user distraction distorts the streamlined system of face-work that has carried modern society so smoothly along. Now the modern sphere is fragmented by ring tones and the sounds of cell phone users who do not understand how annoying they are being to others. If the nonverbal signals of annoyance were not blocked by the structure of the mobile device, cell phone users would be able to understand their face-projections into the social setting. Otherwise, cell phone users are liable to act in a way they would

never act in face-to-face interactions.

Privacy and Boundary Maintenance

To retain privacy, a cell phone user must perform some sort of boundary maintenance. Users that reject performing boundary-maintenance are more annoying to individuals in close proximity, because they do not prevent their own private conversations from running into the private space of those within their vicinity.

I found that boundary-maintenance is best expressed non-verbally. Plant found that cell phone behavior generally manifests in two ways. She called the first type of cell phone user the extrovert, or 'speakeasy'. This type of cell phone user speaks with non-verbal self-confidence. They hold their head high and their neck straight, as if to assure others that they will not let their conversation be interrupted for anyone or anything (Plant 2005:51). Secondly, Sadie Plant gave the term 'spacemaker' to the cell phone user who seeks to conserve private space by turning inward and speaking with a soft voice (Plant 2005:52). The 'spacemaker' better conserves boundaries of private space by turning inward, “perhaps towards a corner, or a wall...as though to protect the conversation” while the 'speakeasy's' construction of personal space is

unbounded, and is more likely to interrupt another's personal space (Plant 2005:53). The Bluetooth device is an example of a cell phone device that allows cell phone use without non-verbal cues.

Observation 2: Bluetooth and the Reduction of Transformative Signals

I was waiting in line to purchase a bus ticket at a station in San Francisco. As I stood there, the man in front of me began to talk very loudly, saying things like "oh baby, you are so hot." A pang of horror went through me, because I felt he was talking to me. It took me fully fifteen seconds to realize that he was not talking to me at all, but was talking to a woman on his cell phone. I couldn't see the cell phone, but as he turned away I noticed that he was using a Bluetooth device that allowed him to access his cell phone wirelessly. The Bluetooth device was lodged into his right ear, and the little blue light embedded into it blinked at me as he left the ticket-purchasing platform.

What differentiates the Bluetooth user from the normal cell phone user is the reduction of the liminal state that signals the transition between face-to-face interaction and cell phone use to an almost

instantaneous moment. The absence of liminality catches observers off guard, because they don't see the normal transition period that characterizes the hybridization of the human to a technosocial actor. Bluetooth users experience shorter distances between pure technology and pure 'humanness' when they accept a call.

Norwegian cell phone researcher Richard Ling (2002) used Erving Goffman's theories of gesture to study the nonverbal cues that signaled a cell phone user's transition into technosocial conversation. Goffman points out that "a set of significant gestures is also employed by which one or more new participants can officially join the talk, by which one or more accredited participants can officially withdraw, and by which the state of talk can be terminated" (Goffman, 1982:34). With normal cell phone use, the actions of withdrawing and termination of the states of talking can easily be seen. When a normal cell phone user engages with the device, a change in posture signals the entrance into the liminal state. The subject must first grab the cell phone, open it or press a button to accept the call, and then press the phone to the ear. Once placed, subjects tend to turn inward, lean the head towards the cell phone, and look away from the public. These nonverbal actions signal to the onlooker that a subject is about to begin a cell phone conversation.

The Bluetooth use does not require any of these actions in order to enter into a hybrid technosocial state. The Bluetooth device is already attached to the ear. There is no need for the user to hold anything or press any buttons. Thus, a Bluetooth user can simply speak into the device without turning away or touching anything. This difference is what causes cell phone users to seem more introverted and take more 'spacemaker' poses, while Bluetooth users are more likely to be seen in 'speakeasy' poses, since they are able to carry hands-free conversations while walking down the street. They face forward, their shoulders and heads up. They can participate in other movements while still maintaining a conversation.

Negotiating Temporary Private Space

I asked twenty college students if they held private discussions in the public sphere. Most students responded that when they needed to make a private phone call they would try to find private places. One female student said, "I go into my room, or I'll walk around campus and find a secluded area. Last year I used the music rooms, because I like music and was in the music building a lot practicing and things". Another student told me "I don't really like talking on my phone around

people. I don't know why. I always like to stand away". Rarely did I encounter a student that didn't talk outside in a secluded area or 'away from people' when they needed to have a private conversation. This meant that public spaces, when sparsely populated, were sometimes made into private spaces for cell phone users.

The shape of space forces people to act in a certain way. If the space is too small, the persons in the space might act negatively towards another who is loudly using a cell phone. If a space is large and noisy, the voice of a cell phone user can more easily blend into a background. Manners are beginning to emerge with respect to cell phone use, mostly due to these two issues. The shape of real space impacts how annoying a cell phone user can be to others in the vicinity.

