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While the first wave of youth and mobile phone studies focused, understandably, on communications, the aim of this book is to reflect upon ongoing, media-related innovations related to this device. The cameraphone has become increasingly ubiquitous, which has already prompted a separate strand of research[i]. MP3 players on mobiles phones have become more common, as has the means to transfer files between mobiles phones and other devices via Bluetooth and infrared. These developments facilitate the role of the mobile phone as a digital wallet, as a digital album in relation to images, and as a digital music collection in relation to sounds. Mobile phones have increasingly been able to access the Internet and now television. Hence, at this juncture one might ask how the proliferation of media on the mobile phone have fitted into the individual and collective lives of children and youth.

This research[ii] builds upon an earlier study[iii]. In 2007, the researchers invited children to participate from the same schools and areas as before, all located in the south of England. Three focus groups comprising 6-9 children were held in each of two secondary schools. In addition, 48 children[iv], including some of the focus group attendees, kept a 24-hour diary record of their activities and use of the mobile phone. Lastly, six of the boys and six of the girls, who had not participated in a focus group but who had filled in the diaries, were then interviewed for about one hour about their

diary and about their experience of mobile phones and other technologies. All the respondents were from the age groups 11-12, 13-14 and 15-16[v].

It is important to frame this research and analysis in various ways. First, one principle of the domestication approach[vi] discussed in the chapter by Judy Wajcman, is that British studies using this framework often attempted to be holistic in terms trying to understand technology in relation many aspects of people's lives: the financial circumstances, their hopes and aspirations, their leisure activities, their temporal organisation of their lives, etc. That is very time consuming research and could not be achieved in this research, in what was a relatively small, short-term study. However, we can at least take a holistic view of young people's technological options rather than just looking at the mobile phone in isolation.[vii] The young people in this study, originally texting, making voice calls (fixed line or mobile) and using email, have in recent years increasingly embraced instant messaging (IM) on MSN as well social networking sites such as MySpace and Bebo[viii] where one can leave messages. In the case of newer media on mobile phones, the cameraphone is often competing with children's separate digital cameras. The MP3 function sits alongside many children's separate MP3 players, including iPods. Internet access on the mobile has to be assessed against children's access via, normally, the PC, while the TV on the mobile is another option compared to the family or personal TV that they can view. Lastly, we have games on mobile phones, competing with more sophisticated portable consoles. In sum, we need to be sensitive to the plethora of devices or communications options with similar or related functionality to that of the mobile phone that is making the world of young people full of more and more technological choices.

Given that much of the discussion will be about these choices, a second observation is that they are not meant to imply uncritical assumptions about youth and technology more generally. The first of these is that youth are at the cutting edge of innovation. One can say that what many of the young people in this study shared was more disposable time to experiment with technology than many adults, and the literature on youth often points to the greater influence of peer networks at this life stage, which may have a bearing on interest in exploring technology. However, even within this study there was a great diversity in terms of any such interest, the sophistication of their equipment and hence the media options available to them as well as their own media competencies. And, as we shall see, these young people did specific things with their mobile phones that may or may not carry over into adult life. The other poplar claim sometimes heard, which also unduly homogenises youth, it that 'this generation is different because….'. The interesting version of this claim at this moment in time concerns the cohort of youth who experienced mobile phones and texting when they first appeared. A few years ago one could ask how the next generation of youth, now growing up with mobile phones around, might have a different experience, one where they were not the innovators. However, even in this study we can how the older teenagers, pioneers in the sense that they were the first to get mobiles several years early, had to deal with the new media on mobiles at the same time as the younger teenagers were doing so. The technological environment for both had shifted.

The third and final observation concerns the fact that this is a British study. The literature on the social construction of childhood[ix] points to the fact that our expectations of what children should and can do, what they should be like, can change over time and can differ across cultures. Indeed, technologies can become implicated

in changing expectations of children as was noted in discussions of what is the appropriate minimal age for children to have mobiles.[x] Hence, although they may be some commonalities in the experiences of young people as shown over the next chapters in this book, it has to be borne in mind that the different national contexts will mean that there will be some differences, sometimes nuanced, sometimes more outstanding, in the experiences of the young people being studied.