Half of the twenty college students I interviewed realized that loud cell phone use bothered others. They told me they tried not to use a cell phone in a loud way in a public social setting. They also told me that sensitivity to cell phone use was greatest in the public library on campus.

Libraries are quiet landscapes where the ring of cell phones is very easily noticed. They are highly structured places in terms of auditory-based social regulations. Face-saving techniques are very

important in libraries, because of the social need to stay quiet in order to respect the private study space of others. I was curious to understand where individuals were forced to take important private phone calls in the library. To do this I watched students in the library take phone calls and then followed them to see where they went to take the calls. I found that students went empty stairwells between the different floors of the library. These spaces were public spaces, but could be considered private spaces if uninhabited by the public. I will call these types of spaces temporarily negotiated private spaces, or temporary private spaces (TPS), because of their transient spatial nature.

Observation 3: Interrupting Temporarily Negotiated Private Space

When I entered into stairwells occupied by students in private conversations, their tone of voice generally decreased, and looks that resembled embarrassment crossed their faces. Their conversations generally ceased until I left the stairwell.

I repeated this observation many times, and began to use different staircases at the library to see how often they were filled with cell phone users. I also experimented with checking a stairwell to see if a

caller was occupying it, and then entering the space as if I was casually passing through it. I wanted to determine whether the caller's nonverbal cues and auditory levels would be affected by my intrusion into their temporarily negotiated private space.

When a cell phone user freely talks in an enclosed private space occupied by many others, the cell phone user must perform boundary maintenance in order to respect the private boundaries of those sharing public space. In a temporarily negotiated private space, boundary maintenance becomes very important to the cell phone user. Whenever I entered a stairwell space occupied by a cell phone user, I heard the cell phone user's voice go down and watched their body turn inwards, a more defined example of how Plant's 'spacemaker' cell phone user acts when liminally transitioning into mobile use. In these instances "the body may be turned away from the world, perhaps towards a corner...as though to protect the conversation" (Plant 2005:52). Since the user does not need to be in such a severe stance when no one else is around, my presence in the stairwells caused them to perform face-saving actions towards me, such as the nonverbal action of protecting the privacy of the self while saving face.

Observation 4: Problems in Negotiating Temporary Space

I got a phone call while studying in the library, but it was important and I could not run all the way outside to answer it. I ran to the nearest stairwell, where it seemed safe to talk quietly, but I only found that there was already a girl there having a serious talk with her boyfriend on her phone. I ran to another stairwell only to find the same thing. I had to go all the way outside of the library and loiter in front of it in order to secure enough space to take the call.

In the above situation, I was forced to travel a very far distance in order to negotiate adequate temporarily private space that would fulfill the face-saving social requirements of the library setting as well as my own need for private space in the public sphere. Temporarily private spaces are like the parking spots of the modern world. In this instance, all of the closest private spaces to my location were taken, and I had to take a space far away from my location of origin. The use of unoccupied social spaces for cell phone use is becoming a more prevalent occurrence. This transition from the unexpected interruption of the social setting by the cell phone to the negotiation of more polite private space in which to converse symbolizes how the individual is beginning

to understand the different types of spaces and what types of cell phone use are acceptable within them.

Place and Non-Place

The phenomenology of the cell phone lies in the auditory domain. The landline cell phone was connected to place, but the mobile telephone is detached from place. The question that remains is if the cell phone is its own place.

Time/Space Compression

With a virtual delay that does not inhibit the flow of communication, the cell phone is the most compressed real-time form of technosocial existence. It is the newest kind of communication in what Sandy Stone calls “Epoch Four” in technosocial communication. Epoch Four exists as the most advanced stage of technosocial communication, in which a new community of technosocial ability is formed. “Epoch One” began with Robert Boyle's 1669 literary correspondence network, one of the first examples of ‘text as apparatus’ (Stone 1993:95). Modern E-mail and text message capabilities upgrade the speed at which text can function as an apparatus, but the cell phone is capable of digitizing

voice and compressing it so effectively that it can travel almost instantaneously across the world with minute lag.

A mobile phone is a time compression device because it compresses the social communication of the caller to the call-ee. It is a box that transcends space and time to connect users across great distances with minimal lag time. It is a device that compresses time more readily than a computer because it is smaller and more mobile. Unlike a computer, the cell phone provides a connection unmitigated by image. Without image to distract the cell phone user, the space and time of the connection is more compressed and pure. Instead of pure media such as images, sound files, and movies, the cell phone presents communication in its most unfiltered state. Not only is it unfiltered and pure, but it is mobile. The individual can access communication while "on the go" since the compression of time/space exists on a phone as much as a computer (Weiser 1993:71).