Communications

One key consideration influencing the amount of calling and texting, which was equally true of the previous study, was the cost of communication.[xi] Almost unanimously the young respondents in this study were cost conscious, reflecting the realities of their financial situation and dependence. The most common arrangement was for parents to set an allowance, usually credit on pay-as-you go systems, but occasionally contract – and if they went over the limit the children would be expected to pay the difference. Even the 'heavier' users tried to avoid going over the limit and some managed their finances better than others did. As Carol explained, when she sometimes ran out of credit, '*I call people from the house phone, or I just keep on at my mum*' to give her some more credit. For Carol, she wanted her mother to pay for her phone bills so that she could spend her own money on other things like clothes.

For those less able to regulate their communications, like Tim, the patterns of communication often followed a cyclical monthly binge - initial heavy use at the beginning of the month, resulting in all the credit being used up quickly, meant that the rest of the month the phone was under-used. Although some informed peers of their situation, occasionally advising them to use IM instead, this pattern could have

negative consequences. Mark's friends regularly gave up trying to contact him whenever he went through periods when he could not reply to texts. This cost consideration meant trade-offs: even when they might prefer the privacy and convenience of calls on their mobile phone respondents sometimes used the landline. For example, although Shannon's friends tended to call her on her mobile, she thought it more prudent and 'cost free' (from her viewpoint) to use the house phone to call friends.

For the most part communications were after the school day and at weekends. Voice calls made away from home were short communications with parents to do with picking up children, a summons to come back home, or letting parents know plans or where they were. And there were mobile calls to and from, mostly close, friends. As in other studies, texting was mainly to peers, which for some meant the routine of checking for texts in the morning. Some broke the rules and texted during the school breaks, either to keep up to date with friends in other schools or as something to do, a point we shall return to later.

> *'It's more of the dare of actually doing it in school...than actually receiving it.'*
> Paula (14) (Focus Group 1)

Over time the pattern of mobile communications changed, but this is subject to mixed influences. A number of children felt that they communicated more as they grew older and increased their circle of friends and/or there were more activities in which they were involved. However, the rise of alternative communication channels, especially IM, had had some impact on texting. Various participants described how instant

messaging may have been around a while but it had become more popular in their social circles during the last few years. Compared even to texting it had the merit of quickness (typing with the keyboard), being 'more like a conversation', but chiefly it was free. Some, like Martin and Harriet, thought that their texting had declined because of the switch to instant messaging (IM). And Carol, on contract and one of the few to use the Internet on the mobile phone, used instant messages sent from the mobile's Internet function to interact with peers since the family computer was out of action. Not all texts required urgent responses[xii] – some text conversations might take place slowly across days. But even these slow 'conversations' now competed with cost-free alternatives as people like Sandra logged onto their MySpace in the evening to see if someone had left a message.

Lastly, there are the more negative communications, including cyber- and other forms of bullying such as crank calls, which are currently being discussed as an issue in other research.[xiii] However, rather than bullying perhaps a more common process was that of falling out with peers. This sometimes continued with subsequent communications, either to try to sort things out or to communicate more acrimoniously, including some 'nasty' texts between ex-boy and -girlfriends. But as was pointed out by several informants, although this may be in the form of texting, the rise of other channels means that such communications is more or equally likely to be online nowadays, either broadcast on IM[xiv] or as messages left on people's websites for third parties to see.

Dealing with images

As in the research on the cameraphone in other countries, this was often the children's first (digital) camera and it was mostly used for capturing spontaneous images from everyday lives such as a group of friends in the park, a new baby, fireworks or a celebrity. . In contrast, those young people who also had digital cameras used them on more special occasions where the taking of pictures was anticipated such as at parties or on holidays – the main reason being the better quality of the images on dedicated devices.