Zygmunt Bauman suggests that “modern society is characterized by power that has become truly exterritorial, no longer bound, not even slowed down, by the resistance of space (Bauman 2000:11). The cell phone is unique because it is a social network that is not bounded by the confines of space. The traditional network of socialization is bounded by

the confines of time and space. A face-to-face social interaction entails that the two social interactants are in close proximity to one another. Letter writing saves this social interaction and compresses it into words to be read later, but it does not provide a real-time social transaction. E-mail is a social interaction that moves more quickly than a letter, but is still not real-time. The traditional network is bounded by the confines of space, because text takes up space on paper, and e-mail cannot be accessed in real life.

The cell phone is the ultimate compressor of social space because it allows real-time communication from any place with reception to any other place with reception. The compression of time and space that the cell phone can handle is akin to a worm hole. The caller goes into a partial black hole of perception as a phone call is taken, when the caller connects to the call-ee, a wormhole forms in time/space, allowing communication to happen through the two individuals.

Auditory Space as a Place

The airport terminal is a sign of mass transit in the modern age. It is a place that is by its very nature liminal, because it is neither 'here nor there' and serves as a transition point from visitors that just came from

'here', and are going to 'there'. "If a place can be defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity, then a space which cannot be defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity will be a non-place" (Augé, 1995:77-78). The airport terminal is a place that is not concerned with identity or the historical or the relational, and thus Marc Augé would call it a non-space.

An airport is a non-place that has tangible weight and space, but the cell phone's space is compressed and unseen. If the space in which the cell phone exists is a place, then where does that place lie? If the cell phone's technosocial manifestation lies on the realm of the unseen, the auditory extra-terrain, it would stand to reason that in Marc Augé's perspective, the cell phone exists as a non-place. However, the cell phone, while not seen, can be heard, and the cell phone's technosocial manifestation concerns a real social connection that, while neither 'here nor there', has historical and relational aspects. The cell phone, in providing a link to the historical and relational aspects of a social existence, also provides a link to identity. The auditory realm of the cell phone is a place.

Augé defines a non-place as one of solitary contractuality (or one of social isolation), and a place as an organically social one. Although cell

phones are not organic in themselves, they access organic forms through the Actor Network, and are thus somewhat organic. Though the extraterrestrial space that cell phones inhibit does not have historical roots, the use of the space creates identity that builds upon an auditory 'presentation of self'. A cell phone is a place in that it connects the organically social to the organically social through a technosocial device. It is because the cell phone is a place that Richard Ling can apply Goffman's argument of back channel interference.

Since the cell phone is a place that is heard and cannot be seen, it provides a place that is both a place and a non-place. Unlike the graphics user interface (GUI) of the computer monitor the GUI of the cell phone serves as a means of auditory-based communication and not an end.

Plugging into the Actor Network generates a temporary half-space or “bi-psyche' on one either end of the user's line, and the same auditory half-space for the call-e=e to the cell phone network. The meeting of the two temporarily negotiated half-spaces creates a temporarily negotiated whole-space, or auditory ‘place’. This place requires the union of at least two actors on the technosocial Actor Network to function, or else the connection does not qualify as a full place. For instance, an answering machine, while historical, and concerned with

identity, does not allow real-time aspect of relation. The addition of these two half-spaces together creates a whole space, or auditory 'place', that takes two actors on the technosocial actor network to create. A person needs to concentrate half of his attention physically to the "half-space", and all of his auditory attention to the "half-space'.

Connecting in Non-Places

Foucault's Panopticon immobilizes subordinates of the managers of space through denying them the right to move (Bauman 2000:10). Modernity confines humans to cars, houses, hospital beds, office cubicles and desks. To move randomly and for no purpose is considered a 'vacation', and is still confined to negotiating time outside of the need to exist within those spaces. Random 'free' movement is also contingent upon existing well enough within the Panopticon to be able to take a vacation. The vacation exists in a liminal and constructed place that is 'betwixt and between' the traditional structures of the Panopticon and the actuality of real nature. It is created nature that can be visited only after certain rules of the living in the Panopticon have been followed, like a job with the benefits of a paid vacation, an all-terrain vehicle, and sporting gear. This is also domesticated nature, or 'predictable nature'.

Even on an African safari visitors are told exactly what kind of animals to expect and what to bring. Modernity allows for no such thing as unpredictable space.

The vehicle in transit exists in a liminal state of time/space compression. The inner space of the machine is an area where the experience of time and space is altered. The outside existence of three dimensional reality scenery or 'reality' is compressed into two dimensions as it whizzes by the observer. In walking, the original form of human transit, scenery is not compressed at all, but directly experienced. Natural phenomena such as the sun and the rain are all experienced. A car, in contrast, blocks out all of these things and substitutes a regulated environment in its place. It is a manufacturer of virtual ‘nature’, virtual ‘space’.

This compression of space and time allows the subject to travel more quickly, but the actuality of time and space is sacrificed to speed. When the subject, unaccompanied, utilizes the vehicle, the experience of the motorized journey is one of isolation (Bauman 2000:37).