But what counts as amusing pictures for some can count as embarrassing photos for others, although 'embarrassing' can take on a range of different meanings[xv]. People were embarrassed because of how they looked in a photo quickly taken on the mobile's camera, with both boys and girls noting that this was more of a girl's reaction. Or e can see another example of 'embarrassment' in the focus group discussion below.

> Interviewer: *What counts as a funny photo…can you think of any examples from the past?*
>
> Nina: *Something someone would be embarrassed by (laughs)*
>
> Sandra: *There's one of me on a trampoline…that was really embarrassing…no don't* (makes a gesture to indicate "don't take a picture")
>
> The others laugh
>
> Interviewer: (To Sandra) *You didn't go round saying "delete that"…it was OK for other people to have the photo?*

Nina: *I think she tried to get us to delete them…but…you know (laughs)* [clearly they didn't]

Sandra: *I was just…you know…I couldn't be bothered…really. They weren't that bad*

(Focus group 2: 13-14yrs)

Then there were the 'annoying' photos, as when James described the practice of being tapped on the shoulder and his peers would take a picture to catch an unguarded expression – a milder version of happy slapping from James's perspective. To be fair, some of the participants said that they generally asked for permission to photograph, they were aware that it was an issue. For others it is not an issue because either the other youth present often posed for pictures or if one was taking pictures of a group the others present also did so. Or else these young people tried to capture images when their peers' guard was down, in the spirit of paparazzi photos, which the young people being photographed may or may not appreciate. Sometimes when asked to delete a photo they did it straight away, sometimes resisting this request itself became a game, a form of teasing.

Nina: *This girl fell asleep and she had paint all over her face…and we all took photos…and shared them around and put them on Bebo…and she got very upset…*

Ruth: *And so we took them off.*

Nina: *When they get upset…then you delete them…but…*

Several laugh.

Nina: *You keep going until they're upset*

(Focus Group 2: 13-14yrs)

Some, however, were more careful about what pictures they posted on social networking sites.

Interviewer: *So, have you ever put any of these pictures or videos [taken on the mobile) on these [Bebo] pages?*

Mark: *Yeah, but only with my friends' permission (…). But I delete anyone that I don't really know now.*

Interviewer: *You said now. Do you mean this is a new policy?*

Mark (14): *Yeah, 'cos, I mean, it just suddenly came to me after we had this talk at school about people posting pictures and videos of (other) people who did not want it. I just thought, well, I'll go and delete anyone I don't know and ask (those I do) if I want to put a picture of someone or not of someone on there.*

The case of the cameraphone (and video on the camera) raises a number of issues for school. One of the subjects occasionally captured in a photograph or video was teachers themselves, caught unawares (as when one of the teachers, was caught dancing 'for no apparent reason'). One common subject was school fights, some of which had been posted on YouTube, including mentioning by name the school in question. And there were examples of staged events.

Luke (13): *There are like two or three films from the school(online)…and you type in '(Name of school)'…They were in the drama studio and Justin, one of year 11, he was just sat on a chair…and someone came and happy-slapped him*

right round the face. But he knew they were going to do it. Like he practiced…

like fake happy-slapping. And they put in on YouTube. It's like still there.

(Focus group 2: 13-14)

In fact, during the course of the interviewing an urgent communication was read out to all the classes about such practices since it was felt to be giving the school in question a bad name.

If we turn to what youth actually do with images, as in other research[xvi], MMS is rare mainly because of the cost. A few had sent images, especially if it was part of a tariff package that allowed some free multimedia messages or if there was no free alternative like Bluetooth. The most common practice was to show pictures still on the mobile to friends, then delete many, keeping the 'best' ones on the grounds of either quality or content. Transferring images to other people by Bluetooth was less common than transferring music.

Music on the mobile and sharing practices

One of more relatively recent additions to the mobile phone's functionality at the time of the research was the MP3 player, which for some had become a 'must have' when they upgraded. Unlike the distinction between the cameraphone and digital camera, the participants in this research did not differentiate the mobile's music quality from iPods or separate MP3 players. The superior storage of the latter was its greatest asset. As in the case of cameras, the advantage of the mobile was that you always carried it around anyway – and for the practice outlined below, this was a major plus.

The mobile could also more easily be played aloud for collective consumption as young people took turns to listen to each others' music when going home after school when travelling together on a coach to sports events or as when Tim stretched the school rules at break times.

> '*Most of us, like, we keep our phone so it's on silent or it's off in school and at break time or lunch time we'll take it out and turn it on and listen to music,*' Tim (15)

Downloading ring tones had become less popular now that these teenagers could create them themselves, transferring their favourite tunes to the mobile phone or recording them using the 'record' function. Showing what music you had was in many ways the equivalent to having a photo album. When socialising and asking to see each other's mobiles gone are the days when this merely involved looking at its features and checking out texts in some cases. Now friends might work their way through pictures and music on the device - the equivalent, for a previous generation, to having a look at someone's music collection in their homes.

But probably what counts as a new development was the degree and ease of sharing music. In the technology rich world of these youth there were alternative ways to do this (e.g. sending an attached file of digital music via the Internet). Hence some teenagers would take music from their own CD collection or from downloads (legitimately bought from sites like iTunes or illegally downloaded,) and send it on to friends. However, they could equally well put music on the mobile phone, from

whatever source, play it and transfer to by Bluetooth whenever those listening said '*Can I have that music*'. This created more of a sense of spontaneity, even if to an extent pre-planned by virtue of putting music on the mobile, where one could transfer the song there and then as a gift. The mobile phone as storage device enabled such ways of sharing to emerge.

Games and boredom

There was little discussion among young people (or in the research literature) about games on mobiles. Even if they had been on mobile phones from an early stage, were ubiquitous and were played by nearly all the research participants at some stage, these games were only a very small part in their lives. However, it is useful to look at playing practices more closely because the conditions under which youth play provides insight into some uses of the mobile phone more generally.

First we need to consider the specificities of mobile games. Most teenagers played the games that they already had installed on the mobile. Some, like James and Tim, had downloaded games. Others would do so if it was free but otherwise it was not worthwhile enough. That said, the teenagers sometimes talked of missing some of the games that they had had on previous mobiles, such as 'Snake'. Compared to consoles everyone recognised most mobile phone games were not so sophisticated, although some had acquired versions of 'classics' that first appeared on consoles, such as SIMS 2. However, for various reasons what was on the mobile was good enough for certain purposes. Some, like Carol, had no console (although access to consoles was generally widespread among both boys and girls). Some, like Caitlin, quite liked the

easier games and admitted that she was not so good at playing harder console ones, while Nina simply did not find the latter interesting. Sometimes, the time available was limited and so it was useful to have something that could be played quickly.

The other advantage of mobile games is that they were always there. If there was some dead time and with nothing else to hand the teenagers might play them - long car journeys being a commonly cited example. But if there is nothing really gripping on TV Tim noted how he would play a game while semi-watching a programme because he could not be bothered to go off to get his console. Mobile phone games were low key, convenient, not very demanding and sometimes slightly more interesting than alternatives.

But it was striking how many times young people of various ages specifically said that the played when they were 'bored'. It is worthwhile looking at what this means in more detail since children seemed to use the word far more often than many adults. Apart from car journeys, young people could be bored when doing homework and bored when visiting parents' friends – or as Nina put it '*if you're somewhere where you don't want to be*'. Using the mobile game was an escape to something more interesting.