The vehicle and the vehicular commute is one of the most isolated moments the urban subject can experience. The space is a modern *anomie*: nowhere is family, or connectedness established. As Durkheim

stated “at every moment of history there is a dim perception…or the respective value of different social services” (Durkheim 1951:249) With these social services one citizen gives to the other, the public sphere becomes filled with strangers intent on individual ends over the ends of the community.

Traffic puts isolated people in steel pods into a bloodstream of liminality. Though individuals are connected in traffic, this connection is generally one of mutual frustration. The annoyance, while communal, pits each vehicle driver against one another’s irregularities and driving styles. Contact between drivers on the highway is generally one of misfortune or anger.

The cell phone allows an organically social network. Through the subject and the technology combined, the subject can become an Actor on the larger Actor Network. "The prime technique of power is now escape, slippage, elision and avoidance, the effective rejection of any territorial confinement with its cumbersome corollaries of order-building, order-maintenance (Bauman 2000:11). To escape from modernity for a little while gives the human a tiny bit of power over their incarcerated state. If the human spends time in a non-place, then the addition of a non-place accessed through the telephone tears

through the solitary contractually characterized by the non-place. The traffic jam warrants a cell phone for the human to escape the physical constraints that the Panopticon holds on the human body. (Bauman 2000:11). A cell phone provides a virtual 'vacation' from the isolation of modernity.

The tension of existing in an isolated modern state can be transcended by the use of a cell phone, because cell phones are social devices and can help users to reconnect in an increasingly isolated modern reality. Modern individuals can transcend non-places like highways or airport terminals by the use of mobile telephony. Commuters in traffic can connect to another on the technosocial Actor Network while residing physically within a non-space. This means that both the place and the non-place can exist at once.

Japan could be considered to be the epitome of the modern state of isolation. It is a highly industrialized island with a populous that is confined to small, domestically-controlled spaces. To have mobile access to virtual peer space by means of a greater technosocial Actor Network is to have a community in an otherwise socially isolated urban experience. "To not have a keitai (cell phone) is to be walking blind, disconnected from just-in-time information on where and when you are

in the social networks of time and place" (Ito 2003:1). To not have a cell phone in a culture filled with cell phones is a new form of *anomie* worse than existing as an individual in a public sphere filled with strangers. Cell phones are essential for individuals to escape the effects of modern isolation.

The escape of the subject in a liminal non-place into a technosocial liminal space can be considered a second-order liminal state, where the liminality of place can be eradicated by the additional liminality of the communication device. To use a liminal device such as a cell phone in a liminal 'in-between' place cancels the liminality of the situation. A businessperson that uses a cell phone at the airport can escape into a higher order liminal state that allows connection to a non-liminal reality that is both auditory and profitable.

The transition of the spatially liminal subject to a second order liminal state does not allow the user a pathway back into lived reality. Lived realities are only accessible to those at non-liminal points. The airplane traveler exits lived reality upon entering the airport terminal, and re-enters it after stepping out of the airport terminal at the destination.

The Bluetooth allows the isolated subject to hybridize their

experience, to do away with the liminal state of experiencing life as a individual disconnected from relation, history, and identity and enter into a technosocial liminal state. It is liminality within liminality that creates connectedness in a place with the least connectedness. Similarly, making a phone call in a liminal place allows the user freedom from the liminal state and freedom that the constraints of the space that the time-routine of modernity has forced them into.

Observation 5: Connecting in Non-Places

During my research I babysat the two daughters of a family who live in *Sellwood*, a residential suburb of Portland, Oregon. One morning, the mother dove me from campus to her house. During travel time, I watched how she used her cell phone during moments of transit. When I entered the vehicle, she took her Bluetooth out of the glove box and attached it to her ear. She told me that she didn't really use Bluetooth except when she was using a vehicle. She told me that is was nice to be able to connect if she was stuck in rush hour, or would be late getting home, or if she needed to pick up anything for the kids on the way home. If she used the Bluetooth, she'd safely be able to make and receive phone call from her husband. During the trip, she communicated three

times with her husband through Bluetooth, each interaction lasting a matter of minutes.

The use of the cell phone while in transit helped the mother to escape the confinement of the transit space, and also allowed her future information that allowed her to save future space and time in her interactions in her modern environment. In my hometown of Denver, Colorado, I observed a lot of individuals happily talking on Bluetooth phones while in long instances of rush hour traffic. Those who were not on cell phones were lonely and isolated in their travel pods. They had serious or stressed expressions on their faces while they waited. Those who used cell phones looked much happier and occupied. It seemed that they'd defeated the confines of the space in which they were forced to exist.

Bauman's analysis of heavy and light modernity can be used to explain the allure of the cell phone. The old modernity is rooted to place and size, while the new modernity is rooted to 'lightness' and the transcendence of time and space, or the physical self. Cell phone users are able to transcend the physical boundaries of heavy modernity because they've left part of their bodies behind and transferred to 'light

modernity' while in 'heavy modernity' (Bauman 2000:114). The light modern state of the cell phone helps them to transcend the heaviness that their body had taken on when introduced to the 'heavily modern' state.

Modern information, or 'light information' is only accessible by hybrids, or those who are capable of liminally transforming into technosocial hybrids or 'light industrial' objects. It is not enough to simply liminally transition. An entire set of new social roles have developed around the use of technology. Whereas technology used to be only for 'nerds', it is now ubiquitous, and mobile phones have made their presence felt in almost ever region of the world" (Plant 2005:26).

Businesspeople are some of the most liminally-burdened individuals. They are a species frequently in transit between spaces and lived realities. Their liminality is not only characterized by the hotels and airports that service their fluctuating spatial localities, but they are also frequently liminally connected via cell phones, palm pilots, laptops, and Bluetooth.

During my research I attended a two-day business conference on alternative energy in Redwood City, California. During this time, I was able to observe the relationship between businesspeople and cell phone

use. The hotel was a liminal space for businesspeople because it existed within a hotel, which acted as a liminal holding space instead of a destination. The conference acted as a liminal space because it was a place between the business world and the world of leisure. The conference was also a liminal space within a liminal space. When the conference was not in session, the businesspeople were allowed to go back to ordinary 'hotel reality'.

Maureen McHugh that "soon, perhaps, it will be impossible to tell where human ends and machines begin," Most technological forms can only be accessed through the liminal transitional period. When a cell phone user leaves their earpiece in more than they leave it out, they exist in a constant state of potential liminality. I observed many instances of this at the business conference.

Observation 6: Technological Adaptation

I spoke to Marty Metro, CEO of Used Cardboard Boxes.com. We were both getting snacks from the food stand at the conference, and I began to talk to him about how he started his company. As he told his story, he suddenly stopped, embarrassed, and pulled a Bluetooth out of his ear. I was somewhat bewildered; this was the first time I'd

experienced the removal of a Bluetooth device. Marty told me that he always forgot he was wearing it, and, after further contemplation, he told me that it was pretty creepy that he kept forgetting about it. Then he told me it was essential to his company, because he could get calls any time about his distribution plants, and he had to be instantly available to new information.

The stock market is itself in a volatile state that constantly transitions and updates, and thus the businesspeople would be at a disadvantage if they were to leave a connected state in order to listen to the slowly flowing face-to-face information presented by the panelists at the conference.

The potential liminality of a Bluetooth-wearing businessperson reflects the liminality of the system in which a businessperson functions. In the conference ballroom, most businesspeople were sitting at their tables, constantly moving in and out of state of temporarily and liminalty and attention. Blackberries and laptops notify businesspeople about stocks and how their own companies are doing. The business conference was packed with hybrid businessmen. In addition to listening to the presentations in front of them, all were attached to a

greater technosocial Actor Network of information.

The need for information had colonized Marty Metro's existence. He had grown accustomed to wearing the mobile device at all times, because if he did not, he might lose the ability to monitor his supply chain adequately. Marty Metro's company was funded by venture capitalists, and venture capitalists demand profit margins. If he missed being connected for too long, it could cost his company money. To avoid liability, it was in Marty Metro's interest to keep the Bluetooth in at all times, and thus be socially accessible in all situations.

The Technosocial Womb

To 'go virtual' is to free the self from the weight of the flesh incarcerated by 'heavy modernity'. Cyber Ethnologist Sandy Stone discusses the theoretical benefits of joining virtual communities:

> Electronic virtual communities represent flexible, lively, and practical adaptations to the real circumstances that confront persons seeking community in what Haraway (1987) refers to as 'the mythic time called the late twentieth century." They are part of a range of innovative solutions to

> the drive for sociality—a drive that can be frequently thwarted by the geographical and cultural realities of cities increasingly structured according to the needs of powerful economic interests rather than in ways that encourage and facilitate habitation and social interaction in the urban context. [Benedikt 1991: 111]

The fetishism to 'meld' with technology gives lifeless bodies more power, and gives a way for the human selves to finally compete with the industry around them. There is also fear that if humans don't join the fold of technology, technology will eclipse or replace them, similar to how human factory workers were replaced by machinery through the many stages of the industrial revolution. As long as the technology can be upgraded, humans have control over it. Instead of throwing out the human, the technology can be thrown out. The human is safe, while the technology is not.

The desire to upgrade the cell phone is also a desire to upgrade one's body to the next best state in evolution. It is a means of purchasing power in the form of better, faster communication. It is what Anthropologist Donna Haraway calls a symbiotic relationship: a co-

production of existence. “In this context, electronic virtual communities are complex and ingenious strategies for survival” (Benedikt 1991: 111). Without human support, technology could not survive, but without technological support, a globalized society would not be able to sustain itself.