Clearly there are quite a few occasions when mobile phone games were time-fillers, but then this was to a lesser extent true of the mobile phone in general. Although the young people explored the phone's functions as soon as they got a new model, they also did so in moments when they were bored. For Sandra, listening to music when bored was as alternative to playing games. And despite the many positive reason for

sending texts, several respondents also added that they sometimes sent them because they were there was nothing interesting to do, or they were not interested in what they were (supposed to be) doing. In these circumstances, not all texts required an answer.

> Harriet: *It's just ...if you have a spare moment and you don't know what to do…just text them and they don't have to answer back straight away*
>
> Ruth: *And then by the time they text back if you don't feel like talking...you just don't.*
>
> (Focus group 2: 13-14yrs)

In sum, while earlier the emphasis in the mobile phone literature had been on the use of the mobile phone for socialising in various senses, we also have to be aware of the other moments, often when young people are in some way isolated from the world around them, when the mobile phone's range of media helps young people pass the time.

The Internet and TV on the mobile phone

We have seen how certain aspects of the mobile phone have found a place in people's lives: as an object of talk, in (albeit evolving) communications practices and for viewing, sharing and swapping images and music. These are common, sometimes collective uses embraced with greater and lesser degrees of enthusiasm. Games on the mobile also have a role, although one where use is more individual and solitary. We can reflect now on two more uses of the mobile phone which are not (yet and may never be) quite so established: the use of the Internet and TV on the mobile phone.

Internet access had been possible for a while on many handsets, if we think back to the initial launch of WAP. In this research, many of the participants knew they had the option to access the Internet on their phone – in fact, some like Ruth and Sandra complained about the design of the buttons such that it was too easy to hit a button and go online by accident, with the financial cost that this entailed. Like adults, they could critically evaluate when the technologies are fit-for-purpose, noting the small screen or, in some cases, the fact that only some internet services were offered by operators; the part that, Tim commented, had nothing interesting on it.

'You can go on the house computer and it's like the entire Internet. If you go on your mobile one, it's like a little… it's like about a third of what you could do on the normal Internet.' Tim (15)

In contrast, the home PC offered a 'free' (for these teenagers) and convenient, easy to use access to the Internet, which they all thought they would continue to use for most purposes. That said, many had tried the Internet on their mobile phone or talked to others about it and it was quite clear that the chief barrier to use was cost.

Izi: *It uses up a lot of your credit.*

Gareth*: Mine doesn't. It's only if I download*

Interviewer: *Why, have you tried it?* (To Izi)

Izi: *Yeah and all my credit kind of washed out*

(Focus group 2: 13-14yrs)

Among the users of the Internet, most were occasional users. Carol had a certain amount of 'free' downloading as part of her contract and in general she thought that her access was cheaper than pre-pay. For her it was quite useful to be able to communicate online away from the surveillance of parents – one of the themes from those who raise concerns about accessing the Internet from this mobile device. Other examples of irregular use were once when the family had been lost while driving and the son Jed came to their aid by looking up Streetmap.co.uk. Several young people, such as Martin, had looked up sports scores (football and cricket), diving into the Internet quickly and getting out again as soon as possible to minimise cost.

Hence, during interviews and focus groups the question was posed as to what they might do online if the price came down, especially if it moved towards the cost of texting, a level of cost they were used to. Although hypothetical, this generated much more interest in the Internet[xvii]. Some thought they would quite like to simply spend a little more time doing what they already did (e.g. sport-related) without the pressure to get offline quickly. Others could think of some more occasions when it could be useful.

> Annabel: *My friend, she forgot her homework. So she looked something up in Google on her phone and wrote the definition down.*
> Alicia: *Wow. Oh, I want Google (…) I'd do my homework on the way to school.*
> (Focus group 3: 11-12ys)

> Elizabeth: *Well if you had missed the train and you wanted to see what the next train time is and the little thingy is closed*

> Daisy: *Like you can get funny videos and funny pictures on Google and stuff and you could show your friends.*
>
> (Focus Group 5: 11-12yrs)

In addition to such instrumental users, many young people who had become used to increasingly multitasking on the mobile over time, like Luke, considered it might be quite '*cool*' to go online.

> *Yeah, because if you were in class you could go on your Bebo…you could go on the Internet and do what you liked and no-one would stop you. Cos it's so small they wouldn't see it under the table.* Luke (13)

And, in the light of what has been discussed above, it was yet another alternative when bored on the long car journey (or any other such moments).

In fact, they did raise this scenario in relation to TV on the mobile. At this stage very few had seen TV on the mobile or even the relevant adverts and some were surprised by this innovation. At one level there were equivalent discussions to the Internet on the mobile phone, with reservations about the small screen – a full sized TV would be preferred for most viewing. But some could see moments when it would be useful (as Sandra noted that she might otherwise have had to miss programme, an episode, that she wanted to watch). Apart from that it could be yet another time-filler when they were physically mobile. But of course, it depended on the price.

In sum, these two options were not popular (yet). The Internet on the mobile phone was marginal because of affordability and TV was an unknown to all but a few. Unlike many of the other features discussed, they had not become fashionable to have and there were no related peer pressures. However, while it is not guaranteed that these would ever become widespread, at least some young people could see these having a role in their lives, added to their many other media options.

Conclusions

Looking across the range of multi-media practices, there are three final observations to make. The first is that in such a brief account, one can only indicate the range of use, examples and some common situations and this can create the false impression that all youth do everything, homogenising their experience. Hence it is worth adding a reminder that even if some practices are more fashionable, the young people in study had different levels of interest and involvement in them, varied levels of technical competencies and diverse equipment where older or semi-broken mobile phones sometimes did not support certain of the options described here.

The second observation is that in various senses one can argue the evolution of these multi-media practise using the mobile phone has been a relatively mundane process, compared to the initial transformations when children first acquired mobile phones and maybe compared to innovations around the initial development of texting.[xviii] Or perhaps part of that early excitement was on the part of researchers into these developments. Certainly, it was clear these multi-media practices were often seen as being mundane, just part of everyday life, by these young people. But then again, in research on cameraphone images, it has been pointed out how people value the

banal[xix], and, indeed, frame their actions, or photos in this case, as being somewhat 'ordinary' as part of the very process of participating in their social networks.

The final observation is that since mobile phones have been around they have come to expect new things each year, new things that it was fashionable to have, new activities that one is expected to be able to do: for example, transferring a song to another mobile by Bluetooth because someone else requests it. While these things have become 'no big deal' to the youth, if we see them with the social distance of adults removed from this world it is striking how much their technoscape[xx] has developed. It is not new to note how increasingly saturated children's lives are becoming with media possibilities, but here we such process occurring specifically in relation to the mobile phone. And we must not forget that with this comes a broadening of the range of decisions, a wider range of competencies and maybe even obligations, the development of new norms of behaviour, etc. –in general a greater complexity for young people to consider, even if, for the most part, this does not come across as being a major burden to them.

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[i] Specifically on youth and cameraphones, Fausto Colombo and Barbara Scifo (2005) 'The Social Shaping of New Mobile Devices among Italian Youth', in Leslie Haddon, Enid Mante, Bartolomeo Sapio, Kari-Hans Kommonen, Leopoldina Fortunati and Annevi Kant, eds, *Everyday Innovators*, *Researching the Role of Users in Shaping ICTs* (Dordrect: Springer, 2005) 86-103; Tomoyuki Okada, 'Youth Culture and the Shaping of Japanese Mobile Media: Personalization and the Keitai Internet as Multimedia', in Mizuko Ito, Daisuke Okabe and Misa Matsuda, eds, *Personal, Portable, Pedestrian, Mobile Phones in Japanese Life* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2005) 41-60; Barbra Scifo, 'The Domestication of Camera-Phone and MMS Communication. The Early Experiences of Young Italians, in Kristof Nyíri, ed. *A Sense of Place. The Global and the Local in Mobile Communication* (Vienna: Passagen Verlag, 2005), 363-74.