Entering into a network by becoming part cyborg creates the ability for the subject to augment social and physical capabilities. The cell phone allows people to be more omniscient and omnipresent. Technology allows one to transcend more readily the confines of the flesh-burdened human body. Information stored on the computer can be seen as accessed by many at once, allowing copies of a person's essence to be present in many places at once.

Upgrading signifies a feeling of human power over technology. The technology can be detached from the network and upgraded separately from the human. Humans, fearful of becoming obsolete to technology, can throw out technology and upgrade their power by purchasing a better object. Purchasing a cell phone is akin to purchasing a better looking ear and a better looking hand. As long as the technology can be upgraded, humans have control over it. The human feels safe, while the technology is not.

The modern technosocial state does not save the human from decaying. Since technology and human interaction is co-produced, the human who does not upgrade is actually obsolete in the modern sense. Though the human can feel secure from the touch of technology, status is tied right into technology, and will decrease unless the technology is upgraded.

The Allure of the Mobile Auditory Place

Michel de Certeau writes, that to "visit the gleeful and silent experience of infancy: to be another, and go over to the other, in a place" (Augé 1995:83). The cell phone is a space that is a place existing in extraterrestrial space, yet is a place that one can frequent again and again. Though the person on the other line may be different, the place in which the two people meet is the same. The space of a cell phone helps to reduce the isolation that exists in the modern state, and can thus be considered a womb of social connection.

Starobinski's definition of modernity is that:

> Movement adds the particular experience of a form of solitude, and, in the literal sense, of 'taking up a position': the experience of someone who, confronted with a landscape he

> ought to contemplate, cannot avoid contemplating, 'strikes the pose' and derives from this awareness of this attitude a rare and sometimes melancholy pleasure. [Augé 2000:87]

The reconnection of the individual to something greater, to real social interaction, is the womb state, the Garden of Eden, the utopia. The baby in the womb, like a tree, only needs to be in one place to grow. In the same way, the postmodern individual can travel with a womb through which social sustenance may be delivered, because no social sustenance can be delivered by individuals in the modern public sphere.

As anthropological places create the organically social, so non-places create solitary contractility (Augé 1995:94). Non-places are the sources of modern *anomie*. In Emelie Durkheim's perspective, a malnourished public sphere deprives individuals of real social connections. In the face of this *anomie*, the cell phone allows an organic social network. Through the subject and the technology combined, the subject can become an Actor on the larger Actor Network. If the human spends time in a non-place, then the addition of a non-place accessed through the telephone tears through the solitary contractuality characterized by the non-place. Both the place and the non-place can

exist at once, because in the supermodern perspective all dichotomies blur into one another.

Donna Haraway discusses the compression of dichotomies as a result of technology. “the cyborg myth is about transgressed boundaries [and] deepened dualisms of mind and body, animal and machine” (Haraway 1991:154). Instead of delineations between place and non-place, or delineations between public and private, the hybrid state decays the delineation between dichotomies and reduces it to a state the is neither public nor private, place or non-place, or 'here nor there'. Thus, non-place is not separate from place, but is both a place and a non-place at once. The realm of the cell phone is a place that may be heard, and only liminally lived in. Augé defines the idea of the communication network as one that lies on the plane of extraterrestrial space (Augé, 1995:79). Thus the cell phone is a liminal extra-terrestrial space, or a space that is actually a place removed from place (the isolation of urban reality) that can be accessed simply by logging onto the Actor Network of cell phone users. It is natural that so many disconnected individuals would so quickly adopt a technology that allows them some semblance of former society, even though it is mediated by technology and a payment plan.

Face Maintenance and Modern Ethnomethodologies

Much of the allure of public cell phone use concerns Goffman's concept of impression management. The cell phone acts as ally of social risk reduction against situations of modern isolation. Impression management is easily accomplished when the appearance of the person on the other side of the line can be completely constructed/construed. Often this person is constructed to be more important than they already are to the user. In this case, the cell phone user shares information specifically for the benefit for of the social setting rather than the call-ee. Correct cell phone usage maintains a balance between mitigating face-management of the call-ee and the social setting at the same time.

> What emerges from the fading social norms is naked, frightened, aggressive ego in search of love and help. In the search for itself and an affectionate sociality, it easily gets lost in the jungle of the self...Someone who is poking around in the fog of his of his or her own self is no longer capable of noticing that this isolation, this 'solitary-confinement of the ego' is a mass sentence. [Ulrich Beck, 40 in Bauman

2000:37]

The modern state is a mass communitas of individual isolation with no ability for the individual to personally mitigate isolation. The isolated human in the non-place seeks to reconnect with those in proximity, but cannot. The cell phone is used as a substitute for interaction, but the cell phone user really wishes for face-to-face interaction over virtual interaction, and thus manages face to feign importance. The cell phone user hopes to impress others this way, and thus secure real life acceptance, but the disconnect between face managing for the self and face managing for the social situation, the cell phone user becomes a turn-off for those in proximity, especially those forced to exist coincidentally in non-place with the cell phone user.