ii The research was commissioned by Vodafone and organised through the Digital World Research Centre (DWRC).

iii Jane Vincent, '11 – 16 Mobile: Examining Mobile Phone and ICT uses amongst children aged 11 to 16', DWRC Report funded by Vodafone (UK, December 2004)

iv These were recruited by asking for volunteers from the schools and through snowballing amongst the researchers social networks. Recruiting boys to participate in diary studies continued to be a challenge: although they were represented in all age groups there were fewer in each than girls. The reasons given by the boys for not being willing to participate is of interest; we know informally that some boys in the 11-12 age groups but not in this study had lost or had their mobiles stolen. Some parents commented that they were better off without the mobile phone as it was used to bully these younger boys on the school bus. Moreover, since some of these young boys rarely thought to use them anyway they had not been replaced.

v A shopping voucher was given in return for the diaries and the interviews and a contribution made to school funds for the focus groups.

vi Leslie Haddon, 'The Contribution of Domestication Research to In-Home Computing and Media Consumption', *The Information Society*, 22, 2005, 195-203.

vii Leslie Haddon, 'Research Questions for the Evolving Communications Landscape', in Rich Ling and Per Pedersen, eds *Mobile Communications: Renegotiation of the Social Sphere* (London: Springer, 2005) 7-22.

viii This is also noted in other European countries: EC (2007) Safer Internet for Children: Qualitative Study in 29 European Countries. Summary Report, May

ix Originally associated with Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*, Harmondsworth: Penguin,1973. For a discussion in relation to ICT see Leslie Haddon, *Information and Communication Technologies in Everyday Life: A Concise Introduction and Research Guide*, Berg, Oxford, (2004).

x Rich Ling and Per Helmersen, '"It must be Necessary, it has to Cover a Need": The Adoption of Mobile Telephony among Pre-adolescents and Adolescents', paper presented at the seminar *Sosiale Konsekvenser av Mobiltelefoni*, organised by Telenor, Oslo, 2000. Available at http://www.telenor.no/fou/program/nomadiske/artikler.shtml

xi Vincent, 2004.

xii In contrast to Ditte Laursen, 'Please Reply, The Replying Norm in Adolescent SMS Communication', in Richard Harper, Lin Palen and Alex Taylor, eds, *The Inside Text* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2005) 53-74.

xiii Smith et al, 2006.

xiv It was reported that because of this practice MSN had been removed from one local library.

xv This becomes salient for interpreting the statistics from surveys asking about embarrassing or unwanted pictures - the answers cover a wide range of situation

xvi Virpi Oksman 'MMS and Its "Early Adopters" in Finland', in Kristóf Nyíri, ed., *A Sense of Place. The Global and the Local in Mobile Communication* (Vienna: Passagen Verlag, 2005) 349-62; Nicola Döring, Christine Dietmar, Alexandra Hein and Katharina Hellwig, 'Contents, Forms and Functions of Interpersonal Messages in Online and Mobile Communications, *Proceedings of the Conference 'Seeing, Understanding, Learning in the Mobile Age'* (April 28-30, Budapest, Hungary 2005); Scifo 2005.

[xvii] Our previous study noted how when WAP first appeared one boy had experimented online precisely because he had free WAP minutes (Vincent and Haddon, 2004).

[xviii] Richard Harper, Alex Taylor and Lin Palen, eds. *The Inside Text: Social Perspectives on SMS in the Mobile Age*, (Dordrecht: Springer, 2005).

[xix] Ippo Koskinen, 'Managing Banality in Mobile Multimedia', in Raul Pertierra, ed. *The Social Construction and Usage of Communication Technologies: European and Asian Experiences* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2007), 48-60.

[xx] Christian Licoppe, '"Connected" Presence: The Emergence of a New Repertoire for Managing Social Relationship in a Changing communication Technospace', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 22, 2004, 135-56.