Observation 6: Disconnected Bragging in the Public Sphere

As I shopped at Whole Foods Market downtown I encountered a middle-aged man who was constructing an ideal self to the derisive looks of those who were in his proximity. He spoke loudly while pushing his way through the crowd. The customers of the store were talking and staring at him behind his back as he talked through his Bluetooth

earpiece. His conversation consisted mostly of privileged middle-class phrases blown way out of proportion, such as "In Europe I went to place ‘x’, and in Spain I went to place ‘y’" while on his hands-free phone.

In a display of insecure confidence, the man had adopted the 'speakeasy' pose and had thrown his head back, bragging about the self. His attempt to provide a perfect half of the conversation was met with derision at the supermarket. This is an example of the user's own ethnomethodology. An ethnomethodology is a sociological discipline that investigates “the rational properties of indexical expressions and other practical actions …of everyday life” (Garfinkel 1967;11). Each individual has a personal ethnomethodology that orders rational action and how the world is experienced. In this observation, the man’s own ethnomethodology made him believe that speaking loudly about his experiences in Europe in a middle class crowd might gain him more respect, but his own ethnomethodology was disconnected from the ethnomethodology of the others around him. His own ability to save face was altered by his attempt for attention, something which did not resonate with the face-saving measures of the shoppers around him. Instead, he interrupted their modern shopping experience so much that

they were free to stare in order to disrupt his flow of communication.

A much more mature conversation is conducted in the closed sense, or 'spacemaker' pose. The ‘spacemaker’ businessperson is often seated in a location with minimal foot traffic. I observed more businesspeople discuss the real intricacies of business-like administrative duties and principles in the 'spacemaker' pose rather than the 'speakeasy' pose.

The businessperson who seeks to appear more successful than the current reality provides can utilize the place of the cell phone to transmit an appearance of success through display and exaggeration. I experienced these types of businesspeople in non-places such as airports or city busses rather than the business conference I attended in California. At the airport, I saw many of these types of cell phone users pacing back and forth in areas of high visibility, such as against pubic windows facing public seats. These businesspeople usually discussed business deals but remained physically completely ‘off limits’ to those in the proximal social setting, in effect, placing himself on a falsely engaged social platform that left others no room to interject with their own comments and interactions. Just as the presentation of self can be so easily falsified online, so the cell phone user believes he can falsify his

own impression, but the disconnect happens when a cell phone user's personal ethnomethodology is not publicly held.

Conclusions on Cell Phones and Modernity

The cell phone is an anthropomorphic because, unlike other material goods, it has a human voice. The cell phone is a device that allows a human to be present with another human, though each human is disembodied, compressed, and restructured over wireless waves that permeate the Earth's air fields. Perfume may be a sign that points to an emotion, but the cell phone can actually carry that emotion, actually speak with an authentic human voice.

There is evidence to suggest a functional relationship between the "structure of the self and the structure of spoken interaction" (Goffman, 1982, 36). Thus, people have much more confidence in a cell phone than with another stranger or by themselves. A cell phone interaction provides one half of a conversation equation.

To discover how conventions of social guidance are maintained, the use of cell phones and individual social interactions must be examined. With the addition of a technosocial apparatus, the individual can structure their face through the use of the cell phone. The cell phone

adds a greater dimension of face management because it is an object that can be controlled outside of the self. It is a social prosthetic. Confidence may be gained through this social prosthetic because the conversation on the other side of the line is unseen. A mobile user can respond to a conversation in any way they wish.

Social cues are turned on through active or inactive shifts in verbal or non-verbal cues. In terms of cell phone use, these social cues signify that the person is "engaged" or not in social interaction it is not possible for the individual to be bothered by the other "free social radicals" while in social space. The cell phone 'engages' the user so that their ability to interact with others is severely diminished. "We may expect to find a variety of barriers to perception used as involvement shields, behind which individuals can safely do the kind of things that ordinarily result in negative sanctions . . . involvement can be shielded by blocking perception of either bodily signs of involvement or objects of involvement, or both (Goffman 1963:39). If cell phone users were like molecules, the addition of a cell phone to an individual's technosocial electron shell would make the electron valence complete. A user with a complete technosocial valence shell would not be able to interact with social entities with empty spaces in their valence shells. Neither can

they interact with entities that have complete technosocial valence shells.

The public space has been colonized by the private, individual space. This has forced an urban Panoptic state in which paranoid, consumer addicted individuals seldom speak to one another, and concern themselves with individual issues over the good of the whole. “The advent of cellular telephones may well serve as a symbolic 'last blow' delivered to the dependency on space: even the access to a telephone socket is unnecessary for a command to be given and seen through to its effect (Bauman 2000:11).

Bauman points out that individualism is overruling citizenship, and quotes Alexis de Tocqueville in saying that the "individual is the citizen's worst enemy." The difference is that the technosocial object is one step above the ‘mall experience’ of purchasing symbols as a substitute for social acceptance. It is a relationship with a product that leads to greater social connection. When the product becomes outdated, isolation returns, and the individual must purchase again.

Bauman cites that a gap has 'emerged and grown precisely because of the emptying of public space..."The 'citizen' is a person inclined to seek her or his own welfare through the well-being of the

city - while the individual tends to be lukewarm, skeptical, or wary about 'common cause', 'common good', 'good society', or 'just society'. What is the sense of 'common interests' except letting each individual satisfy her or his own? (Bauman 2000:36).

Bauman contests that, "It is the private that colonizes the public space, squeezing out and chasing away everything which cannot be fully, without residue, expressed in the vernacular of private concerns, worries and pursuits (Bauman 2000:39). Applying this theory turns the cell phone into both a status symbol and a substitution for what is missed in society. It has become an institution for the social, just as the educational system is an institution that replaces the family, or the health system for family doctor. As Bauman continues "the escape of real power into the territory which, for all that the extant democratic institutions are able to accomplish, can only be described as an 'outer space' (Bauman 2000:39). The outer space into which power has flown is what individuals seek to recapture. If they have to venture into outer space to recapture what has been lost by the vacation of the public sphere to the individual, by the citizen to the paranoid shopper, then this 'outer space' has become a new place. If, according to Augé, non-spaces discourage "settling in", then non-spaces are open to the

colonization of the technosocial device on every stage that has been ripped away from its social roots. Every place that has seen its citizenship fall to individual concerns is open to reconnection of the social by means of the cell phone.

Richard Sennett's definition of a city is a 'human settlement in which strangers are likely to meet'. Bauman adds to this in saying that in a city strangers are likely to meet in their capacity of strangers, and likely to emerge as strangers from the chance encounter which ends as abruptly as it began (Sennet 1978:264, cited in Bauman 2000:94) and that "It is likely, by comparison, a mis-meeting" (Bauman 2000:95). The cell phone gives the individual back the power to create positive social interaction in the face of negative social consequences. The cell phone increases the chance of a 'positive meeting' in public space, because the mobile user controls the meeting.

Technology carries the social, instead of the social carrying technology. Public spaces are becoming increasingly privatized. The world is undergoing something more than modernity or postmodernity, it is a hypermodernity, or supermodernity, that increasingly ties the world together in shorter sections.

Max Weber's notion of 'instrumental rationality' (Bauman 2000:4)

is still at play, but today's modernity plays this instrumental rationality at hyper-speed. Modernity today follows Marc Augé's notion of Supermodernity, and gives technosocial relations a singular goal: the continual compression of space and time. No piece of technology is immune to instrumental rationality.

In 1965 Intel co-founder Gordon Moore predicted that the number of transistor on a chip would double every two years (Moore 1965:2). If cell phone technology continues to follow Moore's law, then technosocial networks and capabilities will only become less tethered to place. As communication technology progresses, the technosocial relationships between humans and technology to other humans and technology, or the speed of Actor Networks increases. A high-functioning technosocial assemblage would be one that would allow for the optimum speed of social communication and development of faster ways to receive communication. The online social networking site *Facebook* is one. Cell phones are another. Instead of interrupting and fragmenting social spaces, cell phones and other technosocial assemblages will connect them together. Mobile technology is the initial technology that will allow all other technosocial assemblages to go wireless and detached from place. As technology and humanity continue

to produce each other, the dichotomal differences between humans and technologies will continue to blur.

The era of globalization is one characterized by the shrinking of time and space. As part of the greater Actor Network of human communications, each cell phone upgrade reinforces globalization, and hypermodernity. If the current trends of technosocial co-production continue, the future relationship of humans and technology will resemble a massive technosocial assemblage that takes the matters of time/space compression into its own hands, colonizing every public space and making it public on a private network. Instead of the paradigm of old, 'heavy', modernity, or the rush of civilizations to develop larger and larger technology, cell phones are part of the new, or 'light' modernity, in which computers that used to be the size of basketball courts are now being compressed into smaller and smaller devices. In this new modernity technologies will shrink so small that they will be able to integrate into every aspect of the real world, so that the real world will be interconnected at every point, and everything felt in the real world will also be tallied virtually.

Humans are becoming one bloating organism with a technosocial heartbeat, constantly updating in order to compress time and space

closer and closer together. The world itself is exists in a liminal state 'betwixt and between' humanity and technology. A new liminal 'communitas' is emerging with technology as the framework for all social interaction and communication. When this liminality is resolved technology will be free to colonize all human interaction. With the space and time of the world shrinking, the distance between humans and technology will decrease until they are can no longer be understood separately from one another. When the public sphere becomes completely private the social sphere will become public again, but the field of interaction will be global instead of local.

